GUIDE TO THE SP8 BORORO FILE

[This file is concerned with the Ge-speaking Bororo tribes of the central Brazilian province of Mato Grosso. Aboriginally, the Bororo were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. However, nowadays a good bit of agriculture is practiced, with emphasis on manioc and maize, and more recently rice is being planted. The Bororo have a strong moiety organization, with dwellings, each accomodating a matrilocal extended family, being clustered by matri-sibs and matri-moieties on the north or south side of the village. Marriage is regulated by local, endogamy and by moiety endogamy. The group has become strongly influenced by Roman Catholic missionaries and by Neo-Brazilian culture, with much of the aboriginal culture being lost. The file concentrates on the Eastern Bororo (Orarimogodogue), but information is included on most groups and on Bororo culture as a whole.

The Bororo file contains eight sources, one (1: Lévi-Strauss) being a translation from the French and one (5: Baldus) being a translation from the Portuguese. 2: Lowie is a cultural summary of the data available in the early 1940's and should be read as an introduction to Bororo culture. There are two major sources in the file, 1: Lévi-Strauss and 4: Levak. 1: Lévi-Strauss presents a detailed analysis of the social structure of the village of Kejara on the Rio Vermelho, along with a long descriptive analysis of sib traditions and myths. 4: Levak is a detailed analysis of the kinship system and social structure of the Bororo of the village of Pobojari, containing as well data on ethnoscience and the life cycle. 3: Petrullo presents data on the Bororo da Campanha and the São Lorenço River Bororo, based on a survey trip in 1931. 5: Baldus is a long essay on the social position of women among the Bororo based on field

work in 1934 and 1935. 6: Kozak is a popularized account of Bororo death practices with many photographs. 7: Cook and 8: Cook are rather superficial descriptions of life in the Bororo villages which he visited in 1901. As it now stands, the Bororo file contains quite good material on social organization and structure, but rather limited information on other aspects of the culture. Because the data derive from a period of over a hundred years all told, with many acculturative influences at work, the researcher should establish the time and place foci of the materials he uses very carefully before using them in comparative work. The file was processed between 1965 and 1975.]

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
● 101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Otuké SF18 Bororo SP8

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçuès* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Ararimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

M 13 chapadão, as is also mammalian and floral life. The rivers are likewise well stocked with fish, and as the pantanal originally was comparatively thickly settled, so is this part of Matto Grosso. The quantities of fish seem to determine the density of the population. Indian villages are found along the rivers quite closely together. It is this section of Matto Grosso that is poorly and in some parts totally unknown.

M 361 Most of the southern part of the state is given over to civilized pursuits. The aboriginal peoples have practically disappeared, either having become exterminated or absorbed by the newcomers. From the time of the arrival of the earliest exploring parties, diamonds, gold and rubber have attracted the European adventurer, but now the main activity is cattle raising, though the search for diamonds still continues, especially at the headwaters of the Paraguay and the Araguaya rivers. A number of modern towns thrive along the railroad line, which runs from Porto Esperança on the Paraguay river, eastward. The most important cities are Cuyabá, the capital of the state, and Corumbá, the terminus of the shipping lines from Montevideo and Buenos Aires. S. Luis de Caceres is a typical frontier town, conservatively maintaining an atmosphere of the old colonial days. [Plate II, 1.]

B 361 648 Only the Eastern Bororo, on the São Lorenço, have survived the incursions of the white man. Pacified but a few years ago, they have been collected on reservations, where they still maintain their own culture. Pirigara, Corrego Grande and Rondonopolis, all on the São Lorenço river, are comparatively large settlements.

B ●101 The Bororo da Campanha have almost disappeared, and there exist but a few families of the semi-nomadic Guató. These are not of pure blood, having mixed with negroes and whites, and have practically forgotten their original culture. On the Taquary, a few Terenos have been collected in a settlement.

B 101 648 At Barra dos Bugres a few Barbados[1] remain. Their pacification has been completed and they are making rapid progress under the tutelage of the Inspectoria.

000 Further north the Paressi and some Nhambikuaras live in settlements along the telegraph line. The Paressi have shown great adaptability for Brazilian culture.

The Inspectoria maintains other posts, in various parts of the country, but at places like Pedro Dantes it has not succeeded in establishing permanent settlements. [See map, Plate XXV.]

[1] [i.e., Umotina.-Analyst]

[text continues on p. 100]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

Eastern Bororo

B 101 184 361

On the São Lorenço river are a number of colonies of the eastern Bororo, who have not come so much under the influence of European civilization. These people still live apart in their villages and maintain their own institutions and industries. They unquestionably differ from the western Bororo in many ways.

B 114 361

The colonies at Pirigara, Corrego Grande (São Lorenço), and Rondonopolis were visited by the expedition, but Corrego Grande received most attention. Sound motion-picture studies of the dances and industries were made and rich collections of artefacts obtained.

B 361 184 423

Unlike that of the Western Bororo, the village is still an orderly affair, being built in circular fashion with the men's hut in the center. The men actually live in this hut, the other houses really belonging to the women. Fishing, the cultivation of manioc, and hunting are the main occupations. [Plates IV, 2; V, 1, 2; VI, 1, 2; VII, 1, 2.]

B 114

Since an excellent study of a community of Bororo exists by Colbachini, little could be said of a descriptive nature in this brief paper that would not be duplication. Therefore, it is felt that time and space ought to be given to the Xingu trip.

At the Headwaters of the Xingu River

M 114

My original plans were to descend the Kuluene river, which has never been descended by an ethnographer; in fact, only recently has it been mapped by Major Ramior Noronha. However, after several conversations with Major Noronha at Cuyabá, finding that such a plan would add difficulties which would not bring any added results, I decided to descend the Kuluseu and ascend the Kuluene to the Seventh of September, and then to ascend that river. This had the advantage of avoiding a longer overland trip and many miles of rapids, and offered the opportunity of seeing more aborigines.

For purposes of reconnaisance and as a safety measure, it was decided to make use of the airplane. Accordingly, before beginning the overland trip, two flights were made to the north. We decided to depend on water for taking off and landing, since the country did not offer such open runways that landing on wheels would be safe.

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
352 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform- 114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re- 178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot- 167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept 177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

101 be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages. But whatever the correct interpretation is, if in fact there is one, the people of one's own moiety and those from the other one will all be merged in the term paobe (first person plural inclusive) when contrasting the Bororo to civilized people or some other Indian tribe.

*601 In addition to genealogically specified kin-types, any
561 Bororo, if necessary, may be designated by a kinship term:
562

imana ("a man's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

ivuri ("a woman's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iyedaga ("grandfather"): Any imana or ivuri who is knowledgeable or quite old.

ituye ("older sister"): Any woman of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iviye ("younger sister"): Any person of the same moiety who is younger than Ego.

iyogwa ("father"): Any man of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any man, regardless of his age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

imarugo ("grandmother"): Any woman of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any woman, regardless of her age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

itonaregedu ("child"): Any person of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego and does not belong

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[772] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[229] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure arego-
dure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

ritual practices accompanying death are often among the most elaborate and impressive ceremonies to be found in the primitive world. No more spectacular funerary ceremony is known to ethnology than that of the Bororo Indians of Brazil. 764

The Bororo now living on the São Lourenço River in the state of Mato Grosso call themselves *Orarimogodogue*—Fish People. Their settlement consists of a number of large thatched houses arranged in a circle around an open dance plaza. Each hut is occupied by a group of closely related women, together with their husbands and children. 131 101 361 592

[p. 39-E]

/440 cont./

P 173 was born on the Matihurizá, "where there is neither land nor forest," that is, no shore, "and he went far upstream." The Matihurizá is the Tapajoz, if it does not represent the Amazonas itself. Thus, if the main movement of the Karaiben tribes was in the direction from south to north, at least this part of the Nu-Aruak group moved from north to south.

To be sure, the good people are not concerned about the slight contradiction that Uazale came from the far north and that his grandmother Maisõ made the Rio Cuyabá as the first of all rivers!

/441/

Chapter XVII.

On the Bororõ.

I. Historical. Founding of the Colonies.

Bororõ da Campanha and do Cabaçal. "Coroados" = Bororõ. Confusion in the literature. Little Sebastian. Martius. Ending of warfare and catechesis. Pillage in the colonies.

B 101 Two groups of Bororõ are distinguished in the Mato Grosso: the "Bororõs da Campanha," or of the plains, and the "Bororõs Cabaçaes," or of the Rio Cabaçal. The Bororõs da Campanha B 131 live in small settlements below Villa Maria, on the right bank 133 of the Paraguay and Jaurú, toward Bolivia, the Bororõs do 361 Cabaçal not far from them in the north, along the banks and in the source region of the river of the same name as well as of the Jaurú, both of which empty into the upper Paraguay from the right, the former at Villa Maria, the latter somewhat farther south.

B 175 These Bororõ were not infrequently visited by travelers; in [114] 1827 they came into contact with the Langsdorff Expedition; in the same year the Austrian naturalist Natterer gathered an abundant collection among them, now in the Vienna Hofmuseum; Count Castlenau and his companion Weddell, who stayed in the Mato Grosso during their famous crossing of South America in

/442 cont./

175 The colonization history of the province tells us about other Bororó, even in the earliest epoch. In 1742 Antonio Pires set out with a band of Paulistas and 500 friendly Bororó to subjugate the Kayapó /Cayapo/ in the southern part of the province; he took more than 1000 captive, established a few military posts, and left behind "a garrison of Bororó" there.

131 All these Bororó originally come from the region of the Rio S. Lourenço; from its lower part these nomadic hunters spread out into the region between it and its tributary, the Cuyabá, as well as along the right bank of the Paraguay lying opposite its mouth, whereas the ones originating from the upper part of the S. Lourenço are encountered by us in the eastern and southeastern part of the province along the source rivers of the Araguay /Araquaia/, the "Contravertenten" /contraflows/ of the S. Lourenço, as neighbors and enemies of the no less strong Kayapó.

114 It is difficult to understand why such great confusion has prevailed and still prevails about the Bororó among the people of the Mato Grosso themselves as well as in the literature. We
101 learn from Castelnau that the Bororó of the Cabaçal were at that time still called "Porrudos"; "the old name of the Rio S. Lorenço, which it still bears in its upper part," as the geographer Melgaço states (Rev. Trim., Vol. 47, p. 459), is now "Rio dos Porrudos."**

** Porra means "penis" in Portuguese; the penis-cuff of the Bororó suggested the name. Since the same costume, widespread throughout Brazil, did not call forth this name elsewhere, one suspects that here where the people said that they were called "Bororó" the Paulistas were moved to make a bad pun.

The Indians of the S. Lourenço are today called "Coroados," the shorn ones -- a name that positively invites confusion. We could have called the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians "Coroados" too; there were Coroados especially in the river basin of the Paraná

/442 cont./

101 and still others on the Rio Xipotó on the border of the provinces of Minas Geraes and Rio de Janeiro, tribes which, both in origin and language, are altogether different from one another as well as from the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso.

648 In Cuyabá the "Coroados" were the object of general interest upon our arrival. After always being regarded as the worst enemies of the /443/ rural population in the entire region between the Rio Cuyabá and S. Lourenço up to the boundary of Goyaz /Goiás/, they finally, thanks to the efforts of President Galdino Pimentel in the year 1886, became "pacificados," pacified, and were settled in two military colonies on the S. Lourenço.

101 648 By no means all the infamous deeds with which the "Coroados" were charged were actually committed by them. In the northeastern part of Cuyabá in particular they were confused with the Kayapó, who carried on predatory raids there. Moreover, no one in the capital knew that the feared "Coroados" were nothing but tribal brothers of the same Bororó who had been living for a long time in several villages to the right of the Paraguay in peaceful conditions and in part in very reduced circumstances, indeed even tribal brothers of the same Bororó who were already allied with the founder of Cuyabá, Antonio Pires, before the middle of the eighteenth century and were used by him as a garrison!

I was not a little surprised when I learned from "Atahualpa," a "Coroado" brought to the capital along with a few companions for baptism, that they call themselves Bororó.

114 [113] Thus the conversation with Atahualpa gave me the opportunity to solve another puzzle quickly. I had just read in the book by Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho, Noticia da provincia de Mato Grosso (S. Paulo, 1869, 425 pp.) the report about a few captive "Coroados" (two girls and a boy) brought to Cuyabá in 1859, and found there a word list (p. 192) which I wished to compare with my own list. To my astonishment, nothing tallied, absolutely nothing. The author had been given the words by the "Coroado" boy, about whom he tells the most

/444 cont./

114 permits us to discover the source. For the words, taken down by the Castelnau Expedition, unfortunately do not have a Portuguese, but a French spelling, in which several double vowels have an entirely different pronunciation than in Portuguese, and they correspond in a manner in which two accounts independent of each other never correspond.

[101] One of the few who, as I later found, correctly assumed the identity of the "Coroados" and Bororó was Baron Melgaço,* as

[113] * Revista Trimensal, Vol. 47, p. 396. Baron Melgaço's civilian name was Aug. Leverger and he was of French origin.

competent a president (for the first time in 1851) as a geographer of the Mato Grosso. "The Coroados lived in the source region of the S. Lourenço; they have nothing in common with those of the Parana basin; I suspect they were Bororó." He merely regarded them as extinct.

In view of the confusion which occurs in the country itself, it is not surprising that Martius has very erroneous conceptions of the Bororó. He discusses them under the Central Tupí; ** he

[113] ** Zur Ethnographie Amerika's /On America's Ethnography/, pp. 209 ff., p. 263, Leipzig, 1867.

himself doubts, correctly, that they represent a Tupí tribe, but then falls victim to the strange notions that formerly prevailed about the composition of the Indian tribes and that are best expressed in his favorite expression "Colluvies gentium /tribal rubble-heap/. "It is probable that under Bororós are understood hostile Indians generally, without any definite designation of names, indeed perhaps occasionally also a Colluvies gentium, which, without a clearly stamped and firmly held nationality in language, customs, and physical appearance, split up into small bands without fixed residence, to roam about plundering and murdering. In Mato Grosso and Goyaz, it is true, individual of the Tupí tribe may be the basis of such predatory communities. But since other Indians

/444 cont./

114 have joined them, they have changed their language to a thieves' idiom (!). In Cazal (Corografia brasilica, p. 302) two hordes of [101] Bororós are mentioned: the Coroados, or shorn ones, and the [113] Barbados, bearded ones. The former are not navigators, but [131] nomadic hunters who are said to dwell to the south and southwest of the city of Cuyabá in inaccessible wildernesses on the sources of the Rio de S. Lourenco and the Rio dos Mortes, a tributary of the Araguaya." These statements by Cazal are perfectly accurate and true, and he, too, thus recognized the "Coroados" as Bororó. By /445/ "Barbados," Martius goes on to say, perhaps the Guató are to be understood, they sometimes attacked caravans traveling from Goyaz to Cuyabá and extended their raids as far as Diamantino. [101] The Guató, however, have never come into this region, they live as water nomads in the upper Paraguay region; those "Barbados" were probably Kayapó or even Bororó.

114 Martius, of course, explains the name Bororó according to 101 the lingoa geral, either, if coming from the neighbors, = "warriors, enemies," or, if they themselves say it, = "we, the masters of the soil." The Bororó, however, know nothing about the lingoa geral and they call themselves this.

797 I shall now drop the name "Coroado" altogether; I shall report some things about the so-called "catechesis" or conversion of this Bororó tribe, which was attempted in vain for many years, but could scarcely have succeeded because the attempts were carried out in the most topsy-turvy manner. A military colony [648] set up on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, which was established toward the end of the 'seventies by Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira, served as the base.

648 In 1878 one Captain Alexander Bueno with 70 Terena Indians, a tribe belonging to the Guaná group, undertook an expedition "to drive out the Bororó." He had been secretly instructed, as I was assured, to shoot to death as many as possible and was favored by success to such an extent that he was able to show the President a bag full of ears. Of living ones he brought along two women and two children.

GO /550 cont./
105 Guató with five or six canoes full of women and children. Usu-
175 ally they have two wives, some are content with one. Here
[595] and there they cultivate a little maize, mandioca, and fruit, but more as delicacies than for subsistence. They also gather the wild rice (arroz silvestre), which grows there in abundance, but only for the needs of the moment. Very skillful with bow and arrow; engage in jaguar hunting with spear and javelin. Friendliest barter. The men starting to wear shirt and trousers, the women petticoats. Are faithful, upright, harmless, but have occasionally shown that they are capable of offering resistance and avenging injuries. Very inclined to drunkenness. Most of them understand our language and many adults speak it.

[Report 1872: This tribe is almost extinct.]

BO 13 Bororós da Campanha. Two groups: 1) Village in Bolivia
105 near Salinas, 2) village opposite Escalvado on the right bank of
175 the Paraguay, one league from the river. Are peaceable, carry
[131] on agriculture, have pigs and chickens. Cotton hammocks.
[101] Some speak Portuguese. Have often brought slaves and deserters from Bolivia into the garrisons. 150-200.

[In 1858 it is said: one part lives in the Campanhas de Marco and another beyond the Corixa Brook.]

BO 14. Bororös Cabaçaes. Two hordes, until recently savage,
[101] one on the sources of the Jaurú, the other on those of the Cabaçal.
[131] Made numerous attacks on the road from Cuyabá to Matto Grosso,*

* The later name for Villa Bella on the Guaporé.

so that troops were often sent out against them and killed many, irrespective of age and sex. They themselves did not want to take captives, but killed as many as they could, irrespective of sex and age. Nourish themselves on the fruits which the earth yields freely and, at the most, plant some pururuca maize which they eat unripe, batatas, and bananas. No industry. /551/ Have bows and arrows, poor pots, straw plaiting with which they in part cover their nakedness. In 1842 the Reverend Curate of Matto Grosso, José da Sa Fraga, succeeded through persuasion and gentleness

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8 ●
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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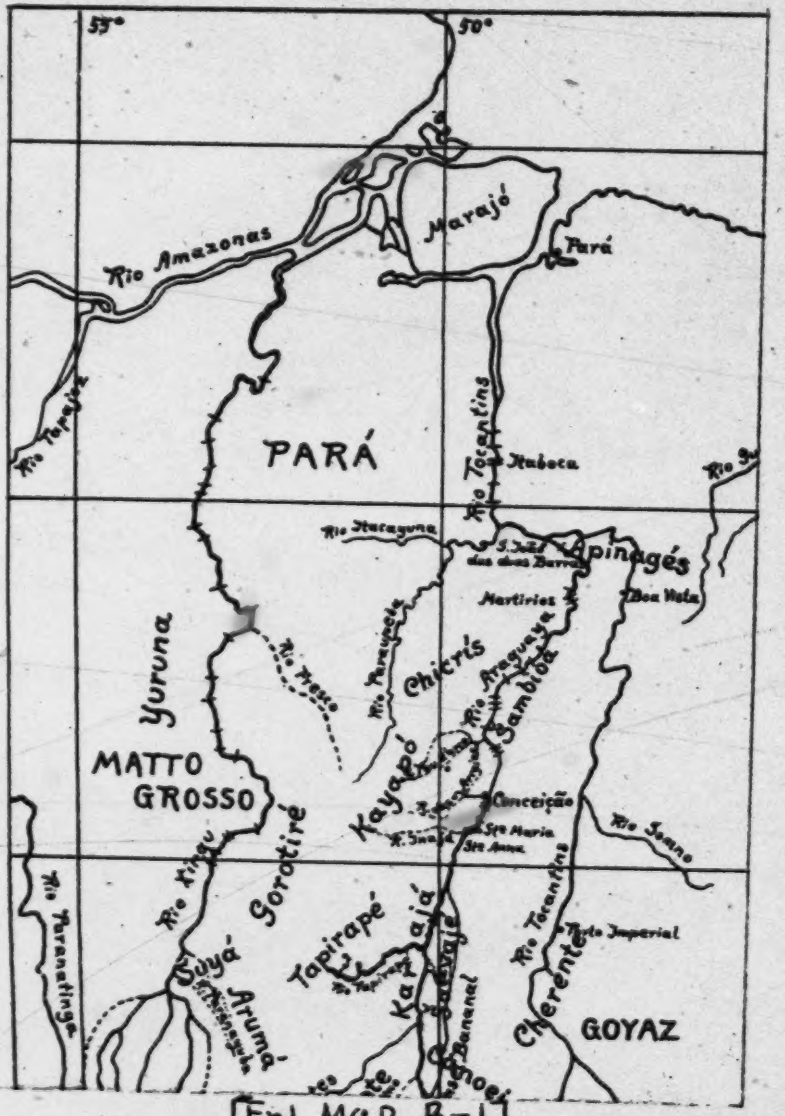
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.


55°
50°
Marajó
Pará
Rio Amazonas
Rio Tapajó
PARÁ
Rio Tocantins
Rio Araguaia
Rio Xingu
Rio Tocantins
Rio Jamanxim
Rio Tapirapé
Rio Cururú
Rio Fresco
Rio Paranaíba
Rio Araguaia
Rio Jamanxim
Rio Tocantins
Rio Tocantins
Rio Tocantins

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

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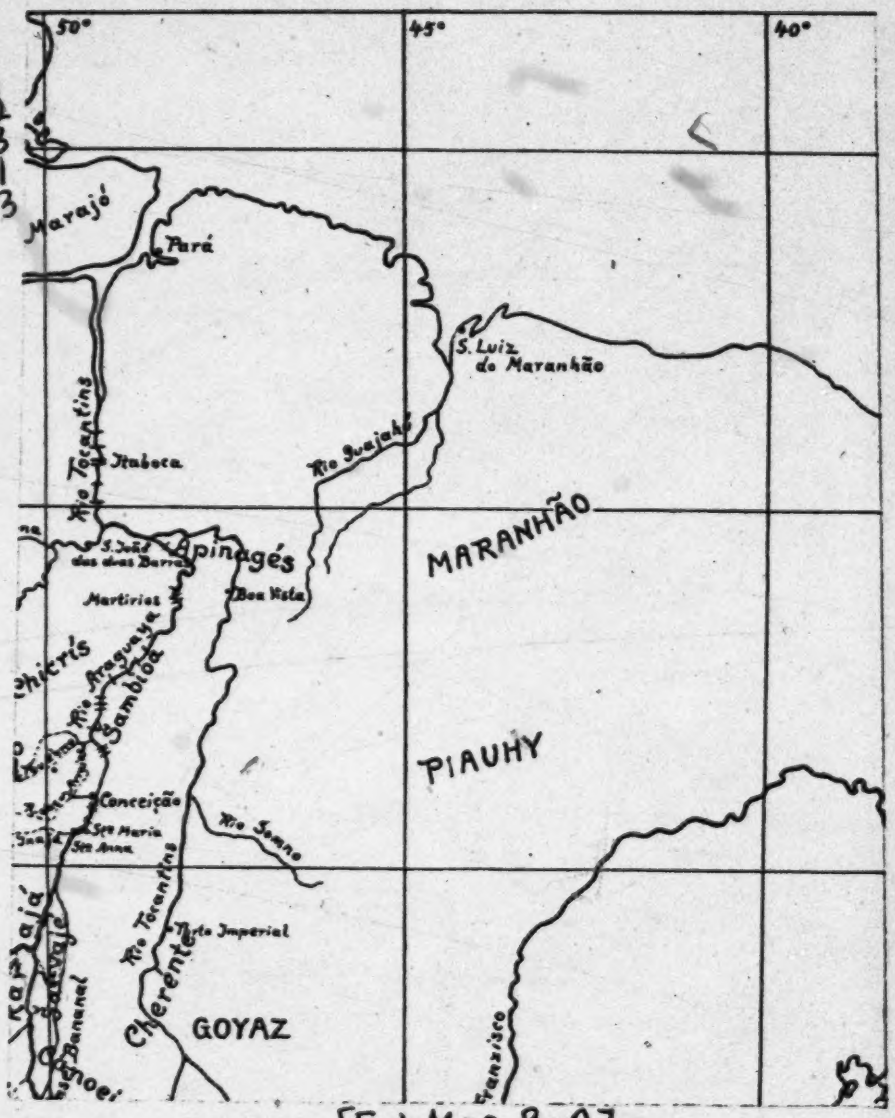

[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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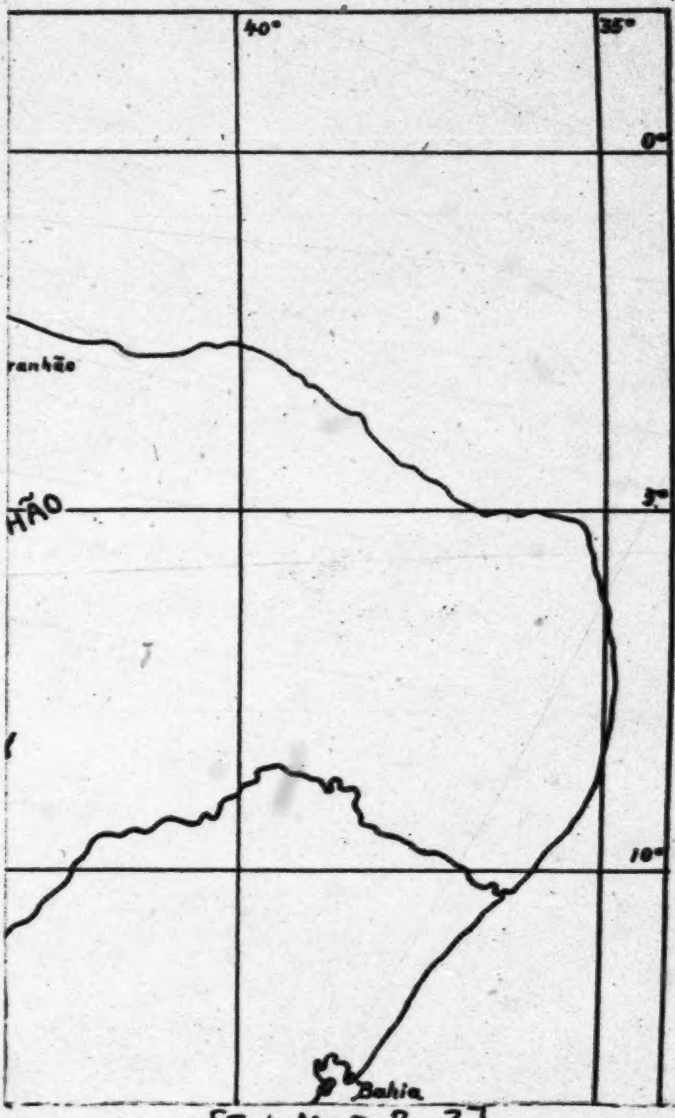

[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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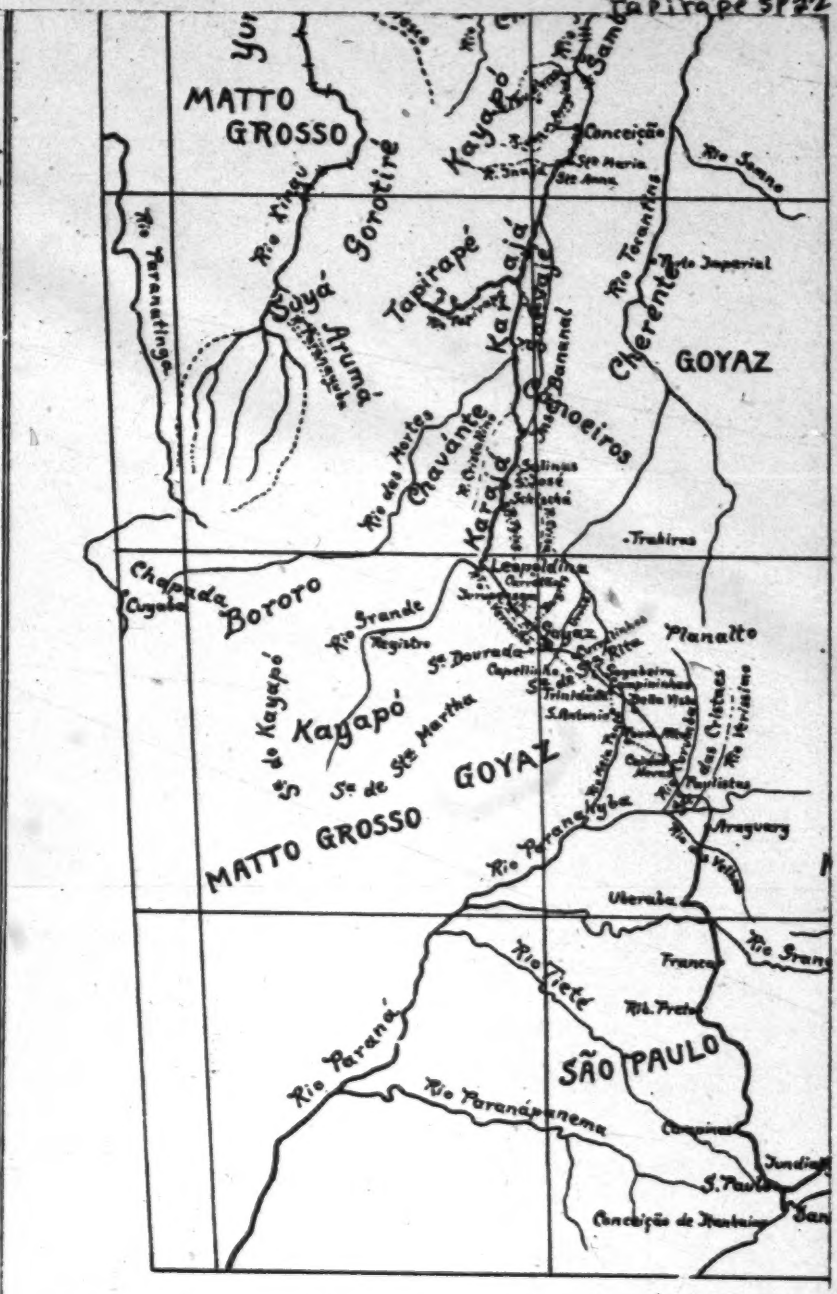

The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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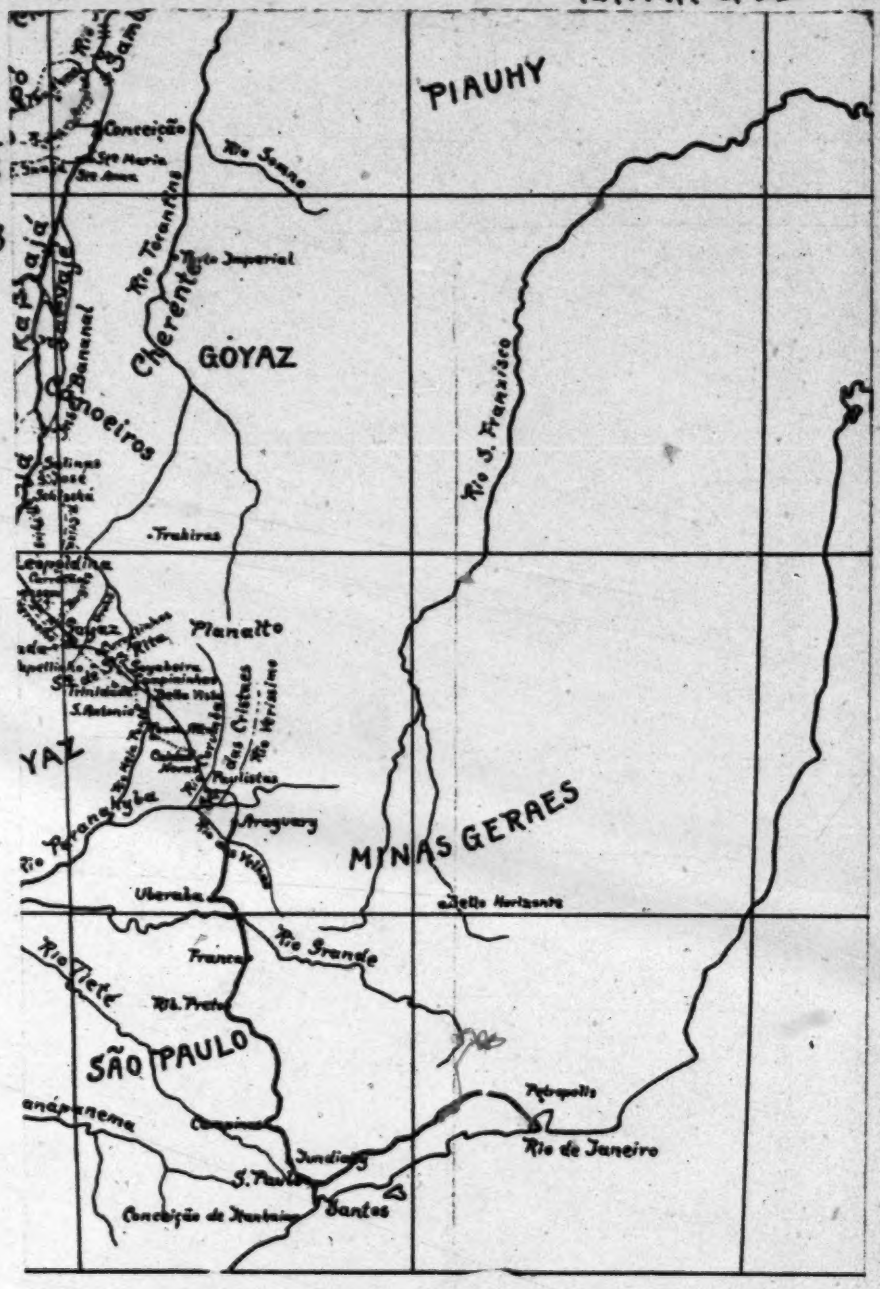
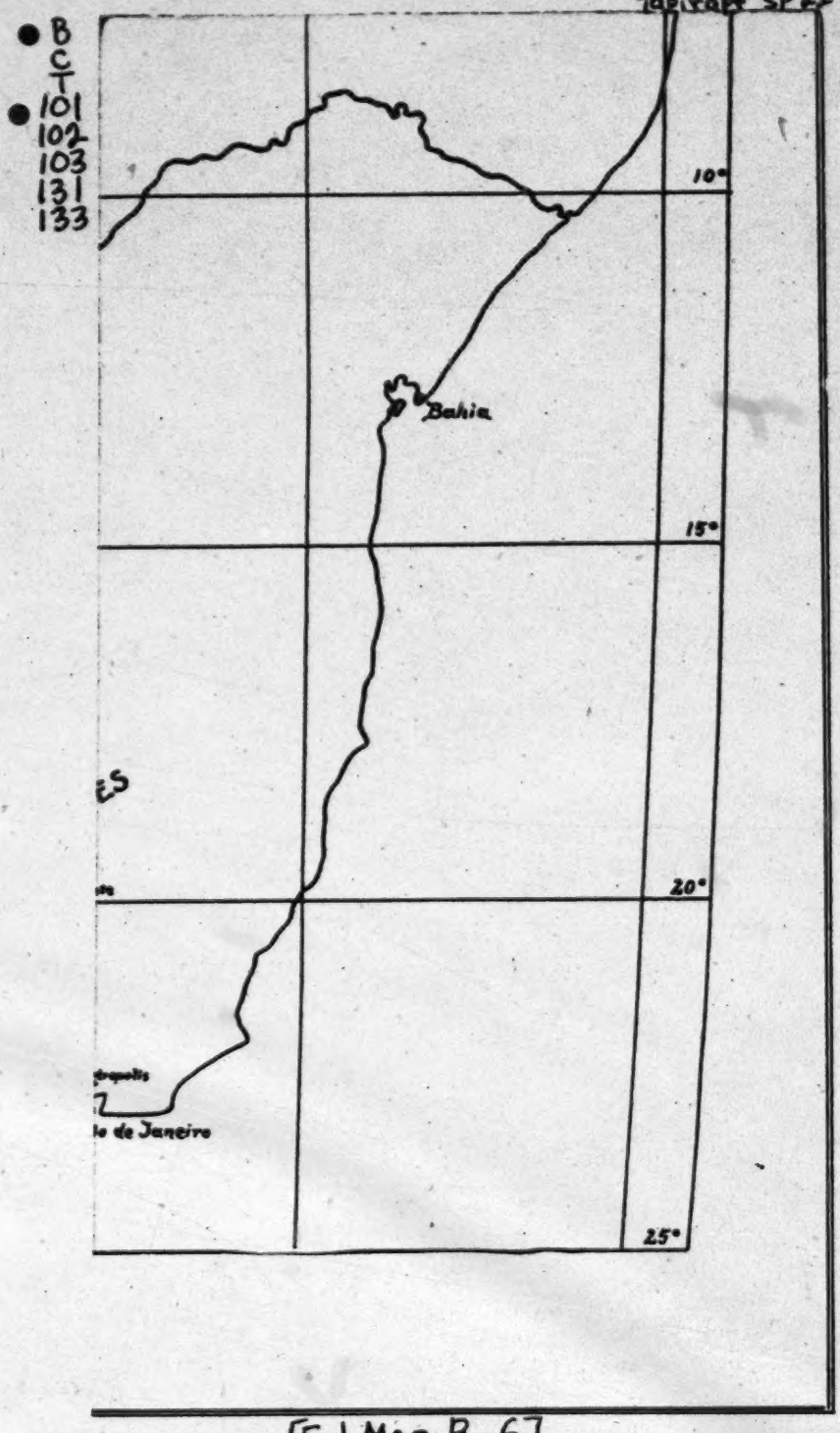


[End Map B-5]

5. Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22



[End Map B-6]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161] number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*muktmo*) was built
621 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7

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[Facing P. 180-A]

[Plate XXV-A]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8 ●
Bacairi SP7

PLATE XXIV

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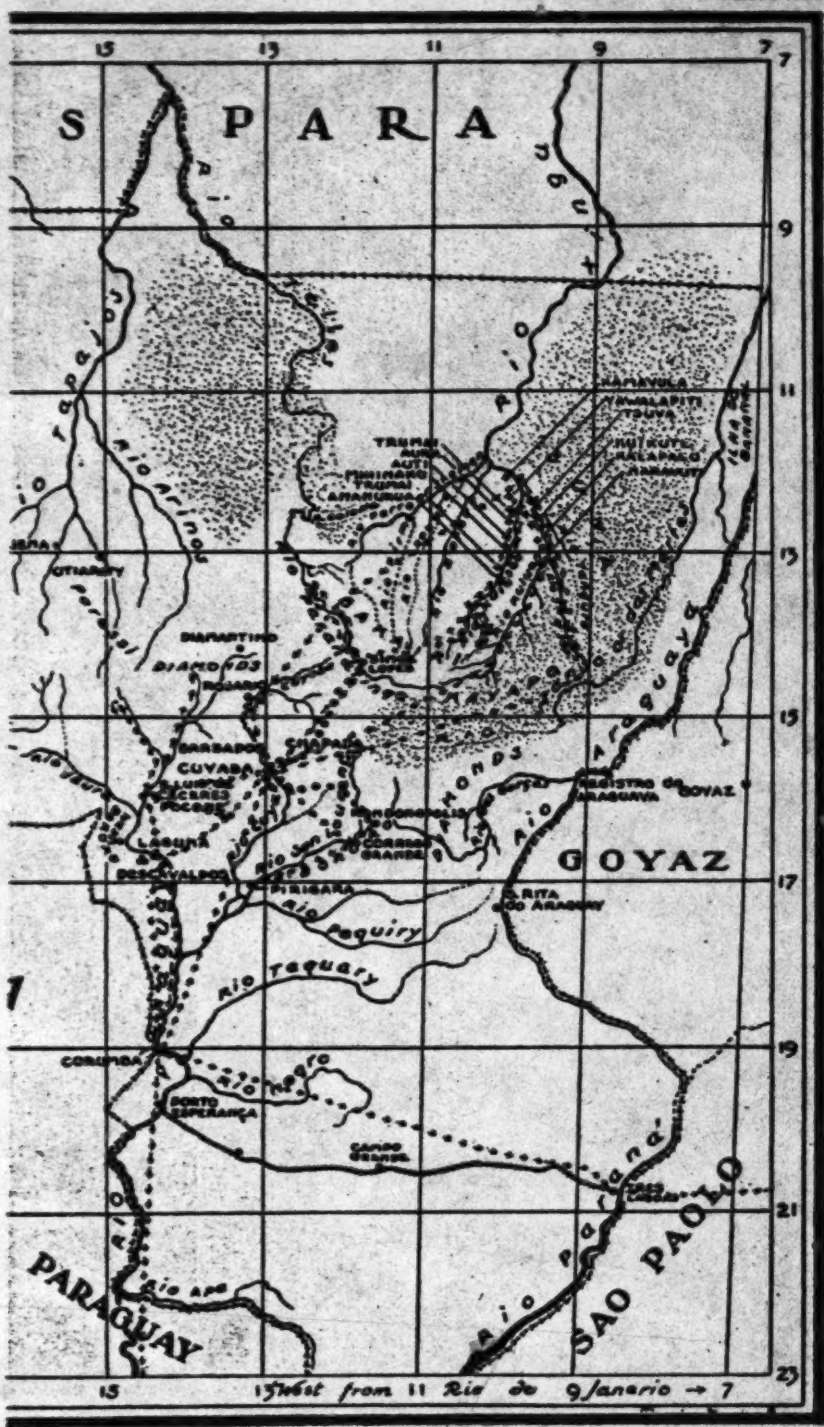
S P A R A
Rio Tapajos
Rio Arinos
Rio Xingu
Rio Araguaya
Rio Paraná
Rio Paraguay
Rio Paquiry
Rio Taquary
Rio Negro
Rio Aro
Rio Sao Lourenço
Rio Sao Francisco
Rio Tocantins
Rio Jauru
Rio Sao Lourenço
Rio Sao Francisco
Rio Sao Lourenço
Rio Sao Francisco
Rio Sao Lourenço
Rio Sao Francisco

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8 ●
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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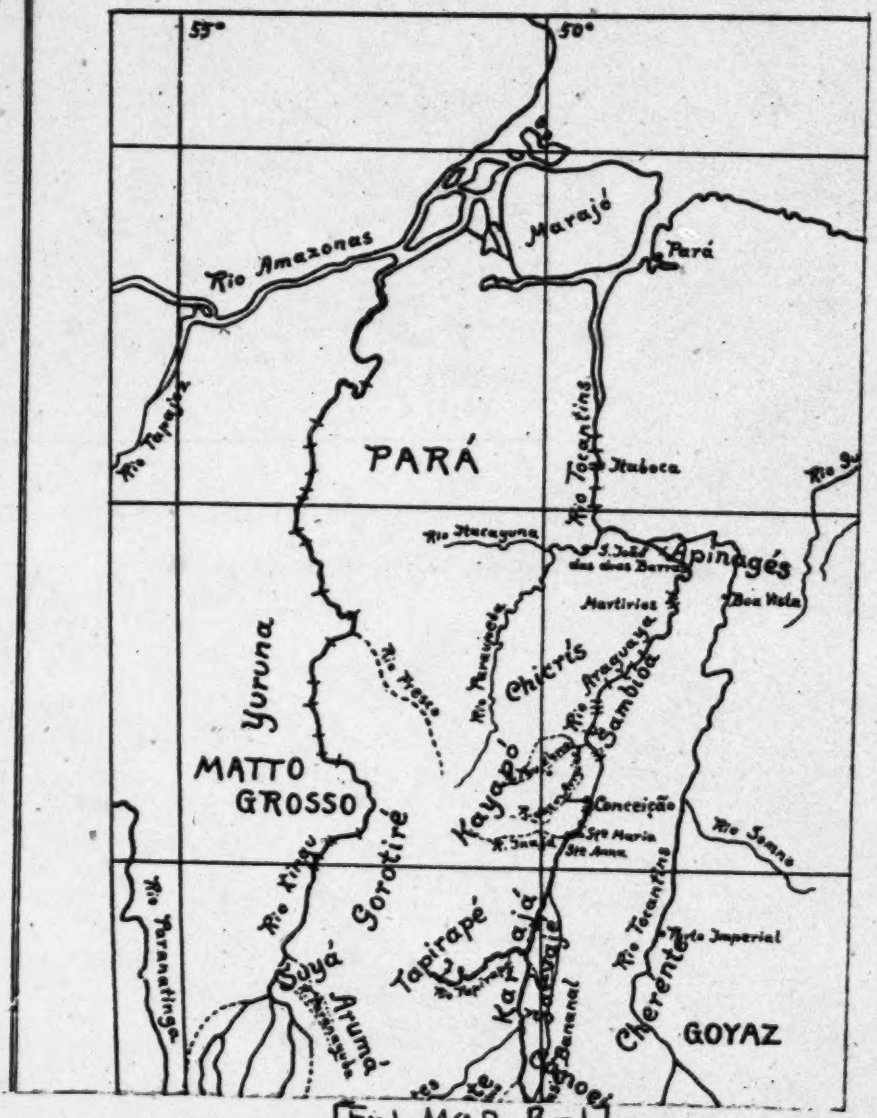
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.



[End Map B-1]

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

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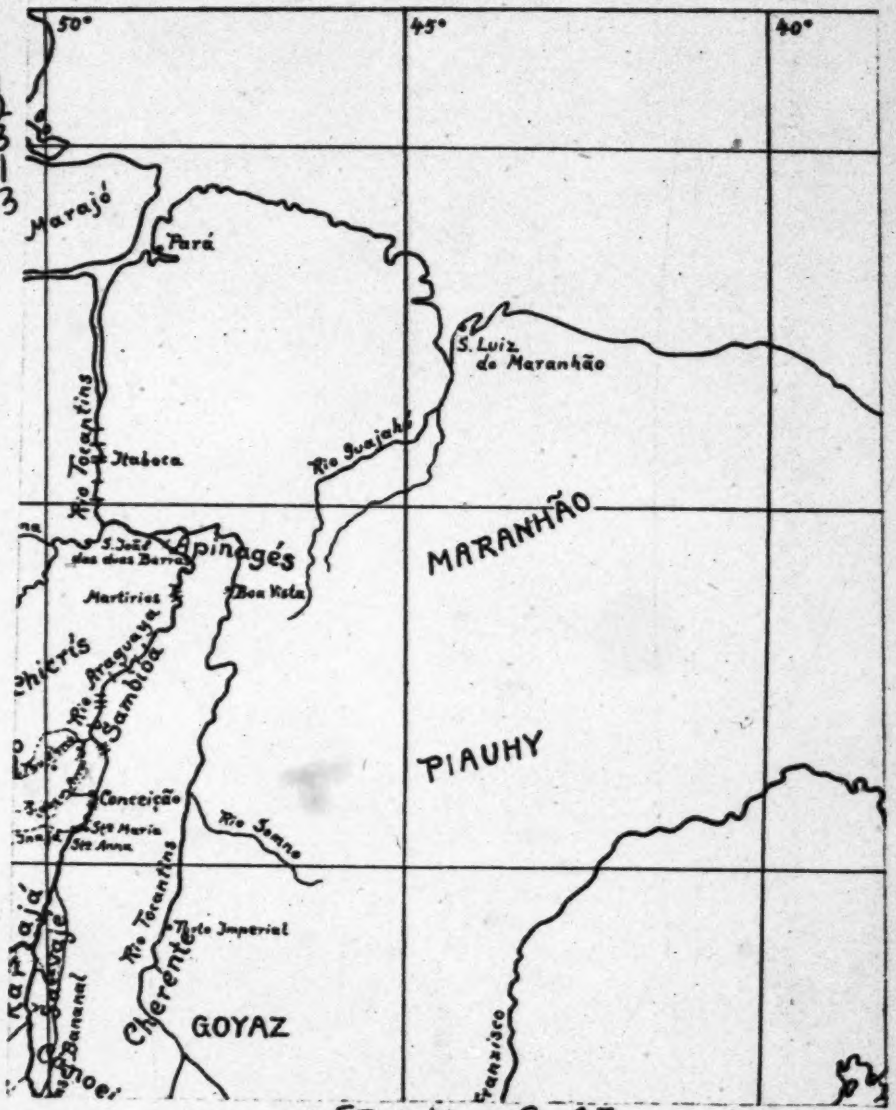

[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tatirape SP22

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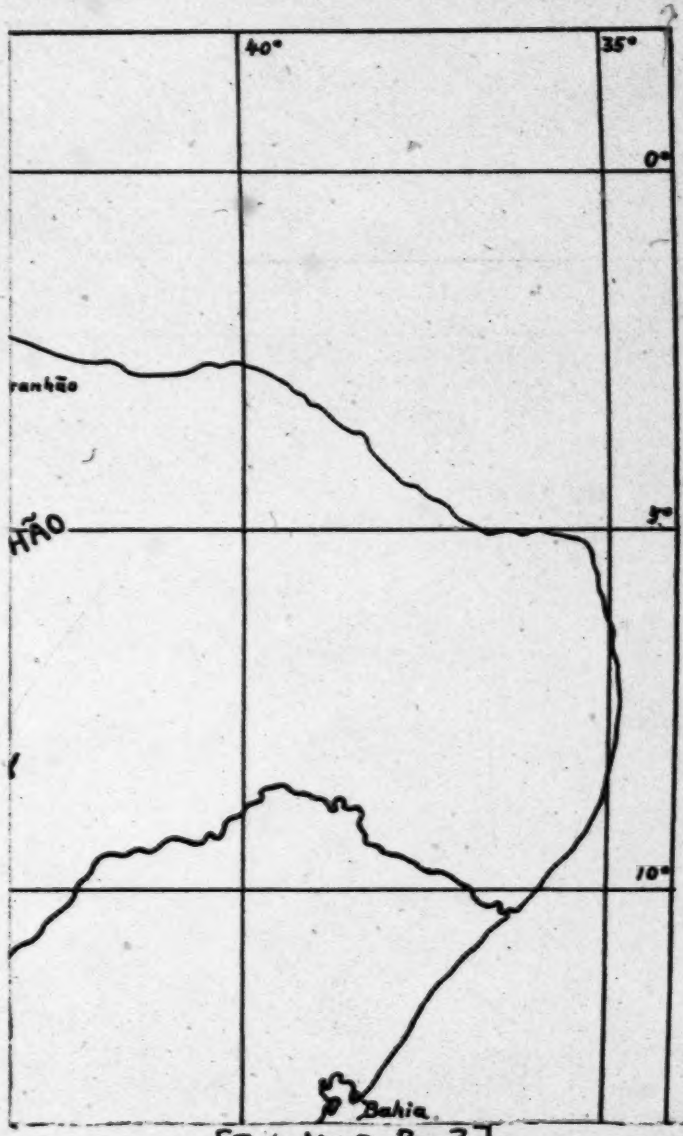

[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Bororo SP8

Tapirape SP22

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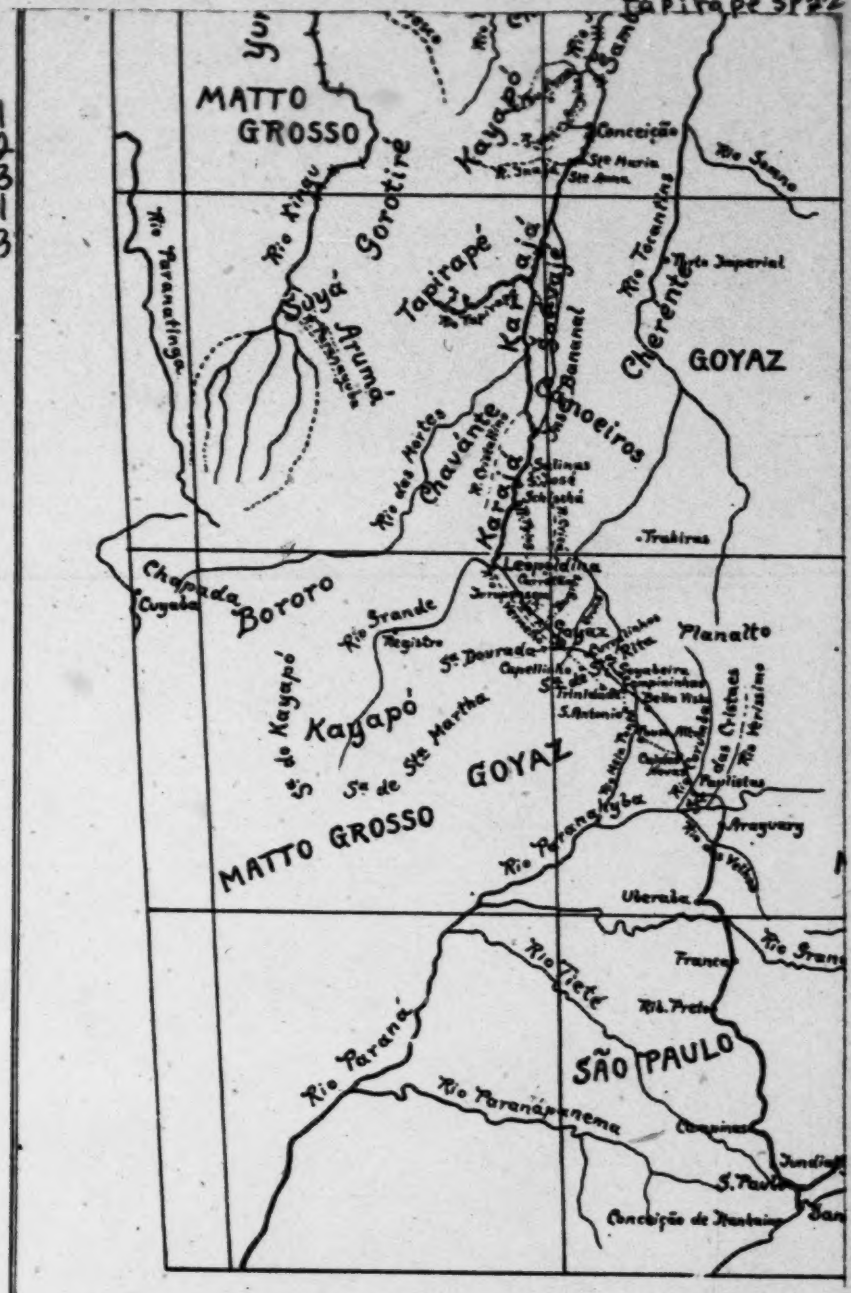

The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause 4--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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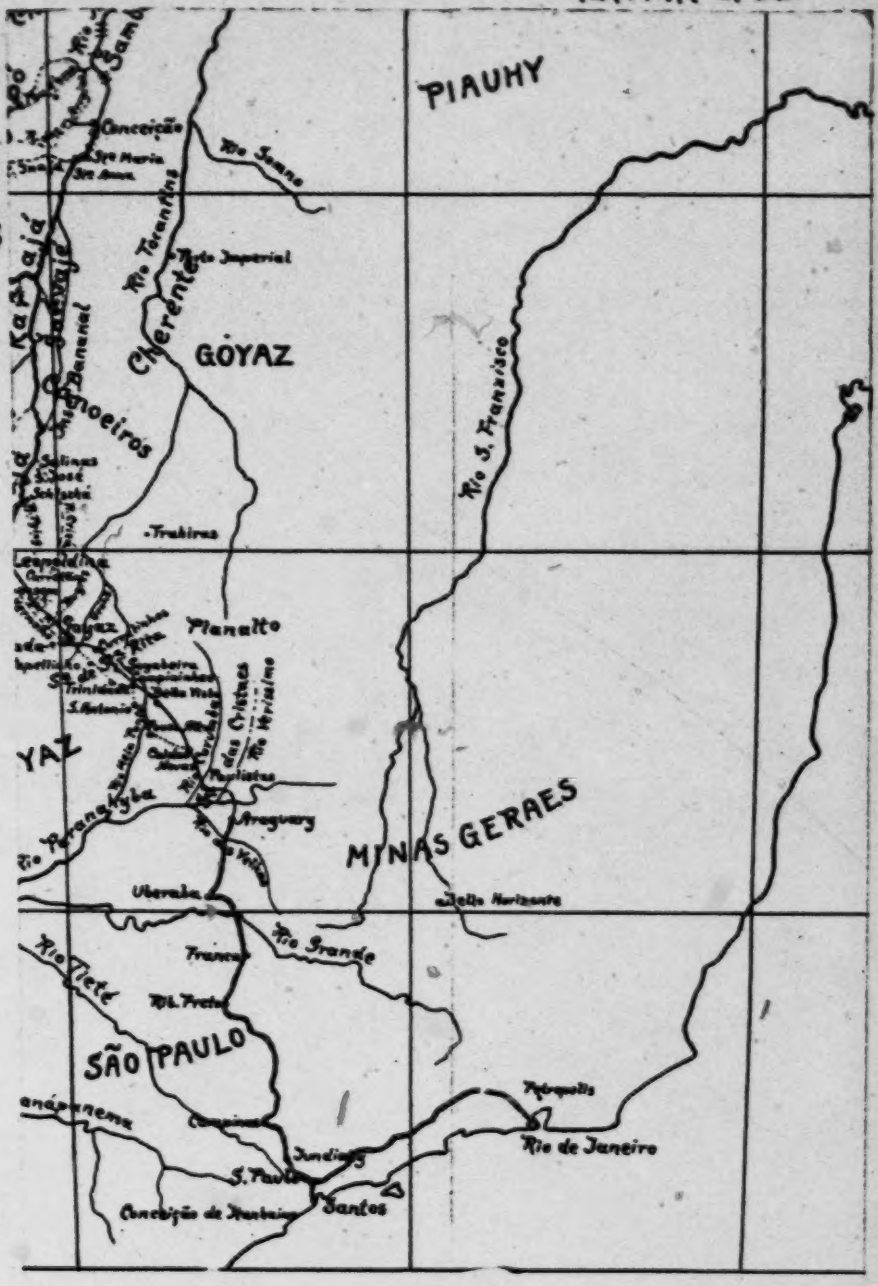
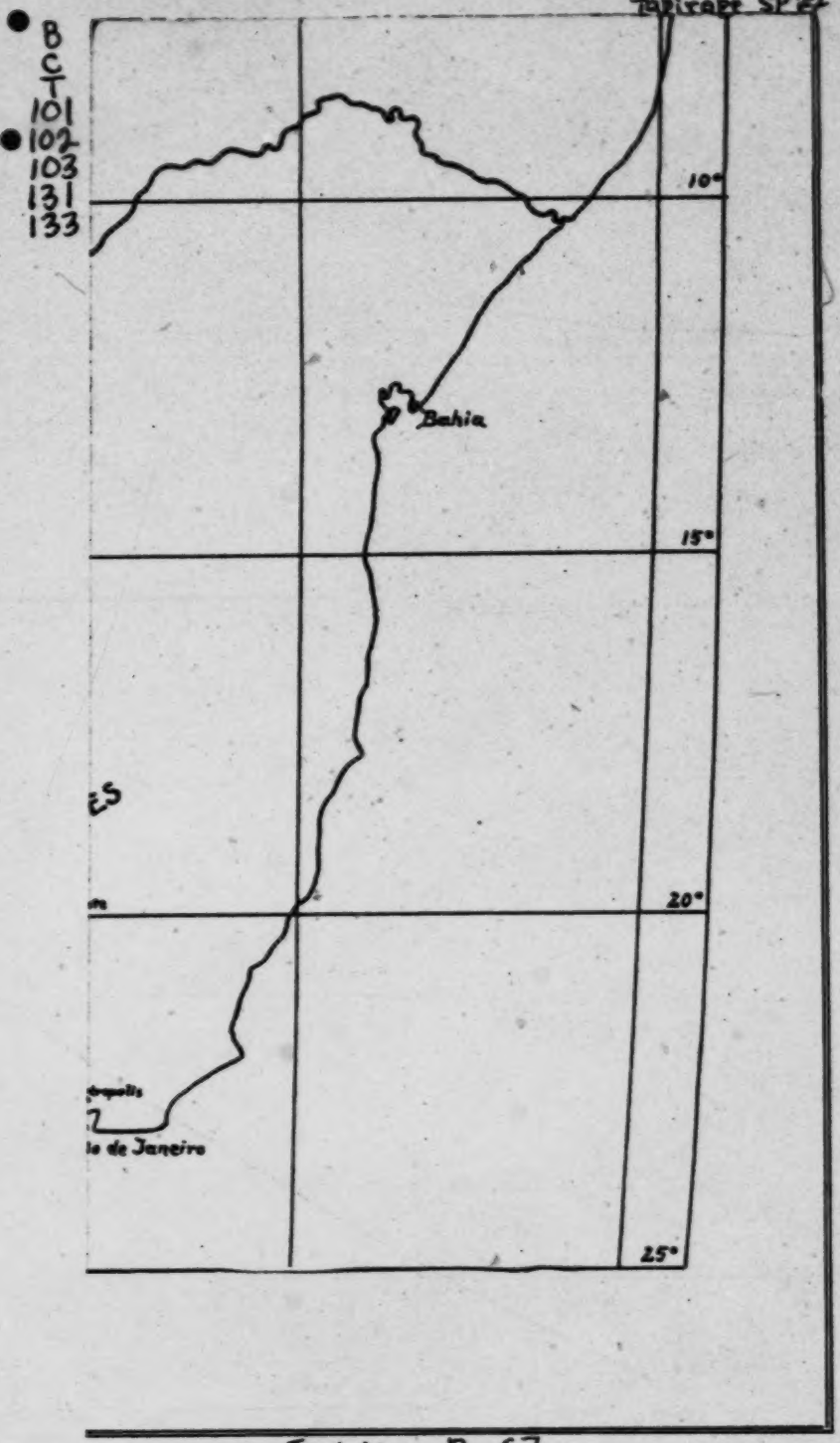


[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirapé SP 27



[End Map B-6]

Mato Grosso SP1

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Unit C

A large urn bearing a bowl cover, the inner surface of which bears a painted rectilinear design in red. The bowl is a large one, measuring forty centimetres across the top and fourteen in depth. In the bottom of the urn were found fragments of bones.

Unit D

A globular urn about forty centimetres in diameter, bearing rudimentary handles. It was covered with a bowl and contained disintegrated skeletal material.

Unit E

Urn of type (a), on which rested another urn of type (b), which was covered with a bowl. Both urns contained skeletal material.

Unit F

One of the largest urns taken out, measuring 1.23 metres in height, and .97 metre at the greatest diameter. This specimen is now in the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. It bears no decoration. With the debris that it contained was found some skeletal material.

Unit G

A large urn of type (a), measuring .90 metre at the greatest diameter and an equal amount in height. The sides slope in abruptly forming shoulders, terminating in upturned rim collar. It bears no decoration. It likewise was originally covered with a bowl.

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Bororo da Campanha

While work continued at the cemetery site, a visit was paid to the remnants of the Bororo de Campanha, collected at a village locally known as Laguna.

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361

The trip to Laguna was made in the company of Messrs. E. R. Fenimore Johnson, John S. Clarke, Samuel T. Hoopes, Floyd Crosby, the cameraman, and guides. The village is situated on some high ground, covered with palm and banana groves. It consisted of a few huts arranged haphazardly, with that of the headman at the edge of a cleared

722 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
775 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
776 a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-
[303] like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773

	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

[825] First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equip-
773 ment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings
776 there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the animal traits of the first beings found their strongest expression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for their father, who had a special predilection for penes, vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae,
775 a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived
[103] in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first orna-
[825] ments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lineages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one Tugarege man, Tadugo. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

CHAPTER XXXII.

LIFE AMONG THE BORORÓ.—EYED CONSTANTLY BY A HORDE OF NUDE SAVAGES.—ASTONISHING MAKE-UPS.—PRIMITIVE HOUSEKEEPING AND SANITATION.—HORTICULTURE.—FOODS.—VEGETABLE COWS.—A WONDERFUL PALM.

361 AFTER nearly two months of horseback riding and camp-
[133] ing, we arrived at the confluence of the river Pogúbu, or Ponte de Pedra, and the Rio Vermelho, which is about forty miles north of the junction of the former river with the
[103] São Laurenço. Here, we found a large Bororó village, called
[122] the Tá Dáre Máno Páro—potato bank—where we remained several weeks, camping in a stake-walled, palm-branch roofed hut that had been erected a quarter of a mile from the Indian village by my companion. We had to cross the river Pogúbu, which we did in a small, dugout canoe made by Senhor An-
[133] tonio, and swam our horses over. It is about two hundred yards wide at this point, deep, and has a strong current. A heavy rain storm broke just as we were within a few hundred yards of our destination, so we rushed our entire cavalcade right into the big, open hut.

123 When our arrival became known at the primitive metrop-
152 olis, and it was known instantly, our hut began to fill with our nude and painted fellow beings of all ages and both sexes, who came to observe us and to examine all the marvelous things that we had brought from our wonderful, and to them, enchanted world. They flocked in upon us regularly at dawn

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use. 301 179

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied. 437 [126] [822]

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of [103] [411]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men. 226

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon-pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them. [41] [227]

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the natives are contented and grow fleshy. [103] [136] [511]

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them. [501]

One of the most striking traits of character of these children of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita- 151 825

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
825 evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
534 charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
103 at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the
114 *bakororô* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sænger-fest.*

535 Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

CHAPTER XXXVI.

000

FOLLOWING THE WILD MAN'S TRAIL.—LIFE IN A SAVAGE CLUB-HOUSE.—FLOATING DOWN THE RIO POGÚBU.

WHILE we had our headquarters near the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, we made a visit to the Kogi au Paro village of the same tribe some twenty miles distant. 122 361 103

We followed a trail used only by the savages, and over which no civilized man had ever before passed. It led largely through a forest which was so dense in many places, that the trail was like an opening through a thick hedge, or through a wall. This opening was just large enough to permit the naked wild man to pass comfortably. But we were mounted on mules, and had one mule carrying two boxes containing our cooking outfit and food. Consequently, we had to make the hole larger on all sides. Even after our muleteer, who led the way on foot, had enlarged the opening, we were compelled to practice rough riding continually to avoid being raked off our beasts, or having our limbs crushed. Besides, our passage was barred by many deep ravines, gulches, washouts and streams, the banks of which were often nearly vertical. Our mules were experts in descending the banks, for they would bunch up their feet, like mountain goats, and slide down. But, in many cases, they were unable to climb out on the other side until we had dug steps with a grubbing-hoe. There was often deep water in these places. We also encountered at nearly every step great bunches of wild pine- 122 487 [137] [133] 122 137

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that 122
sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints 136
of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack.

All during the second day we continued to carve our way 122
through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling.

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au 609
Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidi*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity.

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, 361
and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open [621]
ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was [133]
between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, [103]
flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage 122
over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding 361
together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8 ●
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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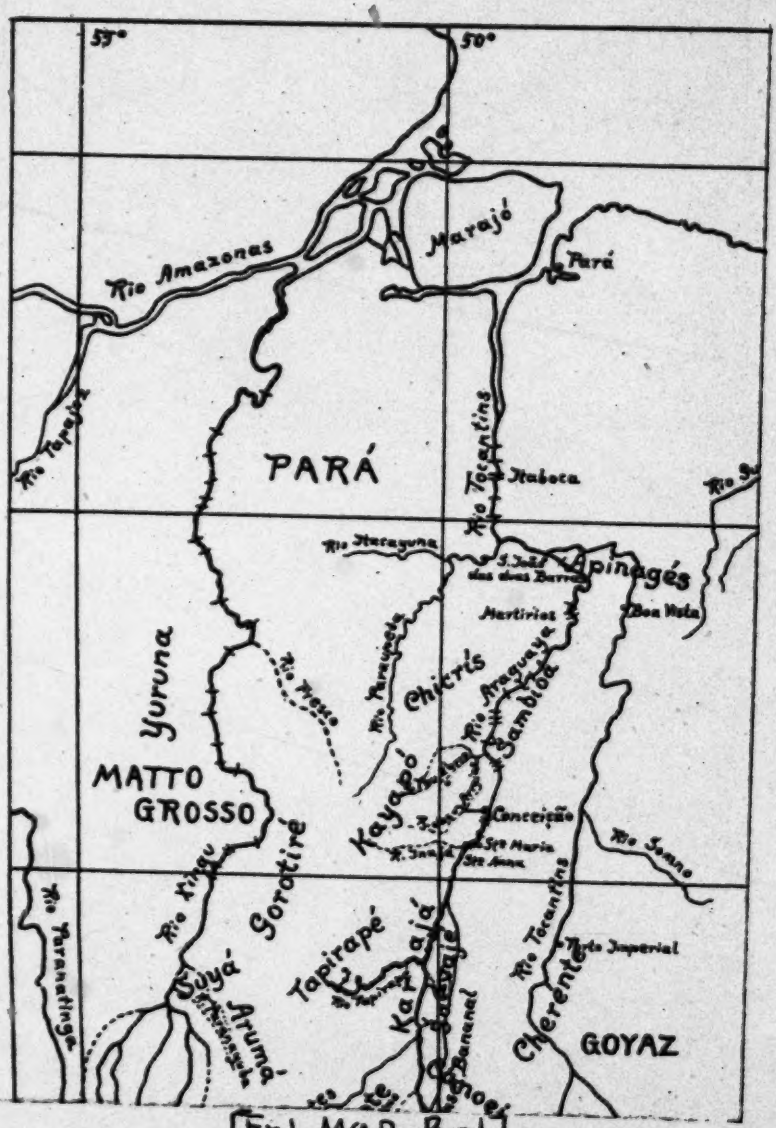
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.



[End Map B-1]

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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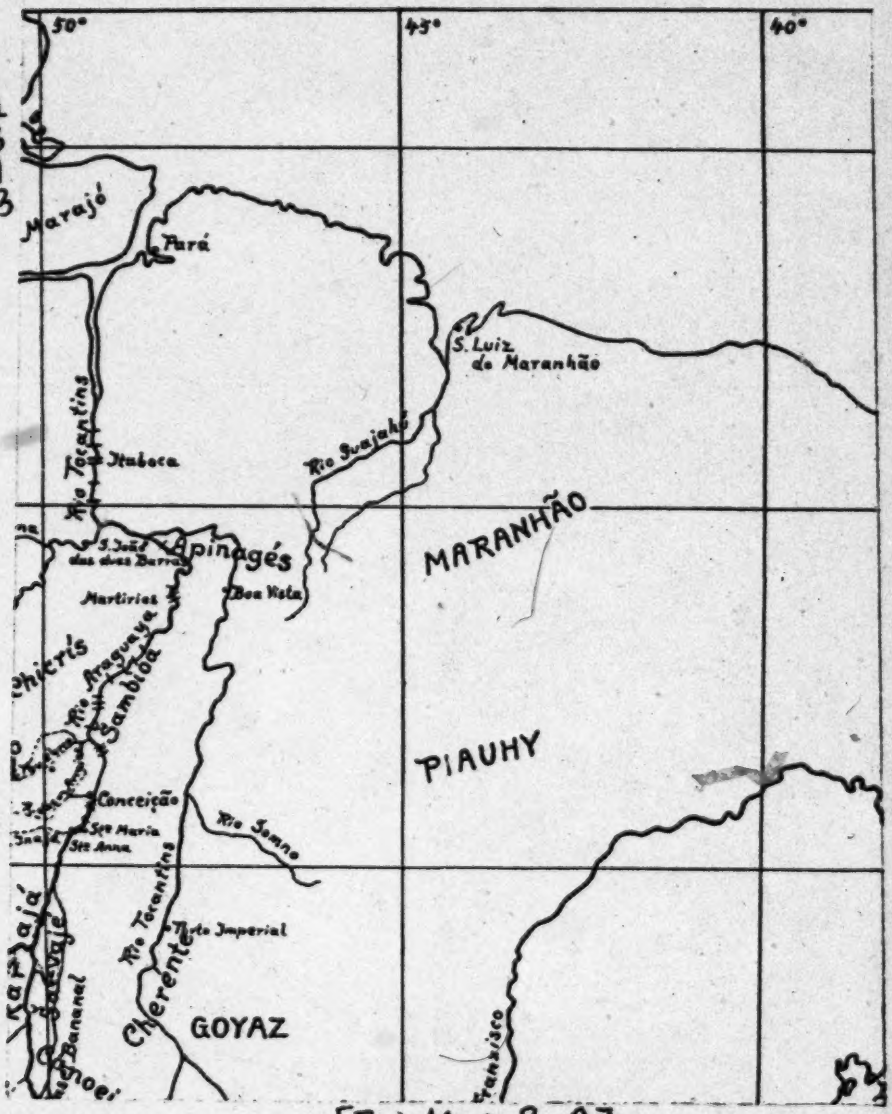
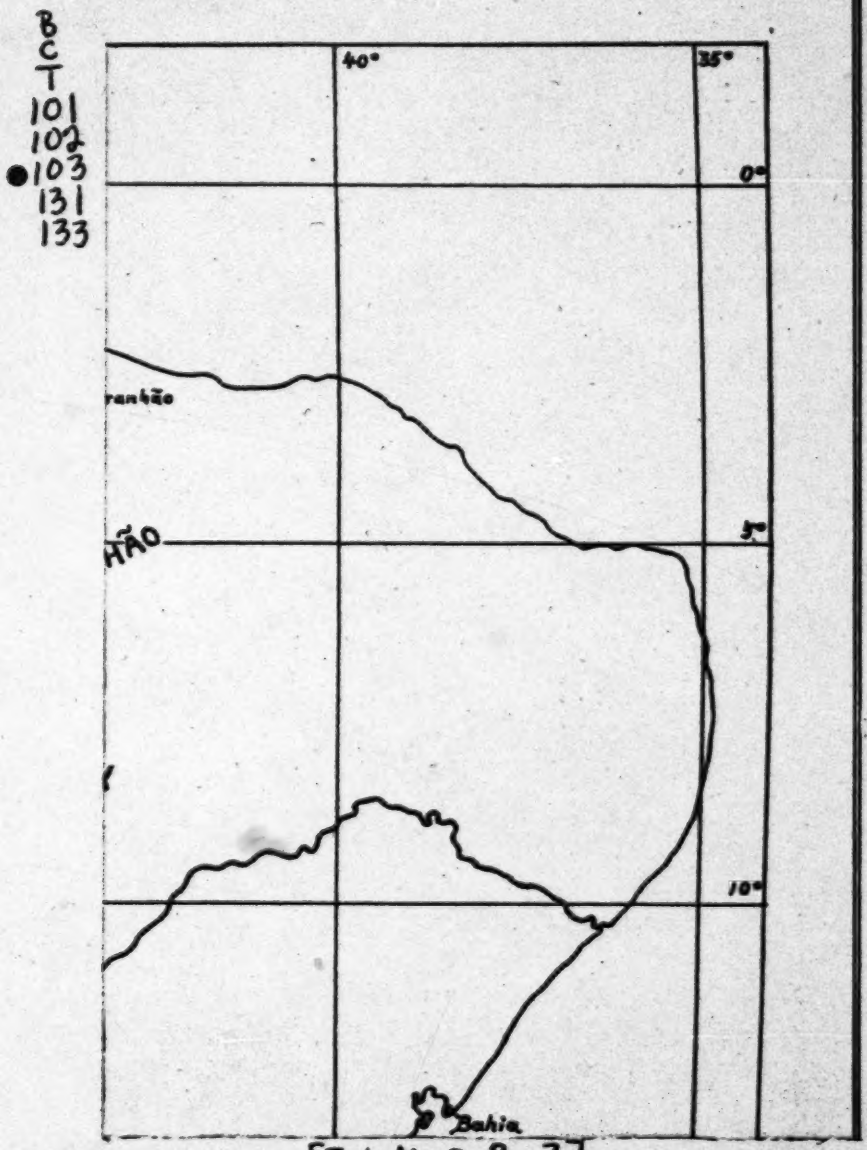


[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22



[End Map B-3]

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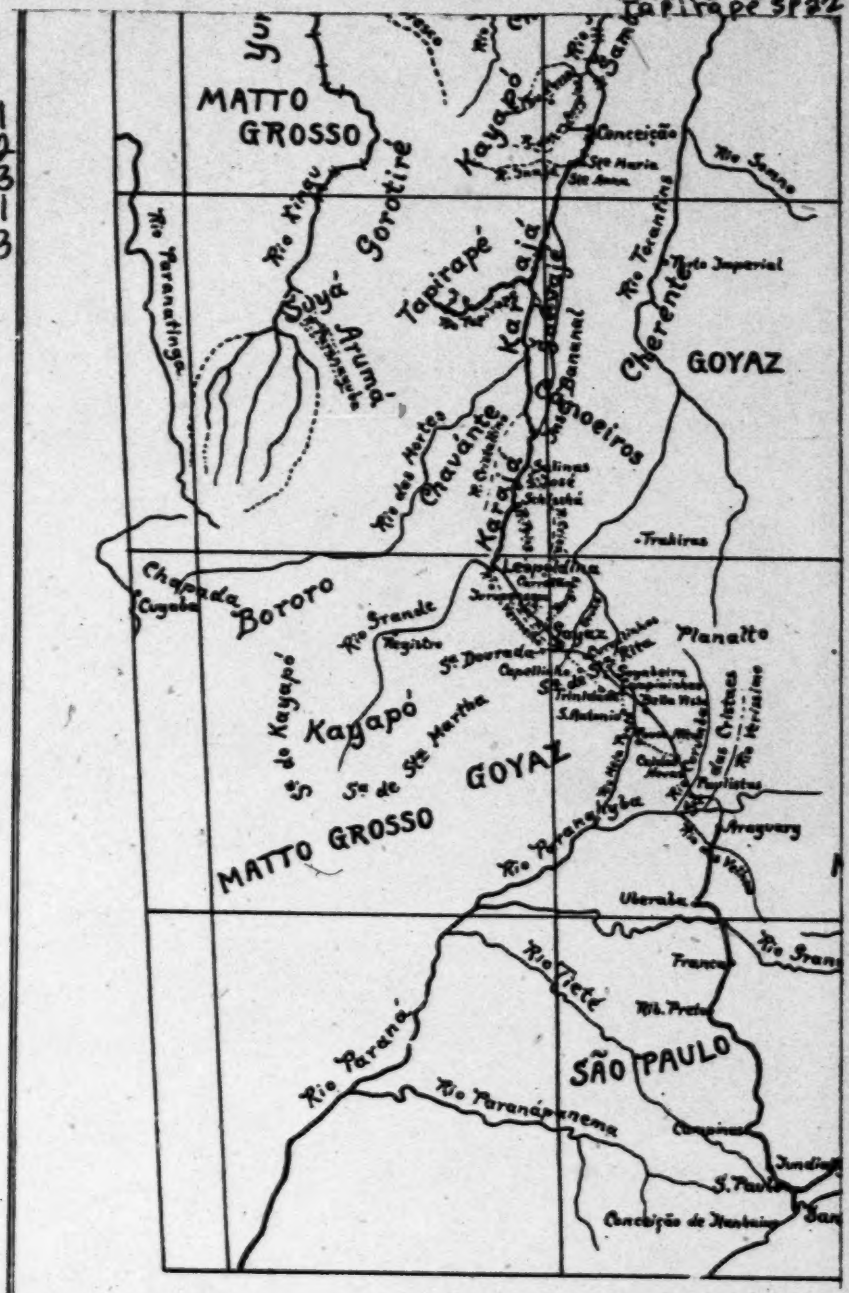

The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8●
Tapirape SP22

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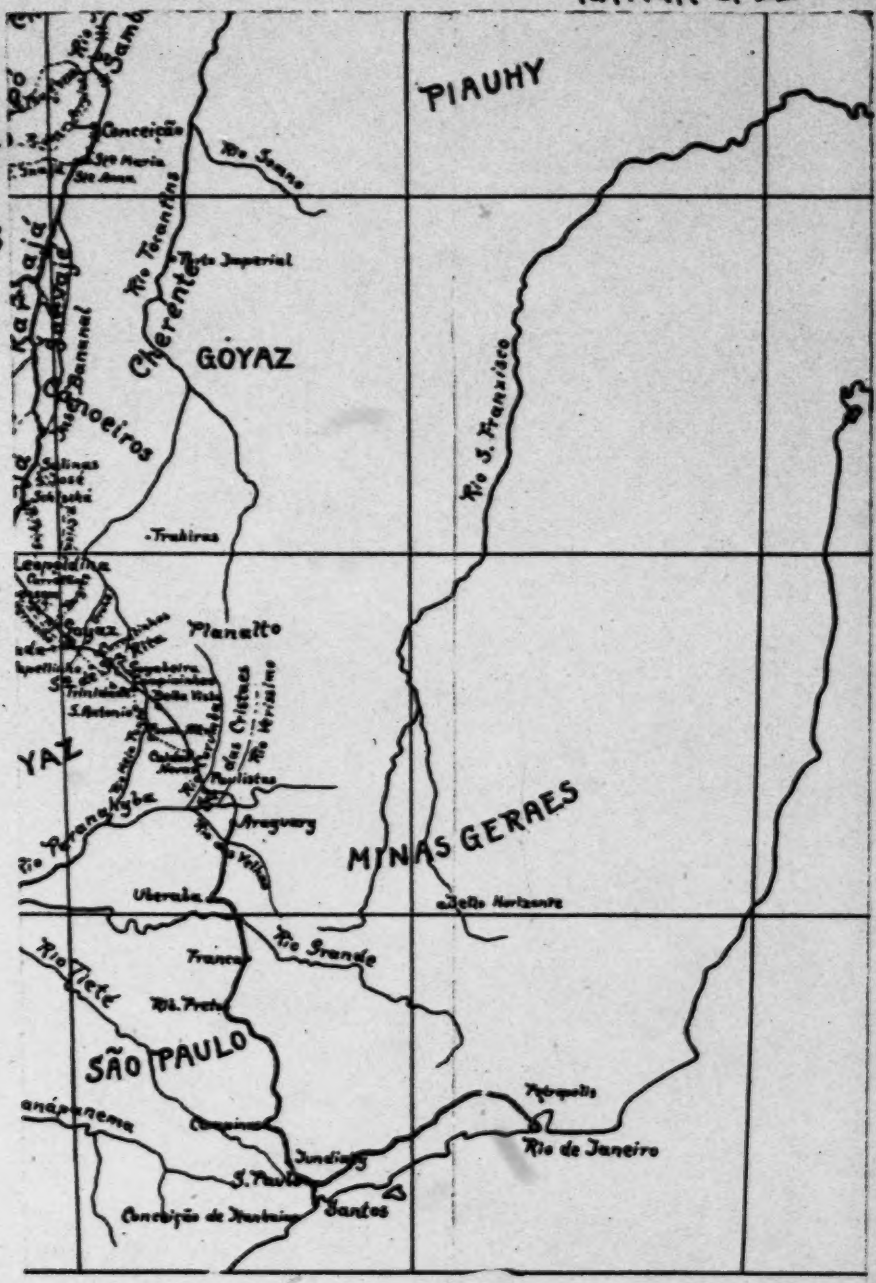
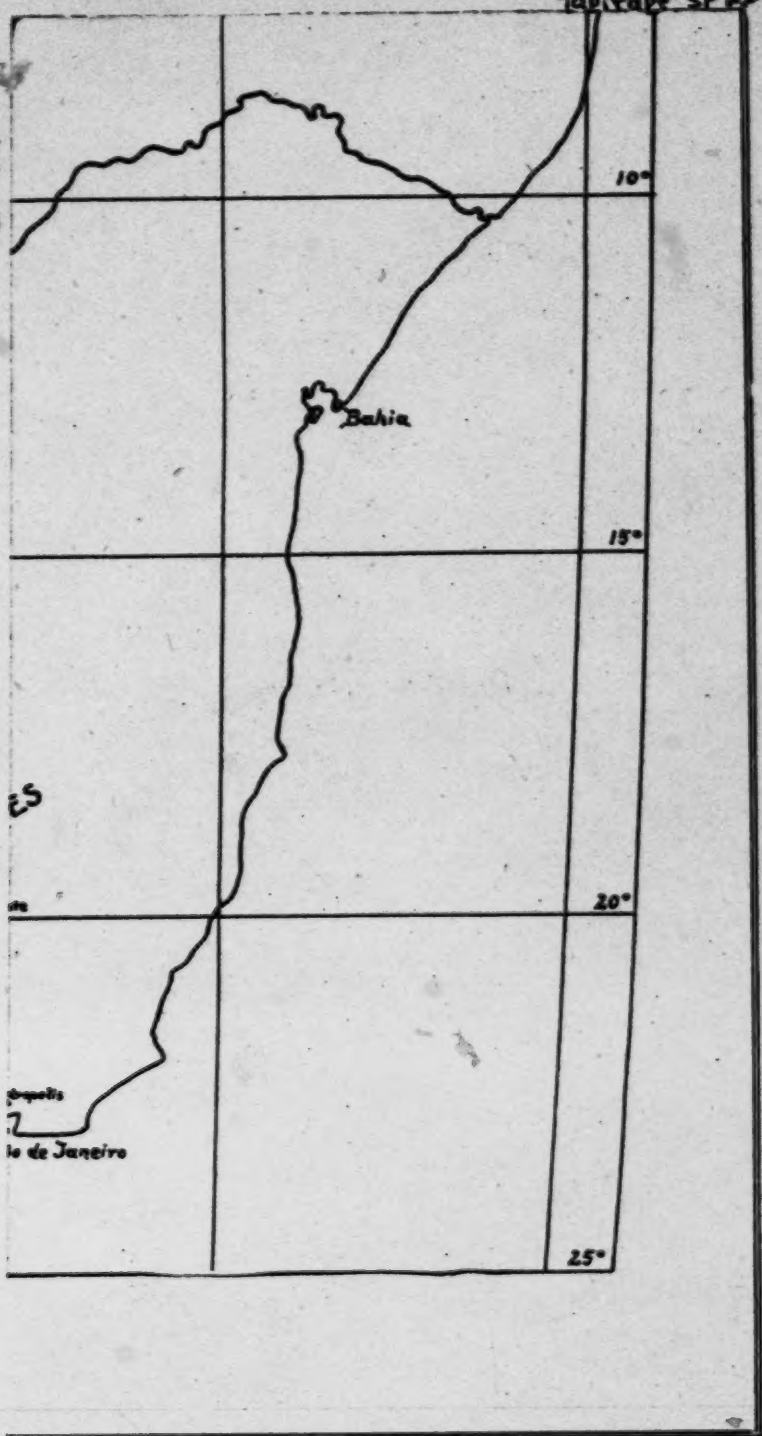


[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bototo SP8
Tapirapé SP 42



[End Map B-6]

Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother
842 is terminologically expressed by the category imuga ("moth-
* 601 er"), of which the only member is one's own mother.

Marriage

582 Ideally, marriage should be contracted with some of the lineages from the opposite moiety which are in yorubodare
[178] relationship ("alliance") to one's own lineage. Though, because of depopulation, this is rarely the case today, the Bororo are still proud when they can say: I mugu paga karegure, itoreduje apore imugure, ikoge, ivire, tadare imugure which can be translated, "I do not live in this place (his wife's house) just by chance. I stay with my wife, I
104 stay among my spouses." It is difficult to render into English the Bororo paga which I translated "by chance." (The Brazilians have the adverb "a toa" that renders it better. This adverb is used very much by the Bororo when they speak Portuguese.) The sentence means that the man is married ac-
582 cording to tradition. In saying "I stay with my wife," the Bororo means to say, "I stay with a woman who, by prescription, should be my wife." Every story which describes the establishment of special relationship between two clans by virtue of some gift has the same conclusion "... and so he made them his yorubodare ("allié"), his husbands, and his wives" (Oinore ure uyorubodaredo, ukogedo, uviredo apo).

585 A marriage ceremony is very simple. The mother of the girl brings food to the house of the boy, and, if he accepts the offer, he will eat the food (Colbacchini and Albisetti

2: Steinen--653 E,D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/523/

Appendix.

I. Word List of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paressí, 11. Bororó.

TPB 192 171

The following lists, which I have arranged as uniformly as possible, are limited to substantives, personal pronouns of the first and second person, colors, numbers, negation. With anything else I should necessarily have to enter into grammatical discussions which would lead me too far afield. For this reason I have also been obliged to dispense with any kind of comparison.

TPB 194 171

Anyone who studies the words a little more closely will easily recognize a number of regular forms of phonetic change and will be able to convince himself of the important fact that in the various groups -- especially in a comparison of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayura/ with the lingoa geral -- there takes place the same softening of the initial sound of the stem that I pointed out for Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and the Karaiben /Carib/ idioms. Everywhere, it seems, with lawful certainty, we come across the three series of the p-, t-, and k- initial sounds as the oldest possession of the base-languages.

TPB 104

The spelling has been kept as simple as possible. Note only:

a English a as in walk.
y as in York.
v German w.
ɣ guttural fricative, our German ch formed at the middle palate.
š French ch.
s French c.
z French z.

/524/

ϑ English th.

/524 cont./

T
P
B
●104

λ (Nahuquá) difficult sound, midway between gl and ri, is always syllable-forming and similar to r + reduced vowel.

t̲, p̲ means that these consonants are scarcely audible, as is occasionally also indicated by parentheses.

Tilde ~ means nasalization.

ooo /The word lists, pp. 524-547, have been omitted in the translation. See the foreign text./

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

is ever lost. Our Bakairi were imbued with the same spirit, for often the paddle would be dropped and replaced with bow and arrow though we may not have needed the extra food. This anxiety to gather as much food as is encountered was also manifested in the case of turtle eggs found in the sand banks. For those days that we travelled, each canoe at the end of the day would have gathered at least thirty or forty eggs. This food was shared generously with everyone. [Plate XIII, 2.]

Y Ba 226 105 171 [222]

Another method of fishing was with a spear. Especially in the dry season, the fish withdraw to the deep pools where it is impossible to reach them with an arrow. A spear is usually made of two sections: a wooden shaft with a large conical bone point and a reed extension to the shaft. Both sections measure about seven metres in length. [Plate XIII, 1.]

Y [411]

Damming of the lagoons is resorted to. A dip net with a handle about three metres long is in use, and drag nets are apparently used in season.

Y [227]

Fish is eaten almost raw; the only method of cooking seen was barbecuing, either by placing it on a platform over a fire or by placing it on a framework close to the fire. Salt is unknown and not liked, as evidenced when they were asked to try our food, when though hungry, none would accept it if it had been seasoned with salt.

Y 105 171 252 [263]

Another food in usage, highly prized and carefully stored away is the fruit piki, which grows wild. The fruit is boiled in the large earthen pots, placed in cylindrical bark containers, about one and half metres to two metres in length and a third of a metre in diameter, sealed tight at both ends, and placed under water in some cool pool. These bark containers are reinforced with wooden slats. On ceremonial occasions they are opened and a quantity sufficient for the immediate needs is taken out to be distributed to every member of the village equally. It is mixed with water and drunk, without fermentation. Both the Yawalapiti and Naravute had these bark containers.

Y 105 171 251 415

Pottery

Pottery is poorly developed in the region. Neither in quantity nor variety, nor in technical perfection does it compare with that of the Bororo. The forms are simple though characteristic.

Y Bo 105 171 323

[text continues on p. 155]

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
●105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

GO /550 cont./
105 Guató with five or six canoes full of women and children. Usu-
175 ally they have two wives, some are content with one. Here
[595] and there they cultivate a little maize, mandioca, and fruit, but more as delicacies than for subsistence. They also gather the wild rice (arroz silvestre), which grows there in abundance, but only for the needs of the moment. Very skillful with bow and arrow; engage in jaguar hunting with spear and javelin. Friendliest barter. The men starting to wear shirt and trousers, the women petticoats. Are faithful, upright, harmless, but have occasionally shown that they are capable of offering resistance and avenging injuries. Very inclined to drunkenness. Most of them understand our language and many adults speak it.

[Report 1872: This tribe is almost extinct.]

BO 13 Bororós da Campanha. Two groups: 1) Village in Bolivia
105 near Salinas, 2) village opposite Escalvado on the right bank of
175 the Paraguay, one league from the river. Are peaceable, carry
[131] on agriculture, have pigs and chickens. Cotton hammocks.
[101] Some speak Portuguese. Have often brought slaves and deserters from Bolivia into the garrisons. 150-200.

[In 1858 it is said: one part lives in the Campanhas de Marco and another beyond the Corixa Brook.]

BO 14. Bororós Cabaçaes. Two hordes, until recently savage,
[101] one on the sources of the Jaurú, the other on those of the Cabaçal.
[131] Made numerous attacks on the road from Cuyabá to Matto Grosso,*

* The later name for Villa Bella on the Guaporé.

so that troops were often sent out against them and killed many, irrespective of age and sex. They themselves did not want to take captives, but killed as many as they could, irrespective of sex and age. Nourish themselves on the fruits which the earth yields freely and, at the most, plant some pururuca maize which they eat unripe, batatas, and bananas. No industry. /551/ Have bows and arrows, poor pots, straw plaiting with which they in part cover their nakedness. In 1842 the Reverend Curate of Matto Grosso, José da Sa Fraga, succeeded through persuasion and gentleness

BO /551 cont./
105 and by means of gifts to lure them to a fazenda of his in the
175 Registo do Jaurú; there they all stayed, 177 in number, from 1 April 1843; today they have dwindled to 81. During these five years they showed little inclination for agriculture and lived only by bow and arrow.

C 15. Cayapós. Between Paraná and Paranahyba and in the
105 source region of the S. Lourenço and Taquary. Some are settled
175 in the Destakament /detachment of troops/ on the Piquiry,
[131] others in the Porto do Paranahyba on the road to S. Paulo, others live independently. Hunting, fishing, cultivation of maize, rice, mandioca, batatas, and sugar cane. Make some rapadura (raw sugar boiled down). Have pigs, chickens, even a few cows and horses. Speak Portuguese in large part. Many hire themselves out. Some robberies which are attributed to the Coroados are probably carried out by them.

BO 16. Coroados. On the sources of the various tributaries of
105 the S. Lourenço. Of their numbers and their characteristics
175 little is known; they flee or are hostile. Set fires up to 20
[131] leagues from Cuyabá; hence troops are sent out against them every few years, who kill adults and take children captive, which in no way promotes converting them.

B 17. Bacahiris. Sources of the Paranatinga and upper course
105 of the Arinos. Are distinguished by a peaceful disposition.
175 Flee from the attacks of their enemies, the Nambiquáras, Tapanhunas, and Cajabis. Live on hunting and fishing, plant maize, mandioca, batatas, cará, garden beans, broad beans, and sugar cane. Their implements for agriculture are made of stone or heartwood. Their industry: hammocks with meshes of cotton or tucum, plaited sieves, and small baskets. Only a very few (muito poucos) understand our language, although they wish to. Senhora Donna Feliciana Guerobina Pereira Coelho, a well-to-do landowner in the district of the upper sierra* has a

* According to Antonio, near Lagoinha.

A friendly interest in them, gives them gifts, and speaks favorably
105 about their easy conversion. They are enemies of the
175 18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the salto.

2: Steinen--661 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Pare SS1 SP19
Brazilian Indians SL4
Bororo SP8
Barbados

/551 cont./

000 18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the salto.

19. Barbados. Only one settlement on the slope of the Serra
BO dos Pareciz near the sources of the Rio Vermelho, a tributary of
105 the Paraguay, along which they roam as far as the Paraguay
175 [131] itself. Maize, mandioca, batatas, cará. Implements of stone and heartwood. No animal husbandry or industry. Are not at war with others; flee from the Brazilians, but are treacherous and twice have attacked travelers between Diamantino and Villa Maria.

P 20. Pareciz. 200; once famous and warlike. Various
105 groups in the sierra and the Campos dos Pareciz between
175 Diamantino and the district of Matto Grosso. Sometimes pay visits and bring, as barter goods, sieves, baskets, hammock ropes, feathers, drinking bowls, and the tobacco greatly prized by smokers, which they prepare and wrap in urumbamba.**

** Desmoncus rudentum, Desmoncus macranthus Mart., climbing palms.

Few speak and understand Portuguese. They do not commit open hostilities, but occasionally join the Cabixis to commit outrages.

[Report of 1858: Considerably decimated by the slave hunts of the Paulistas. The founding of the village near the city of Diamantino is of recent date. In 1856 they received the first presents.]

BI 21. Maimbarés. More numerous than the Pareciz, with whom
105 they have contact and in whose company they occasionally ap-
175 pear in family groups in the wildernesses of the Campos dos Pareciz. Hunting, cultivation of maize, mandioca, bananas, batatas, cará.

/552/

P 22. Cabixis. Numerous in various villages, 15-20 leagues
105 northwest of the Arraial de São Vicente. Hostile; with robbery
175 and fire they go as far as the vicinity of Matto Grosso, so that
[131] occasionally troops are called out against them.

1: Lévi-Strauss, Claude. Contribution a l'Étude de l'Organisation Sociale des Indiens Bororo [Contribution to the Study of the Social Organization of the Bororo Indians]. Journal de la Société des Américanistes, n.s., Vol. 28, pp. 269-304. Paris, 1936.

4 end plates (plates VII-X) containing 14 photographs; bibliography.

Yale: C51+Sol3 II. 27-28. [HRAF MS: pp. 1-48a, including 4 plates and captions].

[In this article, Lévi-Strauss presents a detailed analysis of the social organization of Kejara, a Bororo village located on the Rio Vermelho. The analysis focuses on the structure and interrelations of kin groups, and on the spatial and material expression or symbolization of structural differentiations. There is a system of sibs (which the author calls "clans") which is bifurcated into exogamous moieties (which the author calls "phratries"). The houses of sib members are contiguous, and each moiety occupies its half of the village circle . This moiety system is cross-cut by a pseudo-moiety division based upon a geographical referent. These and other social distinctions are represented in the names used to designate the members of any given household. Also, these distinctions, particularly the sib/moiety structure, are manifested in economic activities, preferential marriages, political leadership and authority, funeral ceremonies, and in the decorative motifs of bows, arrows, ornaments, etc. The discussion of marriage patterns is integrated with an analysis of the kinship terminology, and the article concludes with a long descriptive analysis of sib traditions and myths, and processes of sib fission and fusion. Since the population of this village is only about 140, one is tempted to ask how much of this highly complex social structure has real behavioral significance, and how much of it is sort of socially symbolic "play" and/or survival from an earlier period when there may have been larger population concentrations. One definite weakness is the author's failure to provide specific data on the social composition of households. But perhaps one should not demand too much since the duration of field work was only two months.]

Field date: 1936

Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist

Processed in 1966-67

2: Lowie, Robert H. The Bororo. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Vol. 1, pp. 419-434. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946.

12 plates (numbered as 83-94)

HRAF Copy

[This source presents a general, succinct account of Bororo ethnography, with specific data on basic identification, subsistence patterns, houses and villages, dress and ornament, transportation, manufacture, basketry and pottery making, weapons, social and political organization, etiquette, the life cycle, esthetic and recreational activities, religion and shamanism, and mythology. The author, a well-known professional anthropologist, notes that the Bororo are divided into an eastern division (the "orarimugudoge"), a western division (Bororo da Campanha, and Bororo Cabaçaes), the Umotina (Barbados), the Bororo of the upper Rio Cuyaba, and the Bororo in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, and da Pedra).]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1965-1966

3: Petrullo, Vincent M. Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso Brazil. The Museum Journal, Vol. 23, pp. 81-180. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1932.

25 plates; end map.

Yale: A53p 212 23.

/This source, the result of the author's field work in the Brazilian State of Matto Grosso during the year 1931, consists of several archaeological studies plus ethnological research among the Bororo da Campanha and the São Lorenço River Bororo, and those tribal groups occupying the area at the headwaters of the Xingu River--chiefly the Bacairi, Yaruma, Waura and Trumai. The data presented in this source on the Bororo, however, are rather scanty and confined to a discussion of settlement patterns, house types, furniture, music and dancing, pottery and hospitality customs. Since the major portion of the archaeological data presented in this work is not clearly identified with any ethnic group, they have been subsumed under the heading of SP1 Mato Grosso. Ethnological information

3: Petrullo, Vincent M.

pertaing to those tribal groups living in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Xingu River has been appropriately subheaded.

The author was a member of the Matto Grosso Expedition under the auspices of the University Museum and the Academy of Natural Sciences. /

Field Date: 1931
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965

4: Levak, Zarko David. Kinship system and social structure of the Bororo of Pobojari. Dissertation (Anthropology) -- Yale University, 1971. University Microfilms, Publication, 73-29,618. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms 1973 [1974].

2, 5, 224 l.; 12 tables; appendix; bibliography.

HRAF Copy.

[This source is a semantic analysis of Bororo kinship and social structure. From a detailed analysis of the kinship terminology, eight usage rules are deduced. An appendix reduces each kin type to its class foci by application of these rules (e.g. father's father's brother equals father's father by merging rule, thus FFB and FF are both called iyedaga). Originally intending to do a study of Bororo mythology and religious ideas, Levak found that without an understanding of the kinship system, nothing else made sense. The relations between mother and child, older and younger brother, and father and son are seen as "models for the three kinds of relationships which pervade Bororo culture." The opposition of culture and nature is examined as basic to the Bororo conception of the universe. The final chapter discusses how Bororo beliefs have affected their adaptation to their rapidly changing environment.]

Field date: 1965-1967
Analyst: Martin Malone

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1975

5: Baldus, Herbert. A posição social da mulher entre os Bororo orientais [The social position of the woman among the Eastern Bororo]. In his Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira. Biblioteca Pedagogica Brasileira, Serie 5, Brasiliana, v. 101. São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1937: 112-162, 323-330.

Plates 9-24; 1 table. [HRAF MS: 1, 1-53 p.]

Yale: Cwbr c933b v. 101.

[This essay has two purposes. In terms of the data, it seeks to demonstrate the social equality of Bororo women. In terms of method, it attempts to point out that our interpretation of a situation may be faulty if it does not include how the natives understand it and their reasons for behaving as they do. Baldus discusses infanticide, sexual behavior, sexual division of labor, and mythology to demonstrate the falsity of the European conclusion of a slavelike female status. Using brief comparisons with other cultures, he points out for instance, that female infanticide may be interpreted in two ways. It may show that males are more valued (and hence increases their proportion) or that females are (the fewer there are, the greater their value). So the reasons must be understood. He also mentions that contrary to other statements, female infanticide is not a Bororo institution. Thus his essay is both a description of social relations among the Bororo bolstered by evidence from a number of areas (values, sex, labor and myth)

and a cautionary essay on interpretation. The condition of the original pages of the foreign text is quite poor and does not reproduce well.]

Field date: 1934-1935
Analyst: Martin Malone

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1975

6: Kozák, Vladimír. Ritual of a Bororo Funeral. Natural History, Vol. 72, No. 1, pp. 38-49. New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1963.

20 photographs. HRAF copy.

[This is a popularized account of Bororo death practices taken from the onset of death to the final deposition of the cleaned bones in their permanent grave. The author describes in some detail the various ceremonial dances and rituals associated with Bororo death customs, and illustrates many of these aspects with excellent photographs. See category 116 for an explanation of the unusual HRAF pagination made necessary by this source.]

Field date: ca. 1954
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Technical Personnel-5
Processed in 1965

7: Cook, William Asel. The Bororó Indians of Matto Grosso, Brazil. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 50, pp. 48-62. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1907.

Yale: A52 60 50.

/This is a very short account on a visit to eight Bororo settlements. Descriptions are mainly on household, funeral ceremonies, religious beliefs, and a naming ceremony./

Field date: 1901
Analyst: H. Koh

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1968

8: Cook, William Azel. Through the Wildernesses of Brazil by Horse, Canoe and Float. New York: American Tract Society, 1909.

Pp. iv, 487

Yale: Brazil Ehh 909C.

Only pages 351-426 and 4 accompanying plates were processed for this file.

[This account by a Protestant missionary contains many interesting although rather superficial observations on a broad range of topics. These include topography, flora and fauna, settlement patterns, subsistence activities, especially hunting and fishing, food and eating patterns, the use of tobacco, many aspects of material culture from clothing and ornamentation to industrial arts and dwellings, music, sexual division of labor, the status of women, and so forth. Much reference is made to the "great hut" which is the focal point of male social life, and to the moiety system in the villages. There is also a fairly extensive discussion of religious myth and ritual with particular reference to soul beliefs, death, and funeral ceremonies. Most of Cook's data seems to have been obtained in one large village which he calls "Tá Dáre Mano Páro," located at the confluence of the Pogúbu and the Rio Vermelho. He also visited for some days the village of "Kogi au Paro" some twenty miles away along the Pogúbu river. A number of smaller Bororo settlements were seen but evidently not studied. It is not clear how much time Cook actually spent among the Bororo, but it could not have been extensive.

The description of the "Mano race" on pp. 382-83 has been marked for category 526, but there are many similarities with the funeral dance of the marid'do described in 1: Lévi-Strauss (cf. category 116, pp. 22-24), which has been marked for categories 764 and 535, and the two descriptions should be compared.]

Field date: 1901
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Missionary - 3
Processed in 1966-67

Colbacchini, Antonio. I Bororos Orientali "Orarimugudoge" del Matto Grosso (Brasile). Contributi Scientifici delle Missioni Salesiane del Venerabile Don Bosco, 1. Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale (1925?).

Pp. xii, 251, 210; many photos and text figures; maps; errata.

University of California (Berkeley): F2519 .1 M3C6.

[This source, by a Salesian missionary, is a general volume on the culture of the Eastern Bororo. It is divided into five parts: ethnographic notes, myths, grammar, texts and religious songs. Since a revised version of this book (4:Colbacchini & Albisetti) has been translated for this file, this source has not been processed.]

Surveyed in 1965

Colbacchini, Antonio. Á Luz do Cruzeiro do Sul. Os Indios Bororos-Orari do Planalto Oriental de Mato Grosso e a Missão Salesiana. "Impressões" /In the Light of the Southern Cross. The Bororo-Orari Indians of the Eastern Plateau of the Mato Grosso and at the Salesian Mission. "Impressions."/. São Paulo: Escolas Profissionais Salesianas, 1939.

Pp. viii, 75; many photos; 2 maps.

Library of Congress: F2520.1.B75C65.

[This is an account of Father Colbacchini's travels in this part of the Mato Grosso, describing briefly the life of the Bororo and, even more briefly, his meetings with the Caraja, Chavante and Cayamo. Since most of the material is present in other sources by Father Colbacchini and for the Bororo file, this book has not been processed.]

Surveyed in 1965

/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113]

1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage* and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should [775] still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

773 Sun (Meri) and Moon (Ari) are another pair of brothers, but figure largely as tricksters. Thus they put out the Indians' fire, which, however, is salvaged by a toad. The Indians pursue the mischief-makers, who climb trees, and kill Moon, who has sought refuge in a low tree and is eaten by a canid. Sun kills the canid and resuscitates Moon from fragments of his bones. This revival motif recurs in different contexts. In one game Moon kills Sun, but cannot restore him. However, Sun rises by his own power and turns into a red arara. Moon vainly looks for him and nearly starves, when Sun transforms himself into a fish, letting Moon harpoon him. Finally, Sun and Moon neglect the Buriti clansmen's warning, and break their hosts' bottles. They are pursued, caught, and blown skyward by their captors, who bid them remain above.

Other myths describe a flood caused by an angry spirit and the jaguar's swallowing of a monkey, who cuts his way out. In one tale boys climb to the sky on a rope, which they cut in order to prevent their mothers from following. As a penalty the boys must remain in the sky, their eyes becoming the stars.

773 171 The ascent to the sky by a rope or creeper is widespread in South America, being found, e. g., among the *Cariban Taulipang*. In the Twin story, the pacification of the jaguar by the offer of a woman, her death through an older kinsman of the husband, the post-mortem extraction of the heroes, and their revenging the woman's death recall *Guarani* motifs, as well as the *Bacairi* tale of Keri and Kame. On the other hand, these *Bacairi* names and their linkage with Sun and Moon, respectively, rather suggest the second *Bororo* myth of a pair of brothers.

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[complete bibliography not processed]

113

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/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
482 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier. /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

562 It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary
121 for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it
847 male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous im-
pediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epi-
demics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Borôros, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[542] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P.W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.

[776] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
[171] pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
misfortunes.

114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

/162 cont./

773 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[2433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sa. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[177] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/442 cont./

101 and still others on the Rio Xipotó on the border of the provinces of Minas Geraes and Rio de Janeiro, tribes which, both in origin and language, are altogether different from one another as well as from the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso.

648 In Cuyabá the "Coroados" were the object of general interest upon our arrival. After always being regarded as the worst enemies of the /443/ rural population in the entire region between the Rio Cuyabá and S. Lourenço up to the boundary of Goyaz /Goiás/, they finally, thanks to the efforts of President Galdino Pimentel in the year 1886, became "pacificados," pacified, and were settled in two military colonies on the S. Lourenço.

101 648 By no means all the infamous deeds with which the "Coroados" were charged were actually committed by them. In the northeastern part of Cuyabá in particular they were confused with the Kayapó, who carried on predatory raids there. Moreover, no one in the capital knew that the feared "Coroados" were nothing but tribal brothers of the same Bororó who had been living for a long time in several villages to the right of the Paraguay in peaceful conditions and in part in very reduced circumstances, indeed even tribal brothers of the same Bororó who were already allied with the founder of Cuyabá, Antonio Pires, before the middle of the eighteenth century and were used by him as a garrison!

I was not a little surprised when I learned from "Atahualpa," a "Coroado" brought to the capital along with a few companions for baptism, that they call themselves Bororó.

114 [113] Thus the conversation with Atahualpa gave me the opportunity to solve another puzzle quickly. I had just read in the book by Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho, Noticia da provincia de Mato Grosso (S. Paulo, 1869, 425 pp.) the report about a few captive "Coroados" (two girls and a boy) brought to Cuyabá in 1859, and found there a word list (p. 192) which I wished to compare with my own list. To my astonishment, nothing tallied, absolutely nothing. The author had been given the words by the "Coroado" boy, about whom he tells the most

/444 cont./

114 permits us to discover the source. For the words, taken down by the Castelnau Expedition, unfortunately do not have a Portuguese, but a French spelling, in which several double vowels have an entirely different pronunciation than in Portuguese, and they correspond in a manner in which two accounts independent of each other never correspond.

[101] One of the few who, as I later found, correctly assumed the identity of the "Coroados" and Bororó was Baron Melgaço,* as

[113] * Revista Trimensal, Vol. 47, p. 396. Baron Melgaço's civilian name was Aug. Leverger and he was of French origin.

competent a president (for the first time in 1851) as a geographer of the Mato Grosso. "The Coroados lived in the source region of the S. Lourenço; they have nothing in common with those of the Parana basin; I suspect they were Bororó." He merely regarded them as extinct.

In view of the confusion which occurs in the country itself, it is not surprising that Martius has very erroneous conceptions of the Bororó. He discusses them under the Central Tupí; ** he

[113] ** Zur Ethnographie Amerika's /On America's Ethnography/, pp. 209 ff., p. 263, Leipzig, 1867.

himself doubts, correctly, that they represent a Tupí tribe, but then falls victim to the strange notions that formerly prevailed about the composition of the Indian tribes and that are best expressed in his favorite expression "Colluvies gentium" /tribal rubble-heap/. "It is probable that under Bororós are understood hostile Indians generally, without any definite designation of names, indeed perhaps occasionally also a Colluvies gentium, which, without a clearly stamped and firmly held nationality in language, customs, and physical appearance, split up into small bands without fixed residence, to roam about plundering and murdering. In Mato Grosso and Goyaz, it is true, individual of the Tupí tribe may be the basis of such predatory communities. But since other Indians

/444 cont./

114 have joined them, they have changed their language to a thieves' idiom (!). In Cazal (Corografia brasilica, p. 302) two hordes of [101] Bororós are mentioned: the Coroados, or shorn ones, and the [113] Barbados, bearded ones. The former are not navigators, but [131] nomadic hunters who are said to dwell to the south and southwest of the city of Cuyabá in inaccessible wildernesses on the sources of the Rio de S. Lourenço and the Rio dos Mortes, a tributary of the Araguaya." These statements by Cazal are perfectly accurate and true, and he, too, thus recognized the "Coroados" as Bororó. By /445/ "Barbados," Martius goes on to say, perhaps the Guató are to be understood, they sometimes attacked caravans traveling from Goyaz to Cuyabá and extended their raids as far as Diamantino. [101] The Guató, however, have never come into this region, they live as water nomads in the upper Paraguay region; those "Barbados" were probably Kayapó or even Bororó.

114 Martius, of course, explains the name Bororó according to 101 the lingoa geral, either, if coming from the neighbors, = "warriors, enemies," or, if they themselves say it, = "we, the masters of the soil." The Bororó, however, know nothing about the lingoa geral and they call themselves this.

797 I shall now drop the name "Coroado" altogether; I shall report some things about the so-called "catechesis" or conversion of this Bororó tribe, which was attempted in vain for many years, but could scarcely have succeeded because the attempts were carried out in the most topsy-turvy manner. A military colony [648] set up on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, which was established toward the end of the 'seventies by Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira, served as the base.

648 In 1878 one Captain Alexander Bueno with 70 Terena Indians, a tribe belonging to the Guaná group, undertook an expedition "to drive out the Bororó." He had been secretly instructed, as I was assured, to shoot to death as many as possible and was favored by success to such an extent that he was able to show the President a bag full of ears. Of living ones he brought along two women and two children.

/468 cont./

000 existence after death. Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration.

141 Anthropological.

Body height.

20 men: max. 191.2, min. 167.0, av. 173.6.
6 women: max. 168.2, min. 156.2, av. 160.5.

A striking difference from the height of the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians! The Bororó women correspond approximately to the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ men. The average of the 26 Bororó measured, of both sexes, comes to 170.6, which figure, however, is of no value considering the disproportion of 20 men and six women. According to the Topinard schema, the Bororó are tall people, since his lower limit is 170.0. In the table of average figures for men given by Topinard,* the Bororó would occupy third place

[113]

* Anthropologie. Translation by R. Neuhauss from the 3rd French edition. Second edition, p. 320. Leipzig, 1888.

among the ten tribes of tall stature; they would be exceeded by the Tehuelche of Patagonia (178.1) and the Polynesians (176.2) and correspond almost exactly to the Irokesen /Iroquois/ (173.5).

Breadth of outspread arms. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 113.2, min. 99.9, av. 104.7.
6 women: max. 102.4, min. 97.4, av. 100.3.

The minimum among the men -- 0.2 -- occurred in the case of the tallest Bororó measured, whose armspread was 191.0 with a body height of 191.2. In the case of two of the six women the breadth of the outspread arms was less than the body height: -- 0.2 with 156.2 in body height and -- 4.2 with 160.7 in body height.

Shoulder breadth. A. Body height = 100.

19 men: max. 25.0, min. 21.6, av. 23.9.
6 women: max. 22.6, min. 20.4, av. 21.8.

/472 cont./

291 pulled and lengthened. The flag is a strip of straw up to 20 centimeters in length inserted at the side. Even the captured Clemente was given a cuff, and he complained that it was ac-
[175] companied by pain and swelling. The Langsdorff Expedition reports of the Bororó dos Campos in the year 1827 that "the men, after the manner of the Guató, tie up the praeputium with embira bast which they wear as a belt; others cover it with a leaf sheath (cartuxa de folhas)." * I have already quoted on page 193

[113] * Revista Trimensal 38 II, page 242.

Waehneldt's remark, which likewise bears witness, that the hip
[114] cord without cuff suffices, as on the Kulisehu. Rohde ** expresses

[113] ** Originalmitteilungen aus der Ethnol. Abteilung /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division/ I, page 14.

himself incorrectly when he says: "the men go about completely naked, except that they cover the penis with a sheath of reed, they tie the foreskin up, the member is fastened upright to the body." The reed sheaths which he presented to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde are exactly like the cuffs described, which cover the penis only insofar as the glans is part of it, and the rest seems to be pushed back into the scrotum. We did not see on the S. Lourenço the clamping into the hip cord; it is said to be done only by those who do not wear a cuff. Hence it follows that the purpose of the "tying up," namely, to be unimpeded in running, which Waehneldt suggests, could only have been a secondary purpose. The real purpose, which hip cord and cuff serve in like manner, is the lengthening of the praeputium; differing only with respect to method, it was observed among the great majority of all Brazilian tribes. /Pl. XXVII appears here./

/473/ Of the Bororó women the reporter of the Langsdorff Expedition says: "The women have a strange custom, I do not know whether to /Fig. 129 appears here/ cover themselves, in which case they are far from their laudable purpose. First of all, I should

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 590]

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
14. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
15. Ęwåguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębege^{w}ō
16. Ęwåguddu bo'pokeje^{w}ō čębege^{w}ō
17. Ęwåguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaāge
(cåbōge^{w}ō half) 18. Ęwåguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čåbōge^{w}ō
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čåbōge^{w}ō baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čåbōge^{w}ō
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ęwåguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

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[114]

(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

/299 cont./ Colbacchini

614 counts 18 names for the Paiwe, four for the Bokodori, six for the
[114] Ki, three for the Bādejeba, seven for the Āróre, five for the
Ewāguddu, eight for the Apibore, etc.... We did not arrive at an equal /300/ number, but as those which we collected on the Río Vermelho are most often not the same as those which he obtained on the Garças River, it is probable that the true number, expressing the combined whole of different local traditions, is much higher. Moreover, among these names, all do not express rigorously identical traditions. If the Paiwe make use of the names corn, cotton, resin, and tobacco, it is that these plants were born from the ashes of a miraculous child, who in the form of a serpent was conceived by a Paiwe woman. One is hence really in the presence of a commemoration of magical events, in the most general sense of the term.

After this, it is futile to search for another explanation for the origin of the clan eponym than that which is applicable to the collection of names and clan emblems. The eponym is not of a special nature. It only recalls the most striking event, and this is why one finds an illustrious hero just as well as an animal, a plant, or an object. One clan is proud of having brought tobacco to the collectivity, as another recalls that its ancestor was the inventor of the labial pendant. Moreover: this event is not always sufficiently striking to create unanimity among the clan members or among fellow citizens of other clans. Hence the utilization in one village of a name not used elsewhere; hence the secondary divisions of clans.

[975] The maximal expression of the system then would be the
[987] following: a philosophical doctrine, based on belief in the reincarnation of the soul in animal form, which took on the quality of a personal revelation for certain individuals, celebrated by their descendants in the form of a commemorative name. It is possible that the Čiba Čera, for example, may have been led to extend to all their descendants the experience of an illustrious ancestor, and may have begun to think that they were all destined to live again in the form of the red arara. But it has not been

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8 Otuké SF18

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçues* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241/114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the [178] Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

224 At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband [222] would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals [462] included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending [756] over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown. [231]

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar [263] only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is [574] served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, [342] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family [345] houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes* [084]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[644] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

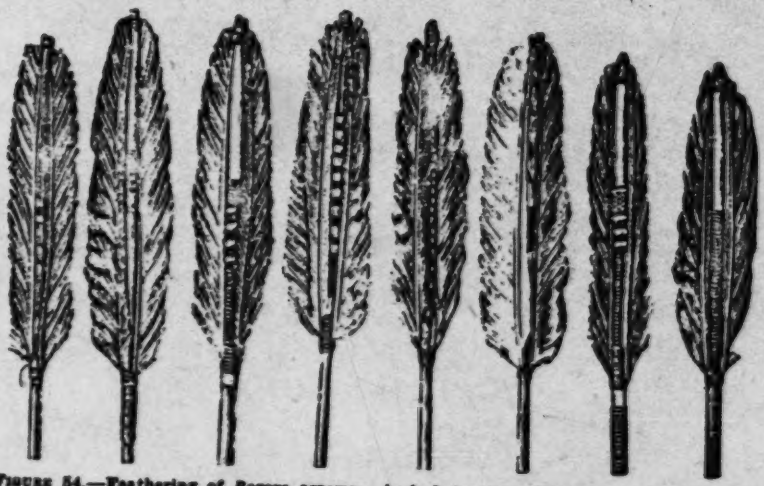

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅓ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

The moieties have reciprocal duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [714] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF MATTO GROSSO

An Account of Archaeological and Ethnological Field Work at the Headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, During 1931

By Vincent M. Petrullo

THIS account of my field work in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931, is offered to those interested in primitive peoples and especially in South American archaeology and ethnology, with the sole motive of making available source material. The paper is not intended as a critical study of the region with which it deals nor does it purport to be thorough in its treatment of the subjects that it discusses. To my critical readers I plead the fact that I was a novice in the South American field at the time that the material presented was gathered, and that I was among tribes that are either but slightly known or not at all, and that thus my difficulties were those to be met by the first workers. One handicap was lack of interpreters, limiting the field of my investigations to what was physically observable. However, it is intended that the paper give the fundamental setting of the cultures with which I came in contact for any analytical study that may be undertaken in the future.

The work was done under the auspices of the University Museum cooperating with the Matto Grosso Expedition and the Academy of Natural Sciences, whose representative was Mr. James A. G. Rehn.

Both archaeology and ethnology occupied my attention, my project being fundamentally in the nature of a survey of the possibilities that the country offers in both fields of research and to study the field conditions, rather than to bring back a conclusive and thorough study of some particular site or tribe. Though the unlooked-for acquisition of an amphibian airplane by the expedition aroused the hope that a prolonged stay with some tribe could be made, since the usual excessive amount of time spent in reaching the desired village could be saved by flying the distance in a few hours, the ultimate results were what had been originally planned for reasons that will appear in the narrative.

Briefly, my work included the locating of a number of archaeological sites and the partial excavation of two of them; visits to the Bororo da

114 Campanha, or Western Bororo, and the Eastern Bororo of the São Lorenço river valley; and a trip to the headwaters of the Xingu river, which resulted in meeting with the following tribes of the Kuluseu-Kuluene region: Bakairi, Anahukua, Mehinaku, Aura, known also as the Vaura, Trumai, Yawalapiti, Kamayula or Kamayura, Tsuva, Kuikutl or Cuicuru, Kalapalu, and Naravute. Of these the Tsuva have never before been reported, and the Kalapalu, Kuikutl, and Naravute have not been described, though visited for the first time in 1920 by Major Ramiro Noronha while engaged in surveying the Kuluene river. The others are either described or mentioned by Karl von den Steinen and Max Schmidt.

So many stories have been told by travelers in little-known countries of the discovery and the collecting of remarkable material which was subsequently lost to science through some adventurous happening, that I hesitate to add another to these sagas of exploration. Nevertheless, as a matter of history, mention must be made that on the descent of the Kuluseu river we met with an accident under remarkably prosaic conditions which resulted in the loss of my Bakairi and Anahukua notes and collections, and the more serious loss of a great deal of equipment, which forced a more hasty itinerary and did not permit me to bring back any anthropometric data nor to carry out the work in racial blood grouping that had been projected. Modern equipment in the form of an airplane saved the trip from being entirely fruitless. By bringing fresh supplies of food and ammunition, it made possible the reorganization and continuation of the work, though the stay in the region was not as long as had been intended.

000 The projects of the Matto Grosso Expedition were many, and it is with regret that I cannot include a discussion of them in the present report. However, it is with pleasure that I take the opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to my companions on the expedition, with whom I shared so many pleasant and unpleasant experiences, and other things that fall to the lot of those traveling in little-known territory. Especially do my thanks go to those who were concerned with my work more intimately, and at times shared in bringing it to a successful end: to Mr. E. R. Fenimore Johnson; to Mr. Arthur P. Rossi, who is responsible for what photographic records we have of the Xingu region; to Messrs. Floyd Crosby and Ainslee Davis for photographic and sound recording; to Mr. Charles Lorber, the pilot of the amphibian plane, and

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1
Mascoi SK10

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Descavaldos, a cattle ranch situated about two hundred and fifty miles north of Corumbá, on the west bank of the Paraguay river, was chosen by the Matto Grosso expedition as its headquarters. It offered advantages of possessing abundant animal life, the study of which was one of the projects of the expedition, of comparatively good communication with the outside world, and localities rich in archaeology. Unfortunately the aborigines have practically disappeared from the region. A few Guató families still hunt in the marshes to the south, and a Bororo da Campanha village is within a day's ride of the port of the ranch, but its acculturation has gone so far that there is little left for the ethnologist. A few Chiquitos from time to time came from Bolivia, generally with rubber, over the road which probably has been taken by many migrating tribal groups, moving eastward or westward, for Descavaldos is the end of the natural road leading from the Andean Highlands. For this reason archaeological excavation there is of special interest.

Though a narrow-gauge railroad connects Rio de Janeiro with Porto Esperança on the Paraguay river in the southernmost portion of Matto Grosso, the more convenient way of entering the country for an expedition burdened with tons of baggage is by the Paraguay river. On reaching Montevideo from New York, the baggage can be transferred to a large and surprisingly comfortable river boat, and in two weeks Corumbá is reached. For this part of the journey the traveler would do well to equip himself with a hammock and mosquito net of fine mesh.

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To the naturalist, the territory flanking the Paraguay river still offers interesting material, but to the ethnologist, unless he leaves the boat and penetrates to the interior, especially to the west, there is little. The original inhabitants of the territory have given way to the Argentinian, Paraguayan, Bolivian, Brazilian and even the American. The country has been turned to the raising of cattle, or to various manufacturing projects. The world war hastened the process of transformation. With the need of meat in Europe, the country saw boom times, relics of which are deserted pretentious-looking buildings and equipment. However, small groups of aborigines can still be met at the ranches or the factories.

M:
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Whether met in groups or singly, the aborigines that are close to the ranches, towns or factories, show the usual effects of acculturation, which very often results in reducing culture to almost nothing. For example, at Puerto Pinasco were found a band of Angaité, presumably employed

MASCOI SKID
MATO GROSSO SP1

to round up cattle for the factory. In the brief time spent with them, no vestige of their own original culture could be discovered. Living in abject poverty under wall-less shelters made of strips of corrugated iron, bits of cloth, and grass, wearing filthy clothing which was hastily donned on our approach, they seemed to have retained nothing but their language. Some Chamacoco and Lenguas that were met presented the same degeneration. However, it is said that when they withdraw to the interior, which is done seasonally, they revert to their own ways. M; 105 177

Corumbá, which was reached in the middle of February, is a modern, comparatively busy port depending on commerce for its existence. The large boats from Buenos Aires or Montevideo leave their merchandise at Corumbá, where it is loaded on smaller wood-burning steamers, to be taken to S. Luis de Careres or to Cuyabá. It is also the real terminus of the railroad line running to the coast from Porto Esperança. | Plate II, 1. | M 504 633

An air line has for some years been established between Corumbá and Cuyabá, reducing a journey of several weeks to a few hours. M 509 484

While the expedition proceeded to Descavaldos in a small boat and three barges, I flew to Cuyabá, in order to present my credentials to the government and to arrange with the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios matters pertaining to my field work. The absence of Major Ramiro Noronha from Cuyabá did not make possible the achievement of my motive. However, since General Rondon, who had received me in Rio de Janeiro, had been good enough to send a telegram presenting me to the authorities at Cuyabá, the records of the Inspectoria were placed at my disposal. The presence of Professor Max Schmidt of Berlin at Cuyabá was a fortunate occurrence. So little is known about the interior of Matto Grosso that the opportunity of conversing with Professor Schmidt and of the Inspectoria field men was indeed a fortunate one. Later, on my meeting Major Ramiro Noronha, and on the reception of a telegram from General Rondon giving the desired permission to enter the Indian territory, Major Noronha, whom I found in Cuyabá on other visits, placed at my disposal and at the disposal of the expedition personal knowledge, especially of a geographical nature, which proved invaluable. B M 114

Perhaps a word ought to be said concerning the attitude of the Inspectoria in respect to foreign expeditions. On arrival at Cuyabá I discovered that it was forbidden to visit any of the aboriginal tribes M B 114 123

[text continues on p. 103]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

without special permission from the government. It developed that in recent years a number of foreign expeditions, under the guise of having scientific and humanitarian purposes, well supplied with credentials from pretentious scientific societies, membership in which can be had simply by subscribing to some publication, and often with political recommendations, have applied for entrance to the interior of Brazil. They have been received courteously and often every facility at the disposal of the government has been theirs. Subsequently have appeared sensational articles describing the terrible hardships encountered, and the scientific results have never been made public other than from the popular lecture platform, or have been published in some kind of adventure book. In many cases both the Brazilians and the aborigines have been maligned, and hardly ever is it mentioned that the Brazilian government did all in its power to help the expedition. This modern 'exploration racket' has justly aroused the ire especially of the Inspectoria de Proteção aos Indios, and the attempt is made to keep all foreigners out of the Indian country, unless it is proved without a doubt that the purpose is scientific. An expedition of the above kind which sensationally visited the country a few years ago was well remembered at Cuyabá, and its antics unquestionably caused us much delay. However, when the Inspectoria was convinced of our sincerity, it cooperated with great courtesy and sympathy.

M B 114 123

Archaeological Excavations at Descavaldos

B M 172

Early in April, I returned to Descavaldos, and immediately began excavating the first archaeological site on the west bank of the Paraguay river. The water was so high at this time that traveling overland was impossible. Descavaldos was literally an island, and the project of sampling numerous archaeological sites further inland, the location of which I had learned from the natives, had to be abandoned. Intermittent heavy rains threatened to destroy what was uncovered, and the untrained workmen made progress slow at first.

As soon as the water subsided somewhat, another site was opened some five miles away to the north of the first. This site was covered with jungle which had to be cleared. In the place of rains, we had to contend with peccarys and wild cattle. The site differed strikingly from the first in the types of burials.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

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361

With the exception of the hills of Dourados, the country between Corumbá and S. Luis de Caceres is pantanal, with here and there a hill or range of hills rising abruptly from the level lowlands. Between Dourados and the Jauru river, the Bolivian border and the Paraguay river, is the vast ranch of Descavaldos, which is larger than Belgium in area, with many thousands of cattle roaming its meadows and an insignificant number of people to testify to its existence as a reclaimed land. Wild life is more abundant than the cattle, demonstrating its great tenacity in comparison to human life. Its original human inhabitants have gone, and new ones, Brazilian, Paraguayan, Bolivian, German and American, have taken their place. A mere handful of Bororo, who are so only in name, remain where there were once thousands.

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But the ranch is rich in archaeology. Its aboriginal population planted in the ground some phases of its culture which have withstood the action of water and other destructive elements. There are numerous localities where the archaeologist can recover some of the products of the arts of the now-extinct tribes. The newcomers to the land have not left these undisturbed. In the making of caña and in keeping it afterwards the large funeral urns that can be so easily gotten from the ground have been found to be excellent receptacles. In the making of new pottery, it has been discovered that the clay of the old mixed with the fresh preparation, gives it a better temper. The result of these two useful discoveries has been the ruthless excavation of a number of sites in a most destructive way. Fortunately the area is a vast one and the population very sparse, and archaeology is to be found everywhere, so that the scientist can still tap fresh and undisturbed sources.

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It has been known that urn fields are plentiful in the region, and Max Schmidt also discovered petroglyphs in the hills of the Morro do Triompho near the Ilha de Caracaras. The natives also report the presence of mounds or tumuli, from one of which at Agua Verde, located on the Descavaldos ranch, the specimen shown in Plate XIX, 3 is supposed to have come, according to the lessee of the territory. It had been planned to visit the Morro do Triompho and the hills of Dourados to search for petroglyphs, and also to excavate one of these mounds. Climatic conditions interfered, causing the abandonment of these projects, for when the waters were high it was impossible to reach the desired localities, and when they had withdrawn, ethnology was occupying my attention.

[text continues on p. 106]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

Eastern Bororo

B 101 184 361

On the São Lorenço river are a number of colonies of the eastern Bororo, who have not come so much under the influence of European civilization. These people still live apart in their villages and maintain their own institutions and industries. They unquestionably differ from the western Bororo in many ways.

B 114 361

The colonies at Pirigara, Corrego Grande (São Lorenço), and Rondonopolis were visited by the expedition, but Corrego Grande received most attention. Sound motion-picture studies of the dances and industries were made and rich collections of artefacts obtained.

B 361 184 423

Unlike that of the Western Bororo, the village is still an orderly affair, being built in circular fashion with the men's hut in the center. The men actually live in this hut, the other houses really belonging to the women. Fishing, the cultivation of manioc, and hunting are the main occupations. [Plates IV, 2; V, 1, 2; VI, 1, 2; VII, 1, 2.]

B 114

Since an excellent study of a community of Bororo exists by Colbachini, little could be said of a descriptive nature in this brief paper that would not be duplication. Therefore, it is felt that time and space ought to be given to the Xingu trip.

At the Headwaters of the Xingu River

M 114

My original plans were to descend the Kuluene river, which has never been descended by an ethnographer; in fact, only recently has it been mapped by Major Ramior Noronha. However, after several conversations with Major Noronha at Cuyabá, finding that such a plan would add difficulties which would not bring any added results, I decided to descend the Kuluseu and ascend the Kuluene to the Seventh of September, and then to ascend that river. This had the advantage of avoiding a longer overland trip and many miles of rapids, and offered the opportunity of seeing more aborigines.

For purposes of reconnaisance and as a safety measure, it was decided to make use of the airplane. Accordingly, before beginning the overland trip, two flights were made to the north. We decided to depend on water for taking off and landing, since the country did not offer such open runways that landing on wheels would be safe.

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform-
114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re-
178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot-
167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept
177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[829] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our year of residence there only three times did we hear loud laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

121 realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings
114 of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship
[53] system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with
[29] ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

Chapter V

ADDITIONAL DATA CONCERNING KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Terms of Address

114 In my discussion of the Bororo referential terminology,
*601 I have not made any use of the literature available on the subject (Albisetti, 1948: 10-11; Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962: 452-475; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 51; Lévi-Strauss, 1936: 281; Oberg, 1953: 127). The published data present a great deal of inconsistency, due to the difficulty in distinguishing among the different terminological systems which, side by side and often cross-cutting each other, are used by the Bororo.

*601 The terms of address constitute one of these systems. I will not give a list of all the vocative kin terms, because most of them are identical with the referential kin terms. Only the differences between the two systems will be noted.

The descriptive term for son is itonaregedu imedu ("male child"), for daughter is itonaregedu aredu ("female child"), for younger brother iviye imedu ("male younger sibling"), for
*601 younger sister iviye aredu ("female younger sibling"). In
561 the referential system the distinction between sexes was
562 neutralized and both son and daughter were referred to as itonaregedu ("child") and both younger sister and younger

*601 To a man who is making love to a woman in mourning his
522 companions will say: "Stay away from her, she is our "little
[765] mother," our "poor-little mother." After the hunt, it is a
[224] duty of the "ceremonial father" to carry the game to his wife ("the mother") who has to cook it for the "meal of the spirits." If, for some reason, the "father" did not join the hunt, this will provoke many jokes and comments from the other hunters. They will say, "Our father did not come, but we have here another 'our father' who will carry the meat," alluding to the sexual relations between this other man and "the mother." If the woman had many affairs in the past, which is quite usual among the Bororo, each man in his turn will deny being the most qualified "father" pointing to somebody else as the one who should carry the meat.

Conclusion

*601 When one arrives in the field he is immediately con-
114 fronted both with a complicated set of relations and with different systems crosscutting each other. At this point all ideas about an ordered conceptual universe appear to be nonsense. It seemed to me that the Bororo were also confused, but ignored the contradictions and pretended that things were clear and simple. I tried to construct full genealogies but
551 did not succeed. For one the Bororo avoid uttering the names of dead people, and if persuaded to produce them, another difficulty arises. Everyone at birth receives several names and during his life he acquires many new ones. A good hunter about forty-five years old had fifty different names. Some

551 people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest 842 contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception [115] and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of [601] the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). *601 Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each 114 particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the 124 apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help [121] for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of [829] the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

same term that she used for them, all those traced through father were divided in two groups according to sex. The informant again overgeneralized some particular rules. Mother and child had different terms for mother's father (iyogwa and iyedaga respectively) except in the system of address where he was called iyogwa by both. Female Ego and her mother will call mother's brother's daughter and son by the same terms (irago and iyagedu), but male Ego will call them itonaregedu. Of the terms traced through father, father's father and father's father's brother did not fit into my informant's theory, they were called iyedaga instead of iyogwa.

Another informant used to construct sets of terms based on relative age, and to attribute these sets to various genealogical positions. The longest set he proposed was the following:

mother's sister younger than Ego:	iviye
mother's sister younger than mother:	ituye
mother's sister older than mother:	imuga
mother's sister much older than mother:	imarugo

This set also does not predict classification without error. ituye in addition to being younger than mother should also be older than Ego. Only the mother's sister who assumes all the mother's responsibilities in relation to Ego will be called imuga. She can be older or younger than Ego's own mother. Finally, the only mother's sister who will be called imarugo is the one who proposed Ego's name, regardless of her age.

The Bororo made all these errors in theoretically dis-

*601 cussing how some kin-types should be designated, or the pro-
114 cedure of finding out how to designate it. In practice they
124 made no mistakes, and they would explain any unusual appli-
cations of terms by some other system connected with death,
naming, and so on. The native theories about how the system
works have been of great help in the analysis of the Bororo
referential system presented above, but I cannot say that the
analysis is "psychologically valid."

among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full analysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter X

CHARACTERISTIC KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS

114 In a chapter of Tristes Tropiques (1970: 183-231) and
121 in two articles reprinted in Structural Anthropology (1969,
772 "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" pp. 132-163; "Social Structures of Central and Eastern Brazil" pp. 120-131), Lévi-Strauss discusses the dual organization of the Bororo, having found that there are, in fact, two kinds of dual organization, one concentric, the other diametric, and in addition, a triadic structure.

Christopher Crocker saw Bororo society as regulated by two organizational principles: "opposition between members of the same clan, or kinsmen, but solidarity between members of different moieties, or affines" (1969: 44). He continued:

> As I mentioned above, the Bororo consider each clan to possess a distinctive character and to be totally unlike any other clan. Since a single principle of comparison cannot be applied to all the clans, they are non-comparable and cannot be ranked. Monkeys and armadillos are two completely different creatures which contrast in all respects, and it is impossible to speak of one or the other, or of the clans they represent, as 'better,' 'smaller' or uglier.' But one may discuss older and younger monkeys, bigger and smaller armadillows, handsomer and uglier tapirs, and consequently the lineages may be compared and ordered through a hierarchy, or the sub-class be ranked as superior and inferior. The Bororo universe, which includes nature as well as society, expresses two principles of organisation: the inequality of like items related asymmetrically and the equality of unlike items related symmetrically. Such structures, as Bateson pointed out some

114 121 772 time ago (1936: 178-97), imply that the units involved in the first case exchange dissimilar objects or acts (e.g. obedience for leadership) while those in the second case relate through the exchange of similar or equivalent things (women for women). To establish the validity of this deduction for the Bororo and to relate it to the contradiction mentioned above requires the exposition of another dimension of Bororo normative order, that found in the two origin myths" (1969: 50).

121 772 There are, however, two other logically possible "principles of organization:" First, like items could be equal: one monkey could be just as good as another; second, unlike items could be unequal. Although Crocker says that monkeys and armadillos are non-comparable, he then proceeds to compare them by saying that they are equal. If they are comparable then they could also be unequal: tapirs could be better, bigger, or handsomer than monkeys. Thus, there exist four logically possible kinds of relationships:

	inequality ignored	inequality recognized
like items	A	B
unlike items	C	D

772 181 It is my belief that the structure of the Bororo society rests upon the first three "principles of organization:"

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

181 sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities,
571 participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The
[114] patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

614 The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into sub-
561 clans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and sub-
562 clans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In re-
822 porting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ances-
827 tors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers.
614 The division is not restricted only to animals; many other
562 beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differen-
822
827 tiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 175 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and [648] [181] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

22 But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering people. They spent only three months of the year, more or [241] less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back 167 by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.

797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that 131 time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924, as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in /114/ January of 1926, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of 1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26, 37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
241 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane, vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
162 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
[161] only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri, that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44 children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
[131] which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
[797] of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 482 [114] Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many [797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the 121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 593 [171] Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery. While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after [113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
[601] wife, who will receive and will place everything in order, while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment on they will live together, they will call each other by the names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two [304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
831 young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
[302] "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/135 cont./

593 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' [512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not [354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the [603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother [855] nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest: 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

836 Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer
431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls [411] in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love [602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, [424] an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

224 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over
602 "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that
114 her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
521 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing
152 this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive: and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me: "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not
593 going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

/149 cont./

562 the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this
114 opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced
797 of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man,
a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy
[593] of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same
state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles
in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have
now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the
Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in
the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever
by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the
individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity
of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his
natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already
born with him, a composition by which only the individual
is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes
himself from all the other individuals. Although the social
position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way,
seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it
seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the
relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage
is given its own and true configuration, or, said better,
its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals
who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very
pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in
the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the
boundary between the social and the individual being. How
many men are there among us who would like to be dominated
by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and
master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer
with his individuality the influence of the conventions created
by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.

[776] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
[171] pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
misfortunes.

• 114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv Für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

are pacified and are being affected to 648
an increasing extent by contact with 177
Western civilization. But in much of
their ceremonialism these people still [181]
retain their native customs.

When a death occurs among the Bo- 764
roro, all the members of the society
put aside the activities of their normal
routine for several weeks and together
perform some thirty separate rituals
that constitute their elaborate and pro-
tracted funerary ceremony.

A few years ago, the author, with 114
the co-operation of the Brazilian In-
dian Service, had an opportunity to
visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga

[p. 39-G]
[text continues on p. 40-C]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

on the São Lourenço River, and to 114
photograph the events that followed a death that had just occurred there. This story gives only the highlights of these events—a complete report would require an entire monograph.

When a Bororo is gravely ill, without hope of recovery, his friends and relatives decorate him with feather ornaments and anoint his body with urucú, a brilliant red paint made from [386]

763 [301] [302]

[p. 40-C]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

114
128

All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152] [304] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 326 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

position of which the Bororo have lavished approximately a month of their time and so much of their energy. 765 [461]

In January, 1958, Marshal Candido M. Rondon, who was a great friend and protector of the Indians of Brazil, and the first director of the Brazilian Indian Service, died. During Rondon's 114

[p. 49-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca.1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

114

last visit to the Bororo, he spoke in the Bororo tongue with Cadete, an old chief whom he had known for more than sixty years. After a long conversation, Rondon translated for a companion: "He said that I am old and have not long to live, and that I should come here to die, for only the Bororo know how to bury me properly."

[p 49-C]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

THE BORORÓ INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

By W. A. COOK

In November, 1900, while in Goyaz, Brazil, the writer received a communication from the Smithsonian Institution, through Doctor Orville A. Derby, of São Paulo, requesting photographs and descriptions of the aboriginal tribes of Matto Grosso and a collection of objects made and used by them.[1] I here give some account of the journey to Matto Grosso and of the manners and customs of the Bororó tribe.

Senhor Antonio Candido de Carvalho, a Brazilian explorer of large experience and influence and thoroughly acquainted with the region to be traversed, had arrived at Goyaz with his light traveling caravan, and the evening before the communication from Mr. W. H. Holmes of the Smithsonian Institution was received, had invited me to accompany him on a visit to the villages of the Bororó Indians scattered over that extensive region of Matto Grosso between the capital of Goyaz and Cuyabá, the capital of the State of Matto Grosso. I did not hesitate to accept the invitation, for with Senhor Antonio as a companion and guide, whose influence over many of the Bororó tribe was great, I would be at much advantage in doing the work desired.

As Senhor Antonio Candido had his equipment, I needed only to buy a mule to carry my baggage and a horse to ride upon, a tent, raincoat, riding boots, and some bright colored cloth, knives, beads, fishhooks, mirrors, handkerchiefs, etc., to trade with the Indians.

We left the city of Goyaz, nearly 700 miles from the Atlantic coast, on November 17, and, following the divide between the great river systems to the north and south, traversed between nine hundred and a thousand miles before reaching the city of Cuyabá, in Matto Grosso.

We rode nearly 600 miles before we began to meet with the Bororó Indians. The last 60 or 70 miles was through an exceedingly wild and almost unknown region of forest and dense bush that made traveling almost like pushing through a network of barbed-wire sieves, where we were constantly raked and torn, and were drenched by the daily thunderstorms.

[1] The photographs, implements, and other objects gathered by Mr. Cook among the Bororó Indians are in the U. S. National Museum.—EDITOR.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponta de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow." 114

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity. 114 123 [276] [262] [685]

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents 302 [142] 302 593

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

evening anthem, which will be described in future pages. We 633
were at our camp at the time, a quarter of a mile distant from the savage chorus. It was indeed wild music, and an appropriate production of the wild ones and the wilderness. It was hard to believe that this fusillade of uncouth, alarming sounds issued from human throats. This savage music resembled, somewhat, the remarkable and uncanny sounds produced by coyotes when heard at night from a distance.

Doubtless these nude, unclean savages would appear ex- 114
tremely repulsive and unhuman to most civilized people, yet I could but regard them as simple, overgrown, neglected children; and finding myself again among such rude, needy beings, I experienced a pleasure and satisfaction which I cannot describe, and inwardly thanked God, Who, in His gracious providence, had led me again to their haunts after a long detention among a more advanced race. Could I be among them once more, my cup of joy would be full.

Two naked Bororó accompanied us as helpers during the [123]
remainder of our journey to one of the chief villages of the tribe. The world about us became more and more wild, rugged and inhospitable as we advanced, and the difficulties and dangers of travel increased. Moreover, the myriads of the insect 136
world seemed to resent our encroachment into their domains, and fell upon us with ever-increasing numbers and ferocity; while the elements, too, appeared to join forces with the rest of Nature, for storms occurred, not only daily, but several times [132]
during twenty-four hours. One night, we found ourselves encamped upon the "private grounds" of a colony of destructive foraging ants, which set to work promptly to cut us to pieces; and when we halted at noon for breakfast, some days, we were set upon by hordes of a stupid, sluggish, stingless bee, called "father of honey" by the Brazilians, but known to science as the *Melipona fasculata*, of which there are more than fifty varieties in Brazil. They were attracted to us by the perspiration of ourselves and our beasts, and also by the odor of our food. They did not attack us in a single swarm, but came to us individually and gradually, until quart

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
825 evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
534 charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
103 at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the
114 *bakororó* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sænger-fest.*

535 Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

/440 cont./

P 173 was born on the Matihurizá, "where there is neither land nor forest," that is, no shore, "and he went far upstream." The Matihurizá is the Tapajoz, if it does not represent the Amazonas itself. Thus, if the main movement of the Karaiben tribes was in the direction from south to north, at least this part of the Nu-Aruak group moved from north to south.

To be sure, the good people are not concerned about the slight contradiction that Uazale came from the far north and that his grandmother Maisõ made the Rio Cuyabá as the first of all rivers!

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Chapter XVII.

On the Bororõ.

I. Historical. Founding of the Colonies.

Bororõ da Campanha and do Cabaçal. "Coroados" = Bororõ. Confusion in the literature. Little Sebastian. Martius. Ending of warfare and catechesis. Pillage in the colonies.

B 101 Two groups of Bororõ are distinguished in the Mato Grosso: the "Bororós da Campanha," or of the plains, and the "Bororós Cabaçaes," or of the Rio Cabaçal. The Bororós da Campanha B 131 live in small settlements below Villa Maria, on the right bank 133 of the Paraguay and Jaurú, toward Bolivia, the Bororós do 361 Çabaçal not far from them in the north, along the banks and in the source region of the river of the same name as well as of the Jaurú, both of which empty into the upper Paraguay from the right, the former at Villa Maria, the latter somewhat farther south.

B 175 These Bororõ were not infrequently visited by travelers; in [114] 1827 they came into contact with the Langsdorff Expedition; in the same year the Austrian naturalist Natterer gathered an abundant collection among them, now in the Vienna Hofmuseum; Count Castlenau and his companion Weddell, who stayed in the Mato Grosso during their famous crossing of South America in

/442 cont./

175 The colonization history of the province tells us about other Bororó, even in the earliest epoch. In 1742 Antonio Pires set out with a band of Paulistas and 500 friendly Bororó to subjugate the Kayapó /Cayapo/ in the southern part of the province; he took more than 1000 captive, established a few military posts, and left behind "a garrison of Bororó" there.

131 All these Bororó originally come from the region of the Rio S. Lourenço; from its lower part these nomadic hunters spread out into the region between it and its tributary, the Cuyabá, as well as along the right bank of the Paraguay lying opposite its mouth, whereas the ones originating from the upper part of the S. Lourenço are encountered by us in the eastern and southeastern part of the province along the source rivers of the Araguay /Araquaia/, the "Contravertenten" /contraflows/ of the S. Lourenço, as neighbors and enemies of the no less strong Kayapó.

114 It is difficult to understand why such great confusion has prevailed and still prevails about the Bororó among the people of the Mato Grosso themselves as well as in the literature. We
101 learn from Castelnau that the Bororó of the Cabaçal were at that time still called "Porrudos"; "the old name of the Rio S. Lorenço, which it still bears in its upper part," as the geographer Melgaço states (Rev. Trim., Vol. 47, p. 459), is now "Rio dos Porrudos."**

** Porra means "penis" in Portuguese; the penis-cuff of the Bororó suggested the name. Since the same costume, widespread throughout Brazil, did not call forth this name elsewhere, one suspects that here where the people said that they were called "Bororó" the Paulistas were moved to make a bad pun.

The Indians of the S. Lourenço are today called "Coroados," the shorn ones -- a name that positively invites confusion. We could have called the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians "Coroados" too; there were Coroados especially in the river basin of the Paraná

/442 cont./

101 and still others on the Rio Xipotó on the border of the provinces of Minas Geraes and Rio de Janeiro, tribes which, both in origin and language, are altogether different from one another as well as from the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso.

648 In Cuyabá the "Coroados" were the object of general interest upon our arrival. After always being regarded as the worst enemies of the /443/ rural population in the entire region between the Rio Cuyabá and S. Lourenço up to the boundary of Goyaz /Goiás/, they finally, thanks to the efforts of President Galdino Pimentel in the year 1886, became "pacificados," pacified, and were settled in two military colonies on the S. Lourenço.

101 648 By no means all the infamous deeds with which the "Coroados" were charged were actually committed by them. In the northeastern part of Cuyabá in particular they were confused with the Kayapó, who carried on predatory raids there. Moreover, no one in the capital knew that the feared "Coroados" were nothing but tribal brothers of the same Bororó who had been living for a long time in several villages to the right of the Paraguay in peaceful conditions and in part in very reduced circumstances, indeed even tribal brothers of the same Bororó who were already allied with the founder of Cuyabá, Antonio Pires, before the middle of the eighteenth century and were used by him as a garrison!

I was not a little surprised when I learned from "Atahualpa," a "Coroado" brought to the capital along with a few companions for baptism, that they call themselves Bororó.

114 [113] Thus the conversation with Atahualpa gave me the opportunity to solve another puzzle quickly. I had just read in the book by Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho, Noticia da provincia de Mato Grosso (S. Paulo, 1869, 425 pp.) the report about a few captive "Coroados" (two girls and a boy) brought to Cuyabá in 1859, and found there a word list (p. 192) which I wished to compare with my own list. To my astonishment, nothing tallied, absolutely nothing. The author had been given the words by the "Coroado" boy, about whom he tells the most

/443 cont./

●114 touching stories and who was baptized "Sebastian" in Cuyabá. "We shall give a few words which we learned from him." There follow 52 words -- unfortunately copied from the glossary of Martius, pp. 195 ff., and originating unfortunately from the "Coroados" on the distant Rio Xipotó, on the border of Rio de Janeiro, who, like the "Coroados" of Paraná, have nothing more in common with the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso than the unfortunate Portuguese name! Without the name, the disagree-
[361] able confusion* would have been impossible. Moutinho had an

* Moutinho says: "We once showed little Sebastian the sky. He, raising his hands as a sign of reverence, answered us humbly "tupáng" (N.B. Tupí word - thunderstorm, interpreted and adopted by the missionaries as "God"). We showed him the sun -- he said "obé" ("Coroado" word from the Rio Xipotó = sun) and he bowed his head to show respect." No "Coroado" boy ever delivered to Cuyabá knew the words tupáng and obé, and still less did one ever know the reverence so beautifully described by Moutinho. Such anecdotes, however, are taken at face value by the innocent reader and put into circulation. The author himself, in his ignorance, has no idea of what great nonsense he is dishing up in his well-meaning way.

opportunity to inform himself better, /444/ foolishly not utilized, when he visited the village of the tribal division on the Rio Cabaçal called, not "Coroados," but correctly "Bororó." On this visit, which he describes on pages 169 ff., he should have noted that the Indians spoke a dialect of the language of devout little Sebastian. Again he consulted his Martius and there on page 14 found the "Bororós" and here copied 40 words which actually belong to the Bororó on the Cabaçal. Here, too, his ill-luck

/444 cont./

•114 permits us to discover the source. For the words, taken down by the Castelnau Expedition, unfortunately do not have a Portuguese, but a French spelling, in which several double vowels have an entirely different pronunciation than in Portuguese, and they correspond in a manner in which two accounts independent of each other never correspond.

[101] One of the few who, as I later found, correctly assumed the identity of the "Coroados" and Bororó was Baron Melgaço,* as

[113] * Revista Trimensal, Vol. 47, p. 396. Baron Melgaço's civilian name was Aug. Leverger and he was of French origin.

competent a president (for the first time in 1851) as a geographer of the Mato Grosso. "The Coroados lived in the source region of the S. Lourenço; they have nothing in common with those of the Parana basin; I suspect they were Bororó." He merely regarded them as extinct.

In view of the confusion which occurs in the country itself, it is not surprising that Martius has very erroneous conceptions of the Bororó. He discusses them under the Central Tupí; ** he

[113] ** Zur Ethnographie Amerika's /On America's Ethnography/, pp. 209 ff., p. 263, Leipzig, 1867.

himself doubts, correctly, that they represent a Tupí tribe, but then falls victim to the strange notions that formerly prevailed about the composition of the Indian tribes and that are best expressed in his favorite expression "Colluvies gentium" /tribal rubble-heap/. "It is probable that under Bororós are understood hostile Indians generally, without any definite designation of names, indeed perhaps occasionally also a Colluvies gentium, which, without a clearly stamped and firmly held nationality in language, customs, and physical appearance, split up into small bands without fixed residence, to roam about plundering and murdering. In Mato Grosso and Goyaz, it is true, individual of the Tupí tribe may be the basis of such predatory communities. But since other Indians

/444 cont./

114 have joined them, they have changed their language to a thieves' idiom (!). In Cazal (Corografia brasilica, p. 302) two hordes of [101] Bororós are mentioned: the Coroados, or shorn ones, and the [113] Barbados, bearded ones. The former are not navigators, but [131] nomadic hunters who are said to dwell to the south and southwest of the city of Cuyabá in inaccessible wildernesses on the sources of the Rio de S. Lourenco and the Rio dos Mortes, a tributary of the Araguaya." These statements by Cazal are perfectly accurate and true, and he, too, thus recognized the "Coroados" as Bororó. By /445/ "Barbados," Martius goes on to say, perhaps the Guató are to be understood, they sometimes attacked caravans traveling from Goyaz to Cuyabá and extended their raids as far as Diamantino. [101] The Guató, however, have never come into this region, they live as water nomads in the upper Paraguay region; those "Barbados" were probably Kayapó or even Bororó.

114 Martius, of course, explains the name Bororó according to 101 the lingoa geral, either, if coming from the neighbors, = "warriors, enemies," or, if they themselves say it, = "we, the masters of the soil." The Bororó, however, know nothing about the lingoa geral and they call themselves this.

797 I shall now drop the name "Coroado" altogether; I shall report some things about the so-called "catechesis" or conversion of this Bororó tribe, which was attempted in vain for many years, but could scarcely have succeeded because the attempts were carried out in the most topsy-turvy manner. A military colony [648] set up on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, which was established toward the end of the 'seventies by Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira, served as the base.

648 In 1878 one Captain Alexander Bueno with 70 Terena Indians, a tribe belonging to the Guaná group, undertook an expedition "to drive out the Bororó." He had been secretly instructed, as I was assured, to shoot to death as many as possible and was favored by success to such an extent that he was able to show the President a bag full of ears. Of living ones he brought along two women and two children.

/447 cont. /

000 The soldier received 600 reis in supply money per day, which, in view of these prices, was very little for him and his housewife. He received five milreis in pay per month, as well as five milreis bonus.

"I am well aware," said one of the presidents, "Duarte has found a California." Yet even the president could not change anything; he scarcely gets a picture of the situation before he has to leave his post, and the more he wants to check the mismanagement, the more quickly the change comes, because he makes enemies of all who would lose by it. It is not worthwhile to discuss the chief question, whether the /448/ Brazilian soldier, including the good and honest one, would be equal to the by no means easy task of educating the Indians to become a useful element of society. The following pages may bring it out.

II. Pictures of the Catechesis.

To the S. Lourenço. (First acquaintance with neophytes in Cuyabá. Journey.) The inhabitants (Clemente) and the arrangement of the colony. European clothing. Agriculture. Our impressions. Quarrel and women's wrestling match (Maria). Meat distribution. Nocturnal howl of lamentation. Vesper prayer. Row with Arateba. Good Friday. Lament for the dead. Hallelujah Saturday (Judas). Kayapó. Threatened dissolution of the colony. School. The hostile brothers. Discipline. Duarte's arrival. "Voluntarios da patria." Breakfast and serenade.

114 To the S. Lourenço. We were able to examine the first Bororó in July 1887 in Cuyabá; Duarte had brought several to be baptized. We became acquainted with others at the beginning of March 1888. They were barefoot, but otherwise dressed in the prescribed civil fashion and wore on a string around their necks a green cardboard the size of a calling card, on which their new name could be read: "Atahualpa," "Montezuma," "José Domingo," etc. José Domingo was coughing violently; it was said he had caught cold at the baptism. Under their clothes they wore their

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/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
199 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.
[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.
[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakaïrí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text continues on P. 553]

/449 cont./

●114 Duarte's representative, who received us with great kindness and cordiality, was the "Cadet" Eliseo Pinto d'Annunciação. In Brazil cadets are aspiring officers, usually sons of officials or officers, /450/ who rise from the ranks and whose advancement depends largely on protection. Our Eliseo had the rank of sergeant and thought he would promptly become lieutenant if I put in a good word for him in Rio. He was a good and conscientious man and would have been able to accomplish something useful if he had had the right to act according to his judgment. A second cadet with the rank of noncommissioned officer was called Caldas, a young man, musical, and, for additional pay, schoolmaster of the Bororó boys. He had also put together a vocabulary and was thus the representative of art and science. Then there was another cadet, Joaquim, the apothecary, and the administrator, Ildefonso. By far the most important individual for me, however, was Clemente, who had lived in Bororó captivity for 13 years and was now about 28 years old. His father, Manoel Pedroso de Alvarenga, lived on the Peixe de couro, a small tributary of the Piquiry emptying into the S.
721 Lourenço. In September 1873, the Bororó attacked five children who were bathing there; two were killed, one escaped, two were
727 taken along, Clemente and a younger brother. He said they tied their hands in front of their eyes and carried them to the village on their backs five days without stopping. His brother soon died.
124 In 1886 Clemente was freed by the Bororó. Meanwhile, however, he had become a Bororó himself. He not only went about in their dress with bow and arrow, he had not only forgotten almost all his Portuguese, but he had, as I learned to my advantage, experienced a purely Indian training in his thinking and knowledge. On the other hand, he had relearned enough of his mother tongue in the meantime to be able to assist me as a useful interpreter. Unfortunately, he left Thereza Christina before we did, because, he said, he "is learning nothing" there. The officers themselves did not know anything, he said. Near his home village there lives a man who can cure all the sick and open any lock.

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/472 cont./

291 pulled and lengthened. The flag is a strip of straw up to 20 centimeters in length inserted at the side. Even the captured Clemente was given a cuff, and he complained that it was accompanied by pain and swelling. The Langsdorff Expedition re-
[175] ports of the Bororó dos Campos in the year 1827 that "the men, after the manner of the Guató, tie up the praeputium with embira bast which they wear as a belt; others cover it with a leaf sheath (cartuxa de folhas)." * I have already quoted on page 193

[113] * Revista Trimensal 38 II, page 242.

Waehneldt's remark, which likewise bears witness, that the hip
• [114] cord without cuff suffices, as on the Kulisehu. Rohde ** expresses

[113] ** Originalmitteilungen aus der Ethnol. Abteilung /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division/ I, page 14.

himself incorrectly when he says: "the men go about completely naked, except that they cover the penis with a sheath of reed, they tie the foreskin up, the member is fastened upright to the body." The reed sheaths which he presented to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde are exactly like the cuffs described, which cover the penis only insofar as the glans is part of it, and the rest seems to be pushed back into the scrotum. We did not see on the S. Lourenço the clamping into the hip cord; it is said to be done only by those who do not wear a cuff. Hence it follows that the purpose of the "tying up," namely, to be unimpeded in running, which Waehneldt suggests, could only have been a secondary purpose. The real purpose, which hip cord and cuff serve in like manner, is the lengthening of the praeputium; differing only with respect to method, it was observed among the great majority of all Brazilian tribes. /Pl. XXVII appears here./

/473/ Of the Bororó women the reporter of the Langsdorff Expedition says: "The women have a strange custom, I do not know whether to /Fig. 129 appears here/ cover themselves, in which case they are far from their laudable purpose. First of all, I should

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 590]

/503 cont./

855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat
[304] so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú
854 also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head
593 between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú
[114] from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure
765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

/504 cont. /

764 "The departed remains on his deathbed untouched for three days until decomposition is already far advanced and there is a disagreeable, nauseating odor; on the third day the corpse is wrapped in skins, mats, and green leaves, laid in the pit, and this again covered with earth, palm leaves, and mats.

"The burial place is in the center of the village and is kept very clean; it had the appearance of a European cemetery."

765 In this valuable account one point must be discussed in more
174 detail. Waehneldt, with his short visit in the Mato Grosso, re-
114 gards the Bororó as ancient inhabitants of the region and believes, since he saw burial in urns, that urns, too, which are found "in abundance in old habitations now forsaken, largely filled with bones," originated among the ancestors of the Bororó. His Bororó, however, are the ones who were settled here by the fazendeiro Leite after long struggles; there are many old urn-cemeteries of the same type in the vicinity of Villa Maria; they have nothing to do with the modern Bororó and
765 are yet to be investigated. Waehneldt himself says that he only
174 "came across a few pots of clay which were made by them and
[323] in addition several larger vessels for storing various objects, which were heirlooms from the ancestors because they are no longer made today." Either the Bororó had taken such urns as models and replaced their bone-baskets -- a /illustration appears here/ /505/ first step toward the urn -- with them, or, what I consider more likely in view of their acknowledged inferior performance in ceramics, which corresponds exactly to our Bororó, and the statement that old urns were used for other things, they buried their dead in the old urns which are to be found in such numbers and in part empty at the old dwelling sites
765 now abandoned. The original custom of the Bororó is the same
171 as that of Humboldt's Aturen /Ature/, of whom the traveler found only remnants in the form of 600 well-preserved skeletons colored red with urucú and packed in baskets of palm-leaf ribs as in a square bag, and of whose language only an old parrot of the nearby mission was still able to prattle a few words. The Aturen also, in accordance with tradition, had first laid their corpses in the earth for a time, let the flesh decompose, and

[Text continues on p. 634]

/516 cont./

114 Language. The linguistic material collected among the Bororó, which will perhaps suffice to establish at least the most important grammatical outlines, has not yet been worked over.
197 Up to now I have not been able to find any linguistic /517/ relationship with other known idioms. In any case, the Bororó belong neither to the Tupí nor to the Gẽs, as one might at first
[175] think. Nor would it be particularly strange if all efforts remained fruitless, because the vicinity of their territory, over a wide area, has experienced very restless times since the first settling of the
648 Mato Grosso. In the north the road leads toward Goyaz, which they have often harrassed with their attacks; in the south the discoverers came from the province of S. Paulo, and here as well as there years of slave-hunting took place.

194 The language is melodious and for us, apparently, easy to learn. As for consonants, only f is lacking, apart from fatogúro, "saliva"; double consonants are rare, the terminal sound is vocalic. The accent is generally on the penultimate syllable. There is no plural ending for the substantive. The independent
193 personal pronouns are: 1. imi, I; 2. aki, you; 3. ema, au, he; 4. pagi, we; 5. tagi, you; 6. emagi, they. The corresponding pronominal suffixes for substantive and verb are:

1. i-, 2. a-, 3. —, 4. pa-, 5. te-, 6. e-.

194 In use, various forms of phonetic change and influences on the initial sound of the stem appear. I shall give a few tentative examples:

	Ear	Nose	Head	To go
1.	i-wiya	i-keno	i-taura	i-tua
2.	a-wiya	a-keno	a-kaura	a-tua
3.	biya	eno	kaura	tua
4.	pa-wiga	pa-geno	pa-gaura	pa-dua
5.	te-wiya	te-geno	te-taura	te-dua
6.	e-wiya	e-keno	e-taura	e-tua

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ewãguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
773 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
[262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character.
[614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

571 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
[115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from
The beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

115 constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[197] years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bãdejeba—one Bãdejeba Čãboge^{w}õ or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ, however, held a pre-eminent place.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębege^{w}õge and Čãbõge^{w}õge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bãdejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bãdejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bãdejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

Birth

842 A child may have many fathers. Any man who has had sexual relations with the child's mother before or during pregnancy is considered one of the genitors, and is designated a "father" of the child. Both father (or fathers) and mother are equally responsible for the physical and mental characteristics of the child. Often the Bororo make comments about children saying that they are pretty or ugly, good or bad, some taking after their father, some after their mother. Different characteristics may have been taken from different fathers. As the chief of the village where I worked once told me: "I had two fathers, from the first I received my stature, and that is why I am so short. From my second father I received my heart." His second father had been a big chief and a knowledgeable man from whom he had learned the traditions and songs of the tribe. For the Bororo there is no such thing as a fatherless child. Everyone has a father, and the more fathers one has the better it [115] is for him. The knowledge of my informant was great because, as the Bororo explained to me, he was the son of the village wanton. Therefore all his fathers, all the men from the opposite moiety, taught him songs and stories. It is the duty 583 *601 of the child's mother to inform the boy or the girl when grown up enough to understand who his biological fathers are, and to teach him the kinship terms he should use for them and for their brothers, mothers and sisters.

000 Even now the ideal marriage is one contracted between a

613 list some names that nobody else did, we must suppose that their family tradition was a little different from the rest of the community. The placement of Koge (Enogwa) Tabowu is very interesting. Some included it among the Red Ivagududoge, others among the Black, and one said that it was neither Red nor Black, it was in between: boyadadawu. Thus, the members of this lineage can choose their ornaments and songs from either of the subclans.

I did the same kind of analysis for the other clans, and the result was the following list (Table X) of the most im-
[124] portant Bororo lineages. It should be noted that no informant would give the same list, but the majority of them would include all of the lineages mentioned in the list.[1]

[128] [622] The order given to the lineages around the village circle (see table XI) follows the Bororo usage; and I started with Badajebage Chebegiwuge because this is the order followed by the chief in calling out clan members for the evening meeting on the village plaza. But when they talk about lineages or when they sing clan songs, the Bororo may start with whatever lineage or clan they prefer and then proceed either clockwise or counterclockwise until they have

[Text Continued On Page 123]

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[1] When I concluded my analysis and made the list, I asked
[115] [128] my wife, whose primary interest in the field had not been Bororo social organization, to tell me the names of the lineages she considered to be most important. She mentioned 24 of them, all included in the list, leaving out Kurugugwari Pijiwu and Aturua. This shows how much these important lineages are part of the Bororo daily talk.

773 Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:
616 imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)
571 imo irogodu (body painting)
[292] Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)
[302] Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo
[534] gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.
[769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it
[115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

/143 cont./

833 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day:
562 "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down
123 one beside the other, because one day they will die and then
775 they are reunited."

864 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from
115 Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 Prom Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the
171 following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

5: Baldus--48 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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13. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu (Meruri)

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14. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu returning from hunting (Meruri)

5: Baldus--53 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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24: Eastern Bororo: Roberto Ipureu, my interpreter in Tori-paru, and a little boy from the same aldeia.

/462 cont./

115 [123] [145] School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most important elements of the language; they were extremely wide awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/, and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 [193] I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose, your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent. He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there immediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

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/463 cont./

115 153 "in Deinem Thau gesund mich baden" /to bathe myself sound in your dew/, the little fellow immediately interrupted with "itáu! akau, áu" = "my hair, your hair, his hair." This game was all the more original since the cadet Caldas, their schoolmaster, who was also supposed to be working on the Bororó language, pronounced the American pronominal prefixes which I was seeking to be silly humbug and an invention of the boys, on the order of chicken talk. And he stuck to it, because he was very stubborn in his views. He was also very scornful of our opinion that Latin is a dead language, for he said it is spoken in Egypt. But what was even worse, he maintained that "Müller" -- heaven knows where he got his knowledge of his only German word -- was a French word and insisted on it, despite the amusing despair of Ehrenreich, who, as a native Spree-Athenian /a Berliner/, was shaken to the depths of his thinking and feeling in the face of such an unheard-of attack on the Berlin address-book.

872 If Caldas, who received an extra allowance for the instruction of the Bororó boys, did not learn much from his pupils, they probably learned even less from him. It is true, the rogues came unwillingly; in the beginning they did not come at all and were persuaded to do so only when a few inquisitive fathers sat with them in the school. The way in which the recalcitrant ones were assembled in the morning reminded one vividly of the game "bringing the little pig into the pen." Moreover, they were extremely inattentive. I must admit, however, that the method could not have been more peculiar. I thought the children would first of all learn the Portuguese names for the most familiar things, useful plants, animals, implements, which would certainly have pleased them, because they asked about them spontaneously. I also thought, if they absolutely had to learn to read -- but it really does not matter what I thought, and it is better to limit oneself to the report.

Each of the boys had in his hand a sheet of paper that Caldas had written on. Thereupon we read -- not they, of course -- al, el, il, ol, ul, bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul, etc. over the entire page. The teacher read them one line

/493 cont./

533 Dance and play. On the basis of the preceding, the aróe song,
[156] opening every communal hunting and fishing expedition, loses all its strangeness. The bari, who solemnly divides up the booty at the end, also takes care of the solemn preliminaries for the under-
[172] taking. We shall not yet go into the underlying view of the relationship between animal and human being, without which these ceremonies could scarcely have been invented except by charlatans, but with which they are probably justified in their origin.

The hunting song is the same as the one sung at the ceremony for the dead! It makes a very dignified and, at night, if one likes, horrible impression. At the ceremony for the dead, men and women sing together, the women, to be sure, standing to one side and in the background and often stopping, while the men do not permit themselves a pause. During the nocturnal preparations for the hunt, one heard only the deep booming voices of the men's
[115] chorus. I owe the notes on the next page /see p. 618/ to the cadet Caldas. He made a distinction between a first song by the men alone and a second one by the men and women. The text which he wrote down for the first one is unfortunately useless. It is about the gull, schibáyu, which also occurs in the second, and, in spite of several repetitions, it is nothing but a mere listing of names. This latter – aróe is the text of the second song and, in a long sequence, is also what is usually sung -- not much poorer in variety in the text than in the music, which, though I have no technical knowledge, seems to me to achieve the ultimate in "monotony." The following "verses" were translated by Clemente and are given in the proper sequence: bakororó aróe, okóge aróe, schibáyu aróe, kurugúge aróe botoroé aróe imayaré aróe dyuretóto aróe kayatóto aróe manotóto aróe. The words listed are: water (a specific kind? otherwise póbe), dourado fish, gull, falcon, another predatory bird that eats fish, "its breast," water snake sukurí, mortar, swamp grass. The scene, therefore, is on the water; more I cannot say; whether the dead person experiences all kinds of things in the vicinity of his skeleton-basket buried there, whether the rival animals that catch fish are desired in the mortar, which would seem more /494/ credible -- I was unable to discover. Alternating with this song, "jaguar," "capibara," "paríko" (feather

/516 cont./

●115 Moguyokuri é muito criança, "is purely a child," said Clemente, who knows nothing, and this certainly agreed with the fact that the chief, as he told me, no longer knew who his grandfather was. A hoary old man who really knew something about the creation of the world -- for he had heard the details from his grandfather, who was himself present at the time -- this valuable informant was unfortunately off hunting.

829 Even information about other tribes with whom the Bororó were said to be in contact was extremely meager and limited to a few statements about the Kayapó, who were said to have smooth, short, but very strong and tough bows, rather small arrows made of tacoarasinha with feathers sewed on and two iron barbs, as well as a flat club, one meter long, shaped somewhat like a fish, made of seriba palm wood, and worn around the neck on a string.

773 Besides these, however, there were other strange neighbors in the tribe of the Rarái, also called baredyeragúdo. One sees them only in twos or threes, and only at night; they wear bast cloth and have a blackish, never a light skin-color. They are monkeys. They threw Bororó to the ground at such and such a place and ran away. Clemente -- and this is not without value because he repeated the very words of the Indians themselves -- solemnly swore that the Rarái were monkeys; they do not have arrows, they pick up stones or wood from the ground to throw, and they also have garruchas -- "pistols," such as the Brazilian comrades and hence also the Negroes and the fleeing slaves (cf. for example, our lovers, page 23 /untranslated/) quite generally possessed. "They are monkeys and they shoot with pistols?" "Yes, they are monkeys with iron pistols." The Negro, accordingly, has the agreeable choice of being regarded as a monkey or as a black carrion-vulture. One must constantly remember and make clear to oneself, however, that there is no boundary here between human being and animal and even the possession of an implement of civilization does not mean a thing. If monkeys have pistols, one cannot very well say that they do not have them.

1:Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Contribution to the Study of the Social Organization of the Bororo Indians

[Contribution a l'Étude de l'Organisation Sociale des Indiens Bororo]

Claude Lévi-Strauss

Paris, 1936

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Translated from the French by Priscilla Reynolds

Human Relations Area Files
1965

[Title page]

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131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[199] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
363 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy indi-
viduals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵘ, around 25 years old;
1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are
those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear
traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.

191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

> 1. The term vóbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:
Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ãróre (Catepillar) clan
Ewãguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan. /[illegible]/

/271/

616 Čera Phratry:
614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan
O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan
Ki (Tapir) clan
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan
Bakoro clan
Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates
621 the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big
[345] circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.
621 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation
616 to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves:
614 the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/: in the foreground the O Čera Čębege^{w}ō hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreŏ, Bokodori Čębege^{w}ō, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddada huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure.
616 But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very
614 oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the
823 course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čābōge^{w}ōge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębege^{w}ōge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614
823 Ewãguddudõge čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewãguddudõge čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O. Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
599 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddada^{w}ge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47/).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokeje^{w}õge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokeje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokeje^{w}o (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewãguddudõge bo'pokeje^{w}õge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewãguddudõge kurigeŏ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/272 cont./

552 Thus we have (Fig. 15, No. 17 /see p. 6 /) Ewâguddudōge
592 eten'manaāge: those of the Elder Brothers of the Buriti, and (18)
614 Ewâguddudōge etu'ieemage: those of the Younger Brothers of the Buriti.

614 It is also possible that the adoption or division of emblems among the members of the same clan results in the creation of other secondary determinants. /273/ Several clans are divided in this manner into two subclans distinguished respectively by the colors red and black. Thus:

Apibore čoreŏ: black (23)
Apibore kujagoreŏ: red (22)
Paiwe čoreŏ (25)
Paiwe kujagoreŏ (26)
Ewâguddu čoreŏ (15).
Ewâguddu kujagoreŏ (18).
/Figure 15 appears here./ /274/

Some groups of clans perhaps came from a single clan, as they seem to share emblems: the Bóro acquired an object associated with the legendary history of the Bakoro clan, of which they were no doubt formerly a part, in the same way as the O Čera, themselves also inheritors of a legendary animal of the clan. The Bokodori clan is subdivided into Kōge (gilthead) and Čiba (red arara); but it is not clear whether this is truly a question of subdivisions of a main clan or of a homogeneous clan designating itself by three emblems: "Bokodori and Kōge, Bokodori and Čiba," the natives say, "it's the same thing."

621 The number of terms used for the definition of the groups is
552 thus clearly more important than the number of houses of the
592 village. The result of this is, first, that different informants do not always designate the same houses by using the same adjectives; the same informant varies equally according to the time and the circumstances. In the second place, each house, or almost each, is found to have, if not always its own name, at least a set combination of the names of the clan, of the position, of the family, etc., which belong /sic/ to it alone. The Bororo village

[Text Continues on p. 7]

/273 cont./

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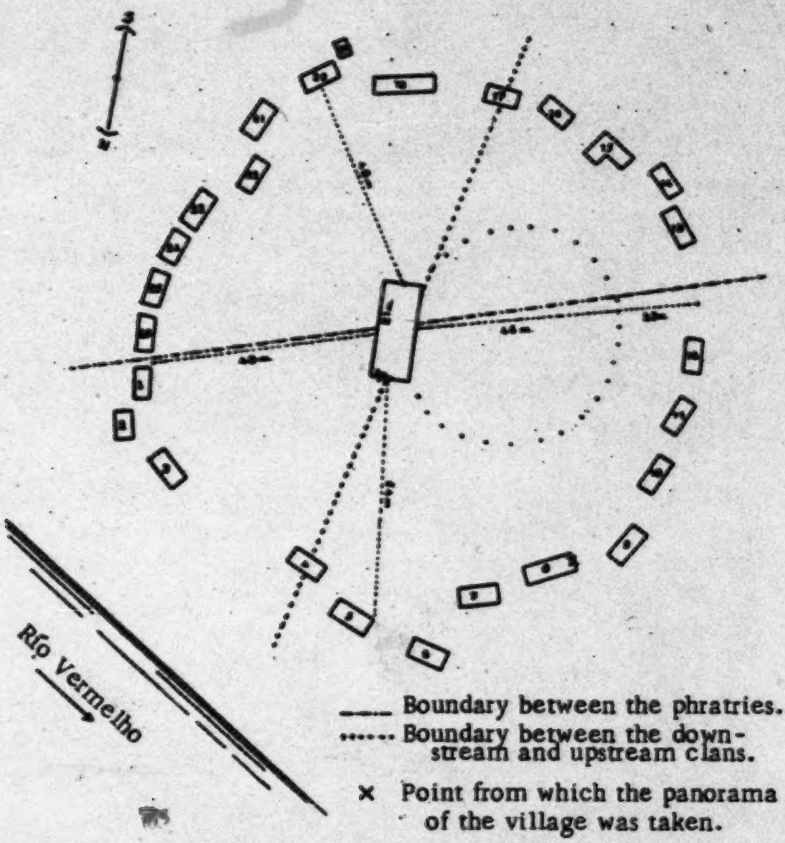

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čãbõgeʷõge are on the left (upstream) and the Čębegeʷõge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddadeᵀge.

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is,
552 of families or groups of families, living in the same house and
592 styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the
614 household always involves, among other things, the name of the
616 clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(čãbõgeʷõ half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori čãbõgeʷõ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddadaʷ̃

(čębegeʷõ half)
5. Bokodori Čera čębegeʷõ
6. Ki kujagoreõ
7. Ki
8. O Čera čębegeʷõ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ
11. Bãdejeba čębegeõ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddadaʷ̃ge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ bo'pokęjeʷõ

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
14. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
15. Ębwāguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębege^{w}ō
16. Ębwāguddu bo'pokeje^{w}ō čębege^{w}ŏ
17. Ębwāguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaāge
(cābōge^{w}ō half) 18. Ębwāguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čābōge^{w}ō
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čābōge^{w}ō baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čābōge^{w}ō
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ębwāguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

/276 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same
737 for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. P. 117--Analyst]

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were
the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him,
thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuŝawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in
trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons,
and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs
with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our
objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for com-
missions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But
skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of
macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of
tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no
matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which
are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see
p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left with-
out saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return with-
out the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example,
but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury
among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother
or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose
[181] clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
556 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured
614 products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre čåbōgeʷōge, Ẻwåguddudoge čåbōgeʷōge, and Ẻwåguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ẻwåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O Čera clans.

The Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 764 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/279 cont./

Cera Phratry

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Clan	Name	Marries with
Bādejeba	Bakorokuddu (name of a legendary hero)	Āróre čābōge^{w}ō
	Iparečęba (id.)	Āróre baiaddada^{a}
	Wapa (?)	Éwāguddu baiaddada^{a}
	Merit'awāra (The Path of the Sun)	Apibore bo'pokęjewo
O Čera	Uaboreč (?-Uabo: heart)	Éwāguddu
	At'ugoreč (The Painted Man)	Āróre čębege^{w}ō
Ki	Kibakororo (Bakororo, The Tapir)	Éwāguddu bo'pokęjewo
	Tu'goga (?-Tugo: arrow)	Éwāguddu baiaddada^{a}
	Māra (?)	Éwāguddu baiaddada^{a}
/280/		
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge	Kōge (Gilthead)	Éwāguddu čoreč
	Bokodori Baro (?)	Éwāguddu baiaddada^{a}
	Ariga Coča (?-Ariga: puma)	Éwāguddu čābōge^{w}ō
Bakoro	Nogujeba (legendary hero)	Apibore (Kru'guga uobę)
	^{a}Kario Bokodori (legendary hero who named an extinct clan)	Apibore (Brogę)

/280 cont./

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Cera Phratry

Clan	Name	Marries with
Bóro	Bok'arebo (?)	Ārõre baiaddada
	Jerégi-čodo (Old Tortoise)	Apibore kujagoreõ

Tugare Phratry

Paiwe	Baiporo (door?)	Bokodori Čera
	Meriri kurigeõ (Big Light)	Bakoro Čera
Apibore	Broge (?-indicates wealth)	Bakoro Čera
	Kru'guga uobe (Relative of the Eagle-throat; indicates wealth)	Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge
Ewāguddu	Tad'ugo (?-indicates wealth)	Ki
	Aria kurigeõ (Big Saucepan?)	Ki
	Butare gāde (?)	Bokodori
Ārõre	Baitogógo (legendary hero)	Bādejeba

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614 This table, which is no doubt incomplete, suggests the following conclusions:

/280 cont./

582 614 five clans contract marriage with three clans. These are: /281/

Bādejeba (Apibore, Ewāguddu, Āróre)
Bakoro (Paiwe, Apibore, Āróre)
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Paiwe, Apibore, Ewāguddu)
Apibore (Bādejeba, Bakoro, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)
Ewāguddu (Bādejeba, Ki, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)

two clans contract marriage with two clans:

Paiwe (Bakoro-Bokodori)
Āróre (Bādejeba-Bóro)

one clan marries with only one clan:

Ki (Ewāguddu)

601 [582] The study of kinship terminology permits us to state precisely this system of preferential union. The native vocabulary distinguishes, in fact, for most degrees of kinship, between the elder and younger. Thus:

ogwa umanna: father's elder brother
ogwa uie: father's younger brother
mugā vuri: mother's elder brother
mugā uie: mother's younger brother
ogwa utuge: father's elder sister
ogwa uie: father's younger sister
mána: elder brother
uie: younger brother (or sister)
utuge: elder sister.

On the other hand there is only one term to represent several kinship relations in the following cases:

marúga: ancestor, father's elder sister, mother-in-law (man speaking)
ure: mother's brother, elder brother (woman speaking)
uie: younger brother, male cousin
iedaga: father-in-law, father's father
mugā pega: mother-in-law, father's mother (literally: bad mother).

/282/

582 These identifications permit us to conclude that the matri-
601 monial system is as follows:

A male individual may contract two types of marriage. He will marry either his father's younger sister or his father's elder sister's daughter. In the first case, his father's father is at the same time his father-in-law, and his father's mother, his mother-in-law. In the second case, his father's elder sister is his mother-in-law.

[616] This same individual's sister may not, symmetrically, marry her mother's brother, as they both belong to the same phratry. Her uncle hence enters the category of men whom she cannot marry, and she has only one name to designate her mother's brothers and her own brothers (elder). The combinations open to her are: her mother's brother's son and her elder brother's son. The maternal uncle and the elder brother are thus identified by the young girl as providers of possible spouses. The result is that the men have wives their own age or older, whereas the women have husbands their own age or younger. This is confirmed by
[595] experience: the marriage of a woman and of her daughter by a previous marriage to a new husband constitutes the typical case of bigamy[1] among the Bororo.

In addition, three categories of men exist for a woman: those older than she whom she cannot marry (mother's brothers, elder brothers); those younger than she whom she cannot marry (her father's brother's sons, younger brothers); and finally, those of her own age or younger, with whom she can contract marriage.

The Bororo have hence had, at least in the past, two forms of marriage, namely: the cross marriage and the marriage of a nephew with his aunt. It is not possible to say, given the present state of our information, whether these marriages are always rigorously practiced, whether they are contemporaneous, or whether one of these forms represents, in relation to the other, an evolved stage. But with the exception of the typical cross marriage, it is not the mother's brother who is identified with the father-in-law, but the mother's brother's father.

[1] [Cf. analyst's footnote on p. 10--Analyst]

/282 cont./

582 601 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] [614] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewãguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuẽawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out. [241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

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634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 847 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated
[516] on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.
634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuǎwa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuǎwa, the

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614 Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
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764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 to sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green
palm. Each rung is made of a
bundle of two (big marid'do) or three
(small marid'do) sections. Gradually
during the construction, the ladder
is rolled up on itself until it forms,
in the largest example, a disk 1.50
[283] meters in diameter. The two sides
are then decorated with green palm,
held in place by a net of cords made
of women's hair. The top of the
disk is decorated for a length of about
50 cm. with applications of down.
The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewãguddudoge cŏreŏ marid'do; the
small one, Ewãguddudoge kujagoreŏ
marid'do. But it is not necessarily
natives of this clan who have made
them. Some time before the festival
the two marid'do are solemnly taken
out of the men's house and taken to
the middle of the bororo, where they
are placed parallel, about two meters
apart, and on the axis separating the
phratries. The dance of the marid'do
lasts two days; each protagonist tries to
lift one of the disks at arm's end and
to hold it as long as possible while
running and jumping in the plaza.
Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony
(Pl. VIII. C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X,
B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:
535 ʷure ʷure foot, foot
533 kaia kaia pestle, pestle
manõ marid'do dance of the marid'do
čegu'ę we others
čę we burn
uoro buriti wine
hu hu yes, yes
čęgiga we joyous

764 of the Ewãguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bãdejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewãguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

129 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:

the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;

the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

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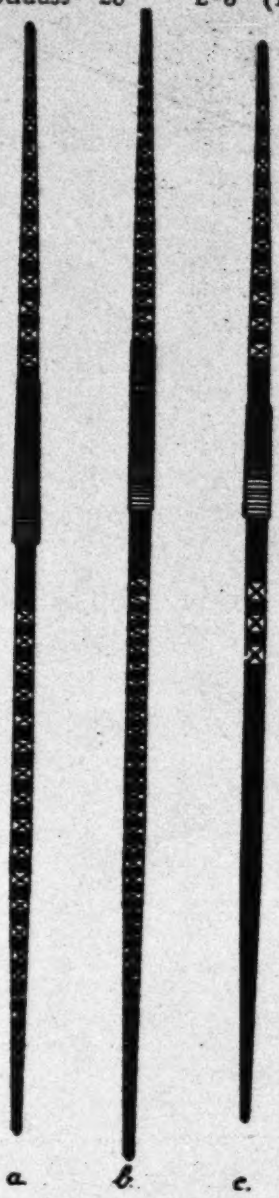

Fig. 16.—Bows for big hunting.

a: Ki clan (21/12)
b: Apibore clan (38/18)
c: Bādejeba clan (3/10)

/288 cont./

411 the ceremonial bow. As in the preceding type, /289/ the
531 central part is of bare wood, save for the protective rolling. All
237 the rest of the bow is covered with ornamentation which varies with different specimens: sheaths of glued on feathers, rings of feathers or fur, mosaics of feathers of different colors, etc.... All along the wood long feathers or throat feathers of the arara, in pairs or singly, are attached. Finally, some specimens show a bunch of varicolored feathers at the top end.

411 The origin of the bow can be deduced from the three follow-
531 ing elements: 1) nature and color of the casing of the wood;
237 2) number, distribution, nature, and color of the feathers adhering
614 to the wood; 3) nature of the feathers or insignia placed in the bunch at the top; thus, some bows of the Bakoro clan have, in the middle of the feathers at the end, a small wooden lath covered with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, this technique being its privilege.

Figure 17 /see p. 29/ gives four "formulas" for ceremonial bows:

a. Not identified; 1.52 meters long. Wood covered with small red /rouge/ feathers glued on with resin; on the sides two crests of white /blanc/ down broken in the middle.

br: blue and red arara feathers
vr: green and red arara feathers
bj: blue and yellow arara feathers
bn: throat feathers in alternate white and black bands
j: yellow toucan feathers.

b. Āróre clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with red feathers glued on. All the hanging feathers are attached in pairs. Top bunch of small red and yellow parrot feathers, with five long emblematic feathers.

b: blue —r: red
br, bj, bn: as above.

c. Āróre (čębegeʷõ) clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with alternate rings of black, yellow /jaune/, and red feathers glued on.

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Éwåguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:

harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;

"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;

bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;

ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

[616] 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the
[531] Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
531 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. ᵃKario Bokodori — C. Éwåguddu (?) — D. Apibóre kujagoreb — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore — H. Bãdejeba (Bakoro) — I. Āróre — J. Kõge Čera — K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Āróre.

[237] Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

[Text Continues on p. 30]

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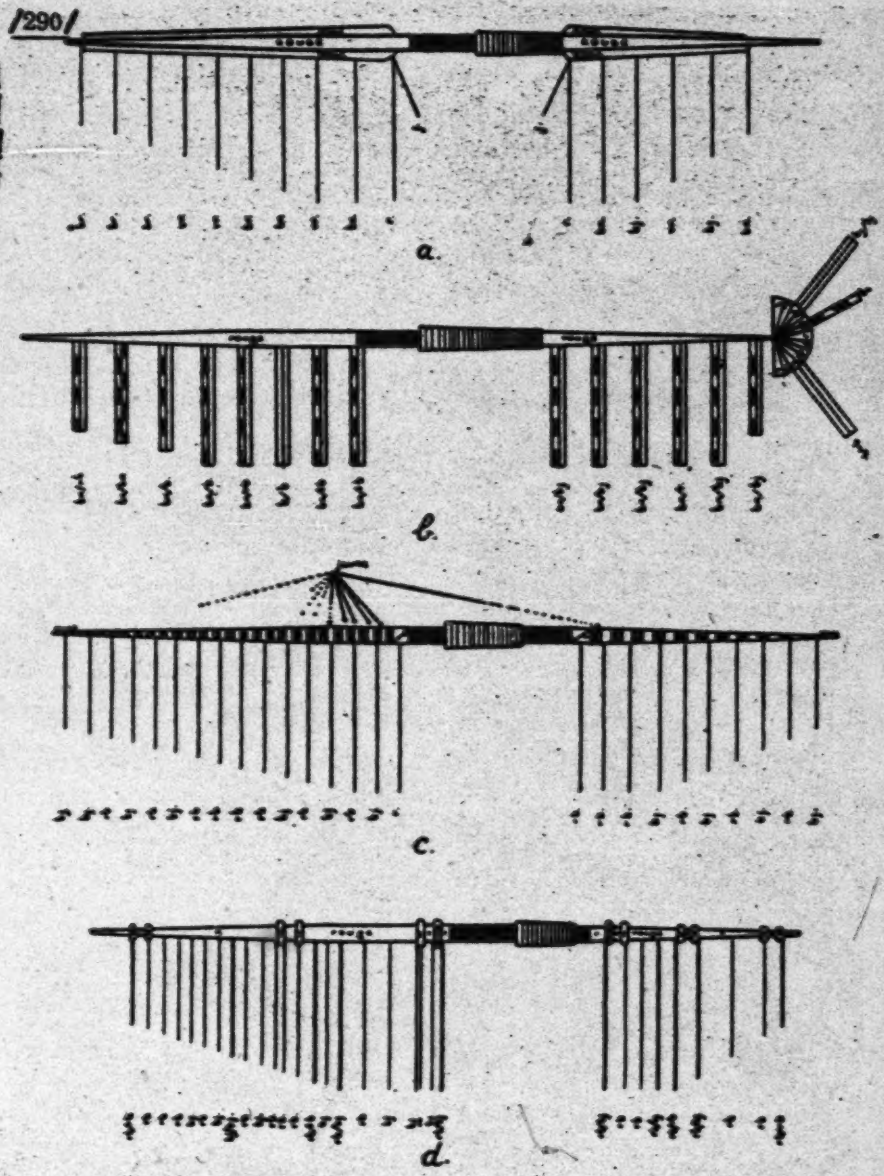

Fig. 17. Ceremonial bows.

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141 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills,
[239] decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Ārōre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -r. -b. -r. -B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the
000 loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

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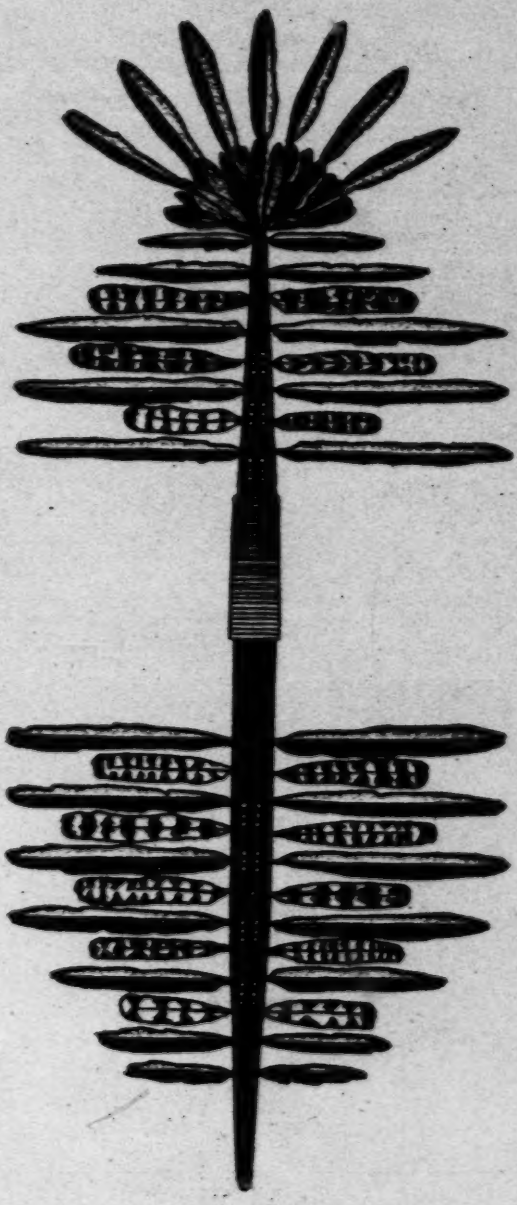

Fig. 18.—Ceremonial bow /in color in original/.

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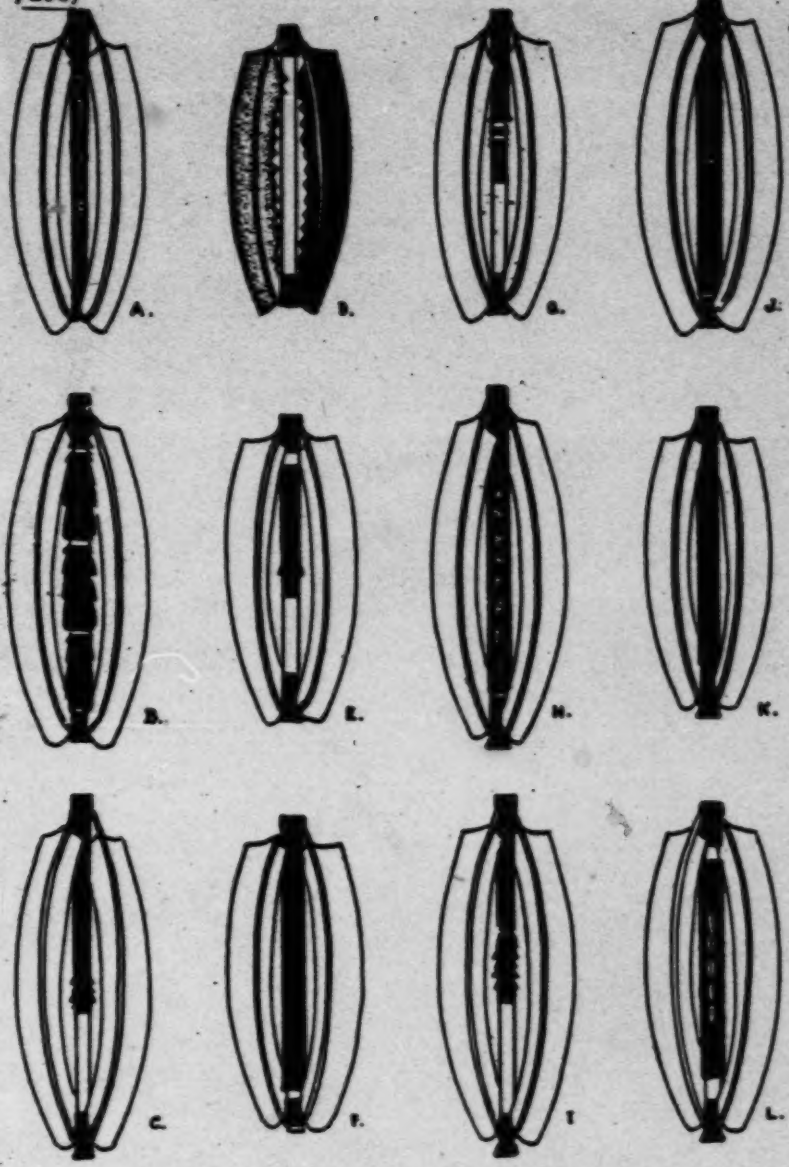

Fig. 19.—Arrows with emblems /in color in original/.

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial
292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kõge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreõ
G. Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjwo
H. Paiwe čoreõ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ewãguddu) Baiaddadaᵘ
J. Āróre čẹbegeᵘõ
K. Āróre
L. Ki
M. Ewãguddu čãbõgeᵘõ
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Ąpibore
Q. Ewãguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucú seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bãdejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
301 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[439] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and poᵃri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers
[973] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Āróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[text continues on p. 36]

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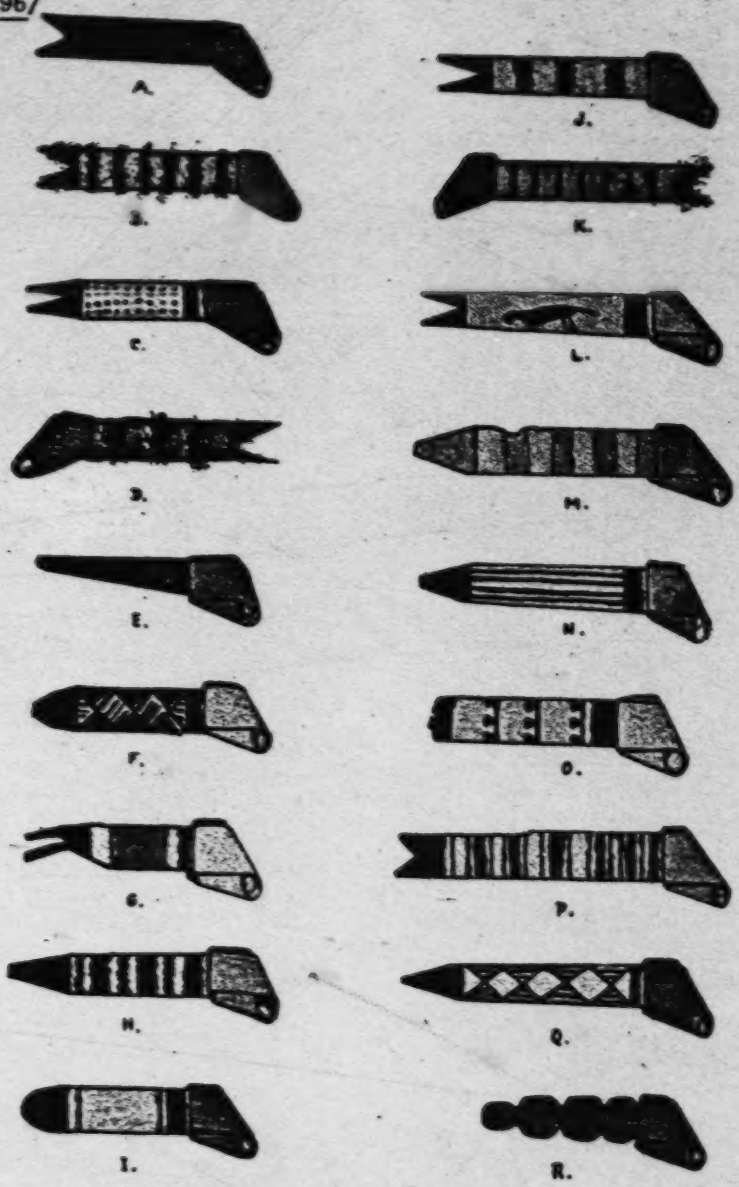

Fig. 20.—Penis bands /in color in original/.

/297 cont./

614 designate the Āróre čębegeʷõ (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Aréme, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

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1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive.

[764] The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." After interminable

[126] negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

/297 cont./

Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never ob-
[283] served spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the
[345] men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only
[283] two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and
[286] various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

/298/ Note I

614 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans
779 bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Čera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113]

1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage" and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after [775] the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awãra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeõ," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bãdejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 773 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bãdejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 571 787 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin of the O Čera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to [E92] establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Čera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/) comes from a subdivision of Bãdejebage Čębegeʷõge: Iparečeba, of the Bãdejebage Čabogẽʷõge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bãdejeba Čębegeʷõ had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement.

614 [787] Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/299 cont./ Colbacchini

614 counts 18 names for the Paiwe, four for the Bokodori, six for the
[114] Ki, three for the Bādejeba, seven for the Āróre, five for the Ewāguddu, eight for the Apibore, etc.... We did not arrive at an equal /300/ number, but as those which we collected on the Río Vermelho are most often not the same as those which he obtained on the Garças River, it is probable that the true number, expressing the combined whole of different local traditions, is much higher. Moreover, among these names, all do not express rigorously identical traditions. If the Paiwe make use of the names corn, cotton, resin, and tobacco, it is that these plants were born from the ashes of a miraculous child, who in the form of a serpent was conceived by a Paiwe woman. One is hence really in the presence of a commemoration of magical events, in the most general sense of the term.

After this, it is futile to search for another explanation for the origin of the clan eponym than that which is applicable to the collection of names and clan emblems. The eponym is not of a special nature. It only recalls the most striking event, and this is why one finds an illustrious hero just as well as an animal, a plant, or an object. One clan is proud of having brought tobacco to the collectivity, as another recalls that its ancestor was the inventor of the labial pendant. Moreover: this event is not always sufficiently striking to create unanimity among the clan members or among fellow citizens of other clans. Hence the utilization in one village of a name not used elsewhere; hence the secondary divisions of clans.

[175] The maximal expression of the system then would be the
[187] following: a philosophical doctrine, based on belief in the reincarnation of the soul in animal form, which took on the quality of a personal revelation for certain individuals, celebrated by their descendants in the form of a commemorative name. It is possible that the Čiba Čera, for example, may have been led to extend to all their descendants the experience of an illustrious ancestor, and may have begun to think that they were all destined to live again in the form of the red arara. But it has not been

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ewǎguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
773 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
[262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character.
[614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

57 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
[115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from the beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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[115] constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[199] years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bãdejeba—one Bãdejeba Čãboge^{w}õ or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ, however, held a pre-eminent place.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębege^{w}õge and Čãbõge^{w}õge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bãdejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bãdejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the ^{a}Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bãdejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

/302 cont./

571 side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the
614 Bādejebage Čabōgeʷōge. The existence, the name, and the
616 localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained.
621 While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them,
[634] we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷō from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge found themselves completely stripped.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tuǰawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[713] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębege^{w}ōge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

080 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

Plate VII

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

Plate VIII

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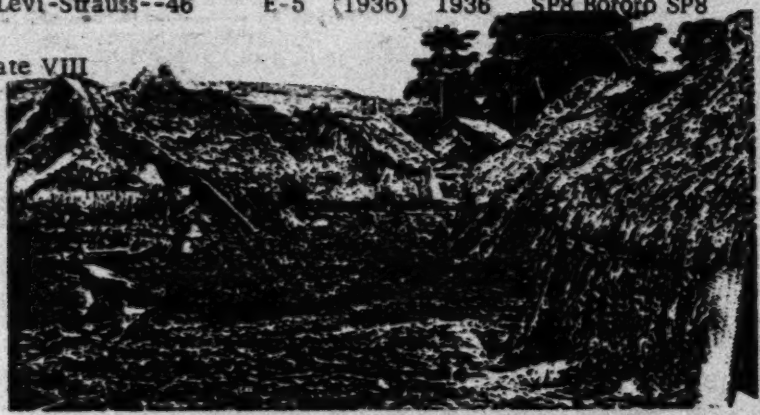

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1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

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1:Lévi-Strauss--47 E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

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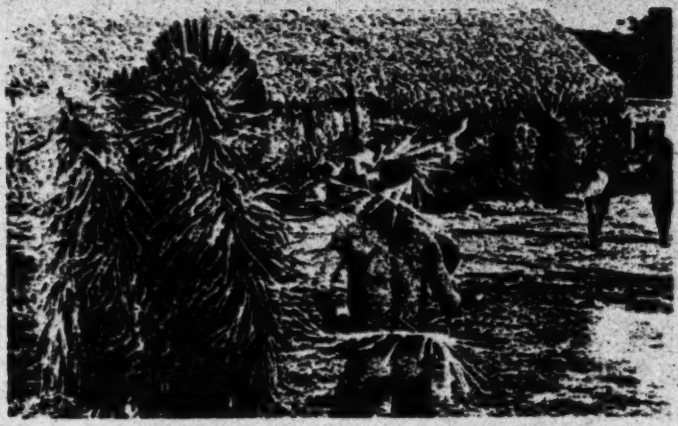

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1:Lévi-Strauss--47a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The men's house, door of the Tugare.
B. Dance of the Paiwe clan.
C. Dance of the buriti clan.

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Plate X

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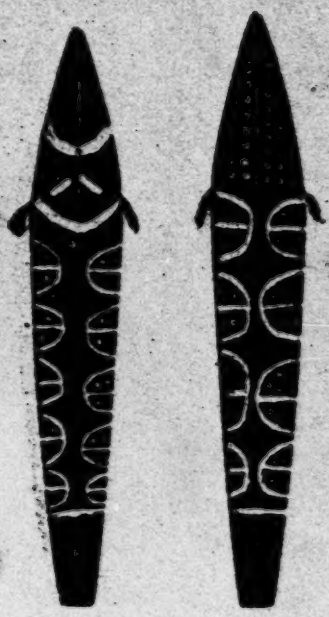

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1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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[For specific data examplifying the "concrete expressions of the social structure," see category 116, pp. 25-34.]

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[Since there are many similarities between the marid'do funeral dance described by Lévi-Strauss (1: Lévi-Strauss, pp. 22-24) and the mano race described by Cook (8:Cook, pp. 282-283), the researcher would be well advised to compare the two descriptions.]

[For additional brief statements on the "paramount" chief of the Rio Vermelho area, see also category 643.]

[Information on the general chief of all the Bororo of the Rio Vermelho and the upper São Lourenço will be found in category 634.]

1: Lévi-Strauss SP6 Bororo

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PARIS, Ve

1936

[Title page]

CONTRIBUTION A L'ÉTUDE DE L'ORGANISATION SOCIALE DES INDIENS BORORO,

PAR CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS.

(*Planches VII-X*).

Des deux centres de peuplement bororo situés, l'un au nord-ouest de Cuiabà, l'autre à l'est-sud-est de la même ville, le second comprend aujourd'hui trois groupes de villages indigènes : ceux du moyen et haut São Lourenço, pourvus de résidents du Service de Protection des Indiens, ceux du Rio das Garças, dans la région diamantifère, contrôlés par les missions salésiennes. Enfin les trois *aldées* de Kejara, Pobori, et Jarudori, sur le Rio Vermelho, affluent de la rive gauche du haut São Lourenço, ont été moins directement soumises aux influences religieuse et administrative. C'est dans la plus importante d'entre elles, l'*aldeia* Kejara, que nous avons effectué un séjour en janvier-février 1936, à l'époque où la saison des pluies isole complètement les indigènes des rares contacts qu'ils peuvent avoir, en d'autres époques de l'année, avec la population brésilienne ; celle-ci d'ailleurs, toujours très faible, a depuis quelque temps complètement évacué la région où les conditions matérielles et sanitaires semblent particulièrement défavorables. A part deux télégraphistes, quelques familles de pêcheurs, lépreux pour la plupart, vivent seulement sur les bords des fleuves.

L'*aldeia* Kejara occupe une vaste clairière en partie naturelle sur la rive gauche du Rio Vermelho, immédiatement au bord du fleuve et limitée, au sud, à l'ouest et à l'est, par des escarpements de grès rouge. Tout autour du village s'étendent, sur quelques centaines de mètres, en intime mélange avec la forêt ou la broussaille qui recommence à sortir de terre, les cultures indigènes : manioc, maïs, riz. A travers elles, comme à travers le village, vaguent librement quelques poules et canards, présents du Service de Protection, qui vivent aujourd'hui en état à demi sauvage,

et qu'on tire à l'arc quand on désire les capturer. En janvier-février 1936, l'*aldeia* Kejara comptait, en plus de la « maison des hommes », vingt-sept maisons habitées, pour la plupart, par plusieurs familles. La population totale, impossible à évaluer de façon précise — une partie du village se trouvant constamment, qui à la pêche, qui à la chasse, qui en visite ou en mission auprès d'autres villages indigènes — se montait approximativement à cent quarante personnes, le nombre des femmes étant plus faible que celui des hommes, et les enfants de moins de quinze ans n'excédant certainement pas une dizaine, dont deux ou trois à peine en bas âge. Le type humain semble bien conservé ; le nombre d'individus beaux et sains — surtout parmi les hommes — atteignait la grosse majorité (*Pl. VII, A-B. A* : *Tõnkõ̃d'da*˜, vingt-cinq ans environ ; taille : 1 m. 723 ; Indice céphalique horizontal : 84,65). Les maladies qui sévissent dans la région : fièvre jaune et variole, sont de celles qui éliminent plus qu'elles ne diminuent. De la dernière, beaucoup d'indigènes portaient cependant les traces. Un lépreux habitait le village. Avec un aveugle, il représentait les seules infirmités.

Un seul indigène, échappé des missions, parlait couramment le portugais qu'il avait, paraît-il, jadis su lire et écrire. Cinq ou six le comprenaient, mais n'avaient à leur disposition qu'un vocabulaire de quelques mots. Les autres ignorent complètement la langue.

Structure du village.

L'*aldeia* Kejara est divisée en deux phrâtries exogamiques, dénommées respectivement *Tugare* et *Čera*. Le sens de ces termes ne nous a jamais été précisé ; une fois seulement, à propos du clan *Ki*, qui signifie tapir, on nous fit remarquer que tous les *Čera* sont tapirs. Chacune de ces phrâtries est divisée en plusieurs clans[1] ou groupes de clans dont voici la liste :

Phrâtrie *Tugare* :

Clan *Paiwe*, ou Hérisson

Clan *Ãrõre*, ou Chenille

Clan *Ewõgudõu*, ou Burity

Clan *Apibore*.

1. Le terme *rõe*, que nous traduisons ainsi, signifie exactement « groupe de parents ».

Phrâtrie *Čera* :

Clan *Bâdejeba*, ou Chef

Clan *O Čera*, ou *Čera* à l'Ibis

Clan *Ki*, ou Tapir

Clan *Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge*, ou Grand-Tatou-Arara rouge-Daurade

Clan *Bakoro*

Clan *Bâro*, ou Pendentif de lèvre inférieure.

A côté des divisions claniques proprement dites on trouve un certain nombre de distinctions de caractères différents (*Note I*, p. 298).

La structure morphologique du village traduit immédiatement l'organisation sociale. Les maisons sont distribuées autour d'un grand cercle, dont le centre approximatif est occupé par la maison des hommes (*baitemannanage*); celle-ci est construite sur un axe nord-sud. Une ligne ouest-sud-ouest et est-nord-est, fortement oblique par rapport à cet axe, divise le village en deux moitiés à peu près égales : la partie sud-est comprend les maisons *Tugare*; la partie nord-ouest est formée par les maisons *Čera*. Le diamètre du cercle ayant été établi un peu trop court pour le nombre des maisons, une maison appartenant au clan *Ki* s'est trouvée poussée légèrement en retrait de l'alignement (*Pl. VIII, A* : au premier plan la cabane *O Čera ̊cębege^{m}ö*, cachant en partie une cabane *Ki*. Au deuxième plan, de gauche à droite, les cabanes *Ki kujagorö*, *Bokodori čębege^{m}ö*, *Bokodori-Kõge baiaddada*). De nombreux témoignages indigènes affirment que, dans le passé, cette situation était normale, et que le village comprenait plusieurs cercles concentriques, les maisons relevant du même clan se trouvant situées approximativement les unes derrière les autres.

La distribution du village exprime ainsi la structure sociale. Mais elle exprime aussi sa position géographique. Un second axe, fortement oblique par rapport au précédent, et perpendiculaire au cours du fleuve, divise à son tour le village en deux moitiés : celle des *Čâbege^{m}ôge*, c'est-à-dire de « ceux de l'amont », et celle des *Čębege^{m}ôge*, ou « de l'aval ». Chacune de ces moitiés comprend évidemment des maisons appartenant à l'une et l'autre phrâtrie. Et la distribution spatiale des clans à l'intérieur de chaque hémicycle fait que trois d'entre eux se trouvent également divisés en deux groupes selon leur position par rapport au fleuve. Nous avons ainsi :

Éwdguddudège tçhège^{m}ège : ceux du Burity de l'aval

Éwdguddudège tâhège^{m}ège : ceux du Burity de l'amont

Àrère tçhège^{m}ège : ceux de la Chenille de l'aval

Àrère tâhège^{m}ège : ceux de la Chenille de l'amont

Bokodori tçhège^{m}ège : ceux du Grand-Tatou de l'aval

Bokodori tâhège^{m}ège : ceux du Grand-Tatou de l'amont

Par contre, les clans *Paiuv*, *Bakoro*, *Bêro*, sont entièrement de l'amont ; les clans *Ki*, *O*, *Bâdejeba*, *Apibore*, entièrement de l'aval.

Les deux maisons qui font respectivement face aux deux portes de la maison des hommes, et par lesquelles passe le diamètre diviseur de l'amont et de l'aval, portent un nom spécial, exprimant leur position particulière. Leurs habitants sont dits *Baiâddada^{m}ge*, c'est-à-dire « ceux qui regardent la maison » (fig. 13, n° 4 et 17). Il est à remarquer que la porte de la maison des hommes qui fait face à la moitié *Tugare* s'appelle *Ćera*, tandis que celle faisant face à la moitié *Ćera* s'appelle *Tugare*, le mariage étant matrilocal (*Pl. IX, A*).

En sus de ces déterminations spatiales, les indigènes en utilisent également d'autres, d'après l'ordre énumératif, l'importance, ou les relations familiales. Certaines maisons sont appelées *Bo'pokeje^{m}ège*, « les derniers » (littéralement : *'Bo'*, des gens ; *pokeje*, de nouveau ; *we*, là ; *-ge*, pluriel). Ainsi avons-nous *Bâdejeba bo'pokeje^{m}o* (fig. 13, n° 12), nom particulier de la dernière maison de la phratrie *Ćera*, et *Éwdguddudège bo'pokeje^{m}ège* (fig. 13, n° 16).

Une maisonnée peut aussi recevoir un nom spécial d'après l'importance particulière du groupement ou de la construction. Ainsi la maison 15 appelée, peut-être pour sa forme remarquable, *Éwdguddudège kurigó*, « ceux du Burity le grand ».

Enfin, lorsque la répartition des membres du clan en maisons différentes correspond à une distribution systématique des parents d'une même famille, chaque maison est désignée par son caractère familial. Ainsi (fig. 13, n° 17) *Éwdguddudège etu'manaège* : ceux du Burity les Frères Aînés, et (18) *Éwdguddudège etu'iermage* : ceux du Burity les Frères Cadets.

Il est possible également que l'adoption ou le partage d'emblèmes entre membres du même clan aboutissent à créer d'autres déterminations secon-

daires. Plusieurs clans se divisent ainsi en deux sous-clans distingués respectivement par les couleurs rouge et noire. Ainsi :

Apibore toreö : noir (22)

Apibore kujagureö : rouge (22)

Paiwe toreö (25)

Paiwe kujagureö (26)

Ewdguddu toreö (15).

Ewdguddu kujagureö (16).

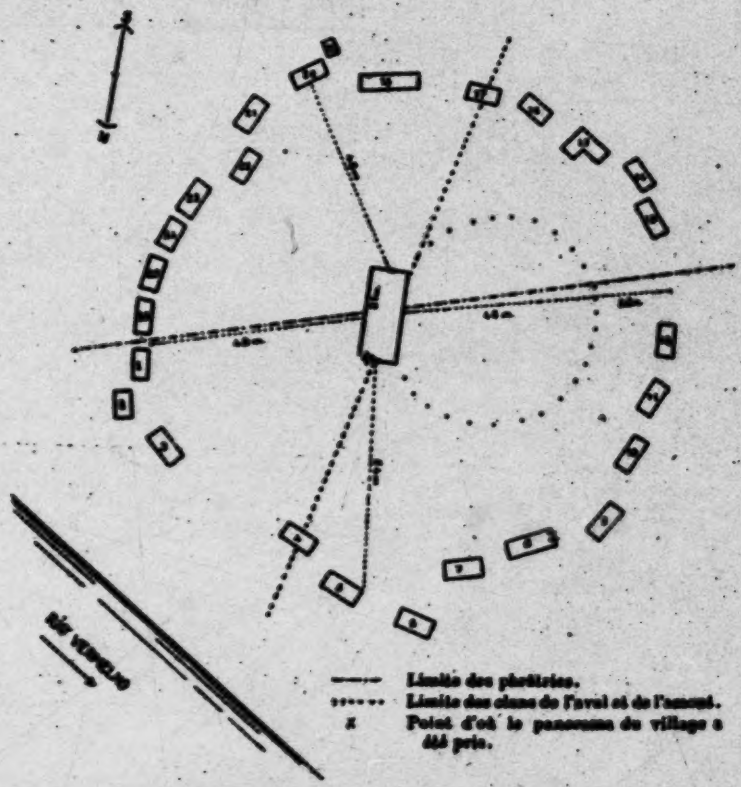

Fig. 13. — Plan de l'aldéia Kajaru. Au-dessus de la limite des phratries : les *Tugáre* ; au-dessous les *Ćera*. Les *Ćiłógwège* sont à gauche (amont) et les *Ćębogwège* à droite (aval) de l'eau qui les sépare ; au milieu, les *Baiadadège*.

Certains groupes de clans sont peut-être sortis d'un clan unique par un semblable partage d'emblèmes : les *Bóro* ont recueilli un objet associé à l'histoire légendaire du clan *Bakoro* dont ils firent sans doute autrefois partie, ainsi que les *O Čera*, héritiers eux aussi d'un animal légendaire du clan. Le clan *Bokodori* est subdivisé en *Kõge* (daurade) et *Čiba* (arara rouge) ; mais la question n'est pas claire de savoir s'il s'agit vraiment de subdivisions d'un clan principal ou d'un clan homogène se désignant par trois emblèmes : « *Bokodori* et *Kõge*, *Bokodori* et *Čiba* », disent les indigènes, « c'est la même chose ».

Le nombre des termes utilisés pour la définition des groupes est donc nettement plus important que le nombre des maisons du village. Il en résulte d'abord que les différents informateurs ne désignent pas toujours les mêmes maisons en utilisant les mêmes adjectifs ; le même informateur varie également selon les moments et les circonstances. En second lieu, chaque maison — ou presque — se trouve posséder sinon toujours un nom propre, au moins une combinaison déterminée de noms du clan, de la position, de la famille, etc., qui lui appartient exclusivement. Le village bororo se compose donc, avant tout, d'un ensemble des maisonnées, c'est-à-dire de familles, ou de groupes de familles, habitant la même maison et qualifiées sous ce seul rapport. La dénomination de la maisonnée implique toujours, entre autres, le nom du clan ; elle implique parfois le nom de la phrâtrie, comme c'est le cas le plus fréquent chez les *Čera*. Voici la liste type des maisonnées de l'*aldeia* Kejara, telle que nous avons pu la constituer en fondant les indications recueillies de nos différents informateurs, ou du même, en des occasions différentes (fig. 15).

Phrâtrie Čera :

(moitié *čãbõgeᵐõ*)
1. *Bóro Čera*
2. *Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba*
3. *Čiba Čera-Bokodori čãbõgeᵐõ*
4. *Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddadaᵉ*

(moitié *čębegeᵐõ*)
5. *Bokodori Čera čębegeᵐõ*
6. *Ki kujagoreõ*
7. *Ki*
8. *O Čera čębegeᵐõ*
9. *O Čera*
10. *Bãdejeba čębegeᵐõ*
11. *Bãdejeba čębegeᵐõ baiaddadawõ* [1]
12. *Bãdejeba čębegeᵐõ bõ/pokejeᵐõ*

1. Nous laissons subsister cette anomalie significative qui exprime le désaccord de deux informateurs quant à la position du diamètre des *baiaddadõgo* (11-20, et 4-17).

PHRÂTRIE TUGARE :

13. *Ārōre čpège^mo*
14. *Ārōre čpège^mo*
15. *Ewālguddu čerō kurigō čpège^mo*
16. *Ewālguddu bo'pokje^mo čpège^mo*
17. *Ewālguddu baiaddade^a etu'manaige.*
(moitié *čālège^mo*) 18. *Ewālguddu kujagorō etu'iermage čālège^mo*
19. abri inoccupé
20. *Ārōre čālège^mo baiaddade^a*[1]
21. *Ārōre čālège^mo*
22. *Apibore kujagorō*
23. *Apibore čerō*
24. *Apibore*
25. *Paiwe čerō*
26. *Paiwe kujagorō*

Les maisons relevant d'un même clan sont placées côte à côte, à l'exception de celles du clan *Ārōre*, séparées en deux groupes par le clan *Ewālguddu*.

Rapports avec l'organisation économique.

Il est difficile de savoir si la prise de contact des indigènes avec les civilisés[2] a beaucoup modifié leur vie économique. L'alimentation actuelle

1. Cf. note 1, p. 274.

2. Nous désignons exclusivement par ce terme le Service de Protection des Indiens. En effet, il serait absolument impossible de comprendre la stabilité relative de la culture matérielle des Bororo (dont l'étude de von den Steinen, vieille de plus de cinquante ans, offre toujours une description extraordinairement fidèle) si l'on ne tenait pas compte du fait que cette culture, par elle-même très supérieure à celle du « caboclo » brésilien, a été encore relevée au-dessus de ce dernier niveau par les présents du Service de Protection. Un pêcheur du Rio Vermelho n'a, en 1936, qu'un seul moyen de se procurer une hache : c'est d'essayer d'en obtenir une des Indiens. La raison essentielle qui nous a permis de constituer une petite troupe pour faire le voyage de Kejara, à une époque où la navigation en pirogue est particulièrement délicate, c'est que nos hommes savaient que les Indiens de ce village — où ils n'étaient jamais allés — possédaient du tabac cultivé, et qu'ils espéraient rapporter de

des Bororo est plus végétale que carnée. Cela s'explique par l'obligation croissante de recourir à l'agriculture, devant la raréfaction du gibier, et les facilités nouvelles apportées à la culture par les outils de fer distribués il y a une dizaine d'années par le Service de Protection. Comme l'agriculture est restée une tâche exclusivement féminine, l'activité des hommes s'est simplement trouvée diminuée, et le niveau d'existence de la population a baissé. Ainsi, si le Service de Protection a donné aux indigènes des avantages appréciables en comparaison de l'indigence culturelle des populations blanches ou métisses de l'intérieur, il les a certainement diminués par rapport à leur propre culture. Quoi qu'il en soit, le système actuel n'exclut pas les différences économiques. Dans le cadre des obligations collectives, chacun jouit d'une certaine liberté. C'est le chef indigène du village qui donne l'ordre d'augmenter ou de restreindre les défrichements, de semer le riz ou le maïs, ou de planter le manioc ou le tabac. L'élément féminin de chaque famille travaille une pièce de terre, et le terrain disponible, par rapport aux défrichements effectués, est suffisamment vaste pour que les répartitions se fassent sans lutte : les indigènes semblent ignorer les conflits de bornage. Les cultures sont abandonnées dès que la terre s'épuise, et l'on choisit un autre emplacement. Il existe une extrême diversité de ressources.

Les orphelins célibataires, ne pouvant compter sur le travail d'une femme (mère, épouse ou fille) sont privés de tous les produits cultivés, et vivent de la charité de leurs camarades. Il en est de même pour les vieillards ; après une chasse ou une pêche fructueuse, on leur apporte un morceau de viande ou quelques poissons. Mais parfois aussi on les oublie. L'indigent en est alors réduit à se passer de repas et pousse toute la nuit, solitaire, les gémissements rituels. Une vieille femme qui partageait notre hutte, négligée un jour par ses bienfaiteurs habituels, évoqua pendant des heures, indifférente à nos présents, les temps où ses cinq maris successifs lui assuraient le pain quotidien.

A côté existent les bien nourris, soit que leur récolte ait été particulièrement bonne, soit que la famille compte un nombre élevé de femmes (nous avons trouvé, chez des chefs, deux exemples de bigamie), soit encore qu'il s'agisse de spécialistes indispensables : l'Indien qui fournissait la tribu en meules de pierre carrées utilisées pour polir les bois durs et aiguiser les outils d'os et de fer, était considéré comme particulièrement

jeunes plants. Leur espoir a été réalisé : les trois cents plants de tabac donnés par les indigènes à nos « canoeiros » ont marqué le début de la culture du tabac par la population brésilienne du haut São Lourenço. Ces conditions exceptionnelles expliquent que la culture matérielle des Bororo, incomparablement supérieure à celle de l'environnement immédiat, se soit à peu près maintenue.

compétent, et les bénéfices de son industrie le dispensaient de toute culture.

On trouve aussi les imprévoyants. Le chef de tous les villages du Rio Vermelho dont nous étions l'hôte au Kejara, avait, depuis quelques années, utilisé son autorité pour son profit personnel. Nombreux étaient les indigènes qui, ayant défriché, planté, récolté pour lui, possédaient ainsi de véritables hypothèques. A cette imprévoyance, nous avons dû d'obtenir des objets rituels considérés comme précieux. Car *Tutenu*, qui seul pouvait en disposer, avait trouvé, en les négociant, le moyen d'obtenir des vêtements, des parures, des armes et des outils dont il n'a rien gardé, et qui lui ont intégralement servi à se libérer. Comme à la vérité son pouvoir était limité par les chefs des clans avec lesquels, avant chaque vente, il tenait d'interminables conférences, nos objets d'échange ont sans doute passé, pour une bonne part, en commissions et pots de vin qui enlevaient l'accord.

Ces différences de ressources ont un caractère personnel. Mais l'habileté à la chasse ou à la pêche, l'abondance des produits de la terre, sont des éléments secondaires de la fortune. Une richesse à caractère plus héréditaire est constituée par ces pendeutifs de dents d'once, ou ces barrettes de dents de macaque, ou encore ces longues cordelières faites de menus fragments de noix de *tucum*, d'écailles de tatou et de coquillages, dont aucun présent, quelle que soit sa somptuosité, n'induit une femme à se déposséder, et qui sont en effet le résultat des travaux et des chasses de beaucoup de générations. Nous avons un jour rencontré une femme en costume de fête qui portait au cou une barrette particulièrement belle (*Pl. X. A*, au second plan). Mise en face d'une montagne de présents, elle est partie sans mot dire, et quelques minutes plus tard, nous l'avons vue reparaître sans le précieux bijou que plus jamais elle n'a porté pendant notre séjour. Après beaucoup d'efforts, nous avons pu acquérir un autre et moins bel exemplaire, mais dès que le négoce fut connu, il provoqua une véritable fureur dans l'élément féminin du village qui ne nous ménagea pas les insultes. Ces ornements semblent passer par donation de la mère ou de la grand-mère à la fille ou à la petite-fille. Ainsi se constituent de véritables fortunes héréditaires dont les femmes sont les usufruitières, et de la possession desquelles elles tirent une morgue et une hauteur extrêmes.

Enfin, d'autres éléments de la richesse sont liés de façon plus intime encore à la structure sociale. Dans une collectivité dont l'activité la plus claire est dépensée en chants et en danses, tout ce qui sert à l'ornemen-

tation rituelle possède un prix particulier. C'est pourquoi les plumes, véritable matière première des manifestations sociales et religieuses, forment une richesse d'un genre tout spécial. Chaque indigène possède un capital de plumes, soigneusement conservées dans de longues boîtes de bois cylindriques et qui ont un « cours » déterminé selon l'espèce, la couleur et la forme. Il en est de vulgaires et de précieuses. Or l'utilisation de chaque type de plumes de valeur est le privilège d'un clan. Les plumes ordinaires sont également réglementées : leur emploi, le type d'objet dans la composition duquel elles entrent, la technique de fabrication, le style enfin, varient avec le clan. Cette spécialisation s'étend à la quasi-totalité des produits manufacturés : flèches, arcs, armes, colliers, pendentifs, diadèmes, etc. Nous exposerons plus loin ce qu'il nous a été donné de recueillir de ces privilèges sociaux. Tous les clans ne sont pas égaux quant à la variété d'armes et de parures qu'ils ont le droit de confectionner, ni quant à la rareté des matières premières qu'ils ont seuls le droit d'utiliser. Certains clans, par exemple, peuvent fabriquer plusieurs types d'arcs, d'autres un seul, certains ont dans leurs prérogatives de riches parures, tandis que les autres sont limités à des formes ou à des matériaux modestes.

A toutes les distinctions secondaires que nous avons précédemment énumérées, il faudrait donc ajouter une hiérarchie économique des clans riches, modestes et pauvres. Était particulièrement riche, d'après les indigènes, le clan, éteint au Kejara, *ᵊKario Bokodori* ; sont riches les clans ou sous-clans : *Arore tdbège*ᵐ*ège*, *Ewdguddudoge tdbège*ᵐ*ège*, *Ewdguddudoge bo'pobrieuège*. Viennent dans un rang plus modeste les *Ki*, *Kège*, *Čiba*, *Bakoro*, *Bóro*, *Paiwe*. *Apiborege*, *Ewdguddudoge baiaddadoᵊge*, *Otera*.

Les *Bâdejebage tebège*ᵐ*ège* nous ont été donnés comme spécialement pauvres.

Enfin, il semble que la hiérarchie économique se continue à l'intérieur des clans et que des différences économiques accompagnent le port de certains noms qui sont la propriété des clans. Ces noms, ou classes de noms interviennent à propos des règles du mariage.

Unions préférentielles.

Nous n'avons, durant notre séjour, assisté à aucun mariage. Le village était entièrement absorbé par des cérémonies funèbres.

Il nous a été expliqué qu'une jeune fille désireuse de se marier se rend dans le *Raitemaunanageᵊ* pour chercher le conjoint qu'elle a choisi. Mais

c'est sur les conditions de ce choix qu'il convient de s'arrêter. L'exogamie des phratries ne constitue pas la seule prohibition matrimoniale. Chaque clan contracte mariage, d'une manière au moins préférentielle, avec un nombre de clans limité de la phratrie opposée, un, deux ou trois. Or ces unions privilégiées sont moins l'attribution du clan proprement dit que des divisions intérieures au clan, qui, peut-être, ont une signification économique, mais dont le rôle essentiel semble être de régler les mariages, et qui ne coïncident exactement avec aucune des distinctions secondaires étudiées précédemment.

Le plus souvent, ces distinctions sont établies par des noms propres. Il s'agirait donc de classes comprenant chacune un seul individu, ou tout au moins un très petit nombre. Étant donné l'effondrement de la base démographique de la société bororo il pourrait difficilement en être autrement, même si, dans le passé, les catégories avaient été plus nombreuses.

On trouvera ci-dessous la liste des noms de clans que nous avons pu recueillir, avec l'indication des mariages correspondants.

PHRATRIE ČERA.

Clan	Nom	Se marie avec
Bâdejiba	*Bakorokuddu* (nom d'un héros légendaire)	*Ârère čêbogeᵐö*
	Iparaïpa (id.)	*Ârère baiaddadeᵐ*
	Wapu (?)	*Éudguddu baiaddadeᵐ*
	Merit'audra (le Sentier du Soleil)	*Apibore ba'pokujuwo*
O Čera	*Uaboröö* (?-*Uaba* : cœur)	*Éudguddu*
	Ai'ugoröö (l'Homme Peint)	*Ârère čpogeᵐö*
Ki	*Kibakororo* (*Bakororo*, le Tapir)	*Éudguddu ba'pokujeuo*
	Tu'goga (?-*Tugo* : flèche)	*Éudguddu baiaddadeᵐ*
	Mâra (?)	*Éudguddu baiaddadeᵐ*

Clan	Nom	Se marie avec
Bokodori-Čiba-Kage	*Kage* (Dourado)	*Éudgudda kowö*
	Bokodori Baro (?)	*Éudgudda kaiadda-da°*
	Arige Cota (?-*Arige* : puma)	*Éudgudda čiläge°ro*
Bakoro	*Negujiba* (héros légendaire)	*Apiboro* (*Kru'guga nobę*)
	°Kario Bokodori (héros légendaire qui nommait un clan disparu)	*Apiboro* (*Bragę*)
Bororo	*Bol'arrobo* (?)	*Ärörö kaiadda-da°*
	Jarigi-todo (Vieille Tortue)	*Apiboro kujagorö*
	PRAIRIE TUGARE.	
Paiaiu	*Baiporo* (porte ?)	*Bokodori Čera*
	Meriri kurigö (Grande Lumière)	*Bakoro Čera*
Apiboro	*Bragę* (?- indique la richesse)	*Bakoro Čera*
	Kru'guga nobę (Parent de L'Aigle-gavion ; indique la richesse)	*Bokodori-Čiba-Kage*
Éudgudda	*Tad'ugo* (?- indique la richesse)	*Ki*
	Aria kurigö (Grande Casserole ?)	*Ki*
	Bur°°gäda (?)	*Bokodori*
Ärörö	*Baitogigo* (héros légendaire)	*Badejiba*

Ce tableau, sans doute incomplet, suggère les conclusions suivantes : cinq clans contractent mariage avec trois clans. Ce sont :

Bádejebe (*Apiborr*, *Éwdguddu*, *Ārère*)
Bakoro (*Paiuu*, *Apiborr*, *Ārère*)
Bokodori-Ĉibu-Kège (*Paiuu*, *Apiborr*, *Éwdguddu*)
Apiborr (*Bádejebe*, *Bakoro*, *Bokodori-Ĉibu-Kège*)
Éwdguddu (*Bádejebe*, *Ki*, *Bokodori-Ĉibu-Kège*)

deux clans contractent mariage avec deux clans :

Paiuu (*Bakoro-Bokodori*)
Ārère (*Bádejebe-Bóro*)

un clan se marie avec un seul clan :

Ki (*Éwdguddu*).

L'étude de la terminologie de la parenté permet de préciser ce système d'union préférentielle. Le vocabulaire indigène distingue, en effet, pour la plupart des degrés de parenté, entre l'aîné et le cadet. Ainsi :

eguu namunu : frère aîné du père
eguu nie : frère cadet du père
mugê vuri : frère aîné de la mère
mugê nie : frère cadet de la mère
eguu ainge : sœur aînée du père
eguu nie : sœur cadette du père
máru : frère aîné
nie : frère (ou sœur) cadet
ainge : sœur aînée.

D'autre part on trouve un seul terme pour représenter plusieurs relations de parenté dans les cas suivants :

mariga : ancêtre, sœur aînée du père, belle-mère (l'homme parlant)
uru : frère de la mère, frère aîné (la femme parlant)
nie : frère cadet, cousin
iedage : beau-père, père du père
mugê pega : belle-mère, mère du père (littéralement : mère mauvaise).

Ces identifications permettent de conclure au système matrimonial que voici :

Un individu masculin peut contracter deux types de mariage. Il épousera, soit la sœur cadette de son père, soit la fille de la sœur aînée de son père. Dans le premier cas, le père de son père est en même temps son beau-père, la mère de son père sa belle-mère. Dans le second cas, la sœur aînée de son père est sa belle-mère.

La sœur de ce même individu ne peut pas, symétriquement, épouser le frère de sa mère, puisqu'ils appartiennent tous deux à la même phratrie. Son oncle rentre donc dans la catégorie des hommes qu'elle ne peut pas épouser, et elle a un seul nom pour désigner les frères de sa mère et ses propres frères (aînés). Pour elle les combinaisons couvertes sont : le fils du frère de sa mère, et le fils de son frère aîné. L'oncle maternel et le frère aîné sont donc identifiés par la jeune fille comme les deux fournisseurs de conjoints possibles. Il en résulte que les hommes ont des femmes de leur âge ou plus âgées qu'eux, tandis que les femmes ont des maris de leur âge ou plus jeunes qu'elles. Ce que l'expérience confirme : le mariage d'une femme et de sa fille d'un lit précédent avec un nouveau mari constitue le cas type de bigamie chez les Bororo.

En outre, il existe pour une femme trois catégories d'hommes : ceux plus âgés qu'elle et qu'elle ne peut épouser (frères de la mère, frères aînés) ; ceux plus jeunes qu'elle et qu'elle ne peut épouser (fils du frère du père, frères cadets) ; ceux enfin, de son âge ou plus jeunes, avec lesquels elle peut contracter mariage.

Les Bororo ont donc possédé, au moins dans le passé, deux formes de mariage, à savoir : le mariage croisé et le mariage du neveu avec sa tante. Il n'est pas possible de dire, en l'état actuel de notre information, si ces mariages sont toujours rigoureusement pratiqués, s'ils sont contemporains, ou si l'une des formes représente par rapport à l'autre un stade évolué. Mais, à la différence du mariage croisé typique, ce n'est pas le frère de la mère qui est identifié au beau-père, mais le père du frère de la mère.

De même, la sœur épouse le fils du frère de sa mère, ou le fils de son frère aîné. Du point de vue des règles du mariage, chaque génération se trouve donc coupée en deux moitiés, les aînés se mariant à l'intérieur de leur génération, ou dans celle immédiatement supérieure, à laquelle ils sont assimilés, tandis que les cadets trouvent leur conjoint à l'intérieur de leur génération, où dans celle immédiatement inférieure, à laquelle ils sont assimilés. Ainsi, un jeune homme bororo distinguera de la façon la plus nette, parmi les sœurs de sa mère, entre les plus jeunes, qui sont pour lui autant de femmes possibles, et les plus âgées, qui sont les mères

de ses autres épouses éventuelles ; il identifiera donc ses plus jeunes tantes et leurs nièces.

Seules des investigations ultérieures pourront dire si, comme il est probable, les classes de noms déterminant les unions préférentielles à l'intérieur de chaque clan et que nous avons énumérées plus haut, correspondent à la division des générations en aînés et en cadets ; celle-ci apparaissait déjà manifeste dans les déterminations secondaires du clan *Ewãgudu* (fig. 15, n° 17 et 18).

Le commandement.

Le village du Kejara est la résidence du chef général de tous les Bororo du Rio Vermelho et du haut São Lourenço. Celui-ci se nomme *Tuiawu* ; les pêcheurs brésiliens de la région l'ont surnommé *Cadete*. Au moment de notre séjour il semblait âgé d'une soixantaine d'années.

Il jouissait d'une grande autorité, bien que les indigènes ne se privassent pas de lancer contre lui — en son absence — des traits sans malveillance. On plaisantait sa paresse, et son habitude de faire travailler ses subordonnés à son profit. Mais, pendant tout notre séjour, nous n'avons jamais vu qu'un ordre de lui ne fût pas scrupuleusement exécuté. Lui-même se vantait d'avoir rétabli l'équilibre économique du village, après la fondation du Service de Protection des Indiens, en faisant défricher de grandes étendues et planter le riz. A deux reprises nous avons pu constater la discipline de la population. Quelques jours après notre arrivée, ayant apprécié l'importance de nos provisions, il donna l'ordre de travailler une journée entière à la confection d'objets d'échange ; et depuis l'aube jusqu'à la nuit, le *haitemannanage* fut un véritable atelier, où tous les hommes de la tribu se livrèrent sans discontinuer aux plus ingénieuses tâches. Un peu plus tard *Tuiawu* lança un ordre de pêche. Le village entier partit le lendemain dans une trentaine de pirogues, nous laissant seuls avec les femmes et les enfants dans les maisons abandonnées.

Ses pouvoirs étaient assez vastes. C'est lui qui présidait à la vie économique de la tribu soit en décidant chaque année des terres à défricher et à mettre en culture, et des genres de plantations, soit en ordonnant les chasses, les pêches et les diverses fabrications. Il ordonnait aussi, éventuellement, le déplacement du site du village. Le Kejara n'occupait son emplacement actuel que depuis quelques années ; le village se trouvait auparavant à deux kilomètres environ vers l'aval. Le but de l'émigration avait été de fuir la variole, et déjà *Tuiawu* songeait à un nouveau voyage, car la maladie recommençait ses ravages.

D'autre part, le chef décidait les fêtes, les faisait remettre quand son état de santé l'exigeait, et y prenait une part active : une bonne partie du cérémonial lui incombait, et beaucoup de chœurs l'avaient comme *leader* ou comme récitant. Tous les objets, parures ou instruments utilisés dans les danses ou dans les cérémonies religieuses, bien qu'en dehors de leur emploi ils fussent disséminés dans les maisons des différents acteurs, lui appartenaient. Tout au moins il pouvait seul en disposer. C'est toujours avec lui personnellement que nous avons dû traiter pour l'achat des objets rituels, même quand nous les avions découverts au fond d'une maison éloignée. Aucun présent n'aurait décidé le propriétaire à prendre sur lui le négoce [1].

Enfin, les infanticides rentrent dans les attributions du chef ; il étouffe les nouveau-nés indésirables en leur fermant de sa main le nez et la bouche.

Bien qu'on nous renvoyât toujours à lui pour l'acquisition des objets d'usage collectif, *Tutawa* concluait rarement l'affaire sous sa propre autorité. De longues conférences avaient lieu, où comparaissaient les chefs des clans et ses amis et hommes de confiance. Il avait en effet pour habitude de s'entourer de conseillers n'exerçant souvent aucune fonction politique, mais qui possédaient sur lui une grande influence. C'est le plus souvent par leur intermédiaire — on s'était vite chargé de nous les faire connaître — que nous lui demandions les autorisations nécessaires à la poursuite de nos travaux. Quelques heures après, *Tutawa* survenait, s'asseyait à notre côté, restait silencieux, puis nous souriait mystérieusement et réclamait un présent. L'accord était fait.

Moins encore qu'avec nous, *Tutawa* communiquait personnellement avec ses sujets. Il les voyait peu, ayant transporté sa maison sur la rive droite du fleuve, où il habitait seul avec ses deux femmes et où il possédait ses cultures. Sauf quand sa présence était rendue nécessaire par les cérémonies, il ne passait que quelques heures au village. Il se rendait alors dans la cabane du clan *O Cera* (8) sur laquelle il semblait avoir un droit de propriété, que tout au moins il avait mise à notre disposition, et que nous partagions avec une vieille veuve et le ménage hostile d'un « bari ». C'est là — ou bien encore dans la maison des hommes — que le rejoignaient ses hommes de confiance, et qu'il leur communiquait ses décisions.

Le village, lui, en prenait connaissance au cours d'un cérémonial quo-

1. Certains objets rituels, d'ailleurs, ne peuvent être confectionnés que par le chef. Ainsi la grande couronne de plumes de gavion (*krug'ège*), que porte le *leader* des danses cérémonielles. La double difficulté de l'obtention de ces plumes, d'une part, et du rituel de fabrication d'autre part, explique que de tels accessoires aient pour les indigènes une valeur considérable.

tidien qui avait lieu après le coucher du soleil. Au moment où la nuit tombe, un grand feu est allumé près du *Baitemannanage*, auprès duquel se groupent les chefs des clans ; d'une voix très forte l'un d'eux fait un véritable « appel » des clans, dont les noms résonnent successivement dans la nuit. Au fur et à mesure de l'arrivée des intéressés, les ordres pour le lendemain leur sont communiqués, toujours sur ce ton élevé qui porte chaque parole dans la maison la plus éloignée. A ce moment de la journée, les habitations sont vides d'ailleurs, ou presque. Avec la tombée du jour qui chasse les moustiques, tous les hommes sont sortis de leurs maisons qu'ils avaient rejointes aux environs de six heures. Chacun porte sur son bras la natte qu'il va étendre sur la terre battue de la grande place ronde entourée de piquets située sur le côté ouest de la maison masculine. Chacun se couche, entouré d'une grande couverture de coton complètement teinte en orangé au contact des corps couverts d'*urucú*, et où le Service de Protection reconnaîtrait difficilement des présents vieux de six ou huit ans. Sur les nattes longues, on s'installe à cinq ou six et l'on échange peu de paroles. Quelques-uns sont seuls ; on circule entre tous ces corps allongés. A mesure que se poursuit l'appel, les indigènes chefs des familles nommées, se lèvent alternativement, vont connaître leur tâche du lendemain, et retournent s'étendre la figure aux étoiles. Les femmes aussi sont sorties des maisons. Elles forment des groupes sur le pas des portes où des nattes encore ont été préparées. Les conversations se font de plus en plus rares et progressivement, conduits d'abord par deux ou trois officiants, et s'amplifiant par les arrivées successives, on commence à entendre, d'abord au fond de la maison des hommes, puis sur la place elle-même, les chants, les récitatifs et les chœurs qui dureront toute la nuit.

Sur la désignation du chef, nous n'avons pu obtenir aucune information sérieuse. Le commandement est probablement héréditaire à l'intérieur du clan, passant à la mort du titulaire au fils de la sœur. En fait, *Tutawa* ne laissait aucun héritier. D'après les informateurs indigènes, un conseil d'anciens ou de chefs de clans devra se réunir à sa mort pour désigner un successeur. *Tutawa*, détenteur en apparence du pouvoir presque absolu (sur le plan temporel s'entend)[1] appartenait au clan *Bakoro*, tandis que le clan *Bâdejeba* ou Chef nous était dépeint comme « très pauvre » et dans une situation « inférieure » (*Note II*, p. 301).

1. Nous laissons complètement de côté tout ce qui se rapporte au pouvoir spirituel et à la vie religieuse.

Privilèges et obligations des clans.

Les clans sont liés les uns aux autres par un réseau d'obligations et de droits réciproques.

Une étude extensive de ce système de prestations apparaît comme particulièrement urgente. Notre trop court séjour nous a seulement permis de déterminer trois cas incontestables où une phrâtrie se trouve obligée vis-à-vis de sa complémentaire.

Au moment de l'initiation des jeunes gens, le chef du village confie à des hommes de la phrâtrie opposée à la leur, le soin de leur préparation.

A la mort d'un Indien, une chasse collective est organisée par la tribu ; cette chasse doit se terminer par le meurtre d'un animal de choix. Or, c'est à un chasseur de la phrâtrie opposée à celle du défunt que le plus proche parent de celui-ci confie les emblèmes funèbres et le soin de mener l'expédition à son terme. A notre arrivée à l'*aldeia* Kejara, des cérémonies funéraires commençaient. Mais la chasse rituelle avait lieu le jour même où nous atteignions le village. Nous n'avons donc pu la suivre.

Enfin, les danses effectuées à l'occasion des funérailles, incombent à certains clans spécialisés dans leur préparation. Ainsi, la fête du *marid'do*,[1]

1. Le *marid'do* est une sorte de très longue échelle souple, dont les barreaux sont faits de tiges de palmiers coupées en tronçons de 25 cm. environ ; ces tronçons sont attachés ensemble par des liens de palme verte grossièrement tordue. Chaque barreau est fait d'un faisceau de deux (grand *marid'do*) ou trois (petit *marid'do*) tronçons. Au fur et à mesure de la fabrication, cette échelle est enroulée sur elle-même, jusqu'à former, pour le plus grand exemplaire, un disque de 1 m. 50 de diamètre. Les deux faces sont alors garnis de palme verte, maintenue par un réseau de cordelettes en cheveux de femme. Le sommet du disque est orné sur une longueur de 50 cm. environ avec des applications de duvet. Le grand *marid'do* est appelé *Ewigaddudage tereö marid'do* ; le petit, *Ewigaddudage kujagoröö marid'do*. Mais ce ne sont pas nécessairement des indigènes de ce clan qui les ont fabriqués. Quelque temps avant la fête, les deux *marid'do* sont solennellement sortis de la maison des hommes et transportés au milieu du *bororo* où ils sont placés parallèlement, à deux mètres environ de distance, et sur l'axe de séparation des phrâtries. La danse du *marid'do* dure deux jours ; chaque protagoniste s'efforce de soulever à bout de bras un des disques, de le porter le plus longtemps possible en courant et en sautant sur

est placée sous le patronage du clan *Ewdguddu*, et à l'occasion de la mort du même individu (*Bâdejeba*) une autre cérémonie avait lieu sous les auspices du clan *Paiwe*. C'étaient donc des clans *Tugare* qui officiaient pour la mort d'un *Čera*. Mais à son tour, la phrâtrie *Čera* était obligée à prendre part à la fête, pour tenir le rôle de partenaire. « Ce sont les *Ewdguddudoge* qui dansent », disaient les indigènes « mais les *Čera* les aident... ». Cette dualité s'exprime bien dans certaines danses où les protagonistes, recouverts de feuillages, se forment sur deux lignes qui se font face aux deux extrémités du *bororo*, puis partent en tourbillonnant vers le camp adverse, se croisent au milieu du terrain et s'arrêtent après avoir accompli l'échange des places. Chaque camp comprend exclusivement des danseurs d'une phrâtrie. Après les danses, les participants sont lavés à grande eau par des membres de la phrâtrie opposée.

Un réseau d'obligations plus complexe lie les clans entre eux, avec les échanges de nourriture consommée dans la maison des hommes. A l'intérieur du *Baitemannauage*, toutes les deux heures environ, un homme venu de sa propre maison apporte un grand bol collectif de *miugau* préparé par sa femme. Son arrivée est accueillie par les grands cris joyeux rituels « *au, au* », qui rompent étrangement le silence de l'après-midi. Puis, avec un cérémonial fixe, le prestataire va chercher six ou huit hommes et les conduit devant le bol, où ils se mettent à puiser avec leur écuelle de coquillage. Le détail de ce système ne nous a pas été fourni ; nous avons pu comprendre que chaque clan est obligé vis-à-vis de certains autres clans, et qu'ainsi tous se fournissent réciproquement la nourriture, au moins entre les hommes. Car, à part les repas pris dans le club masculin et ceux apportés aux danseurs à la fin de chaque cérémonie, chaque famille pourvoit, dans sa maison particulière, à sa propre alimentation.

Les privilèges des clans portent sur la possession exclusive de noms, de chansons, de danses, d'emblèmes, et dans des droits spéciaux à l'utili-

place. Les échecs provoquent la joie de l'assistance. Pendant toute la cérémonie (*Pl. VIII, C* et *Pl. X, B*) on chante sans arrêt les paroles suivantes :

ʷurę ʷurę	pied, pied
kaia kaia	pilon, pilon
manó marid'do	danse du *marid'do*
ʒęgu'ę	nous autres
ʒę	brûlons
uoro	le vin de *burity*
hu hu	oui, oui
ʒęęiga	nous joyeux

sation de certaines techniques, de certains objets et de certains matériaux. Ces prérogatives sont strictement respectées. Un Indien, à qui nous demandions ce qui empêchait un clan de fabriquer pour son compte les ornements du clan voisin, a considéré l'hypothèse comme parfaitement invraisemblable. Devant notre insistance, il nous dit que les membres du clan se fâcheraient certainement et infligeraient une correction au contrevenant ; mais de tels incidents, paraît-il, ne se produisent jamais.

Expressions concrètes de la structure sociale.

Les figures 16 à 19 résument ce qu'il nous a été possible de recueillir de ces expressions concrètes de la structure sociale.

Objets.

Les arcs. — On trouve au Kejara trois types d'arcs :

l'arc commun, en bois nu, indifférencié ;

l'arc de grande chasse (fig. 16). Il est identique au précédent, mais de part et d'autre du secteur de bois nu que saisit la main gauche et du secteur recouvert de corde pour protéger le bois du frottement de la flèche, le bois est orné d'anneaux blancs faits avec l'écorce du palmier *nagnassû* (*noid'do*), et fixés par des ligatures de fibre végétale. Le nombre de ces anneaux, et leur disposition par rapport au milieu de l'arc, caractérisent les clans.

l'arc d'apparat. Comme dans le type pré-

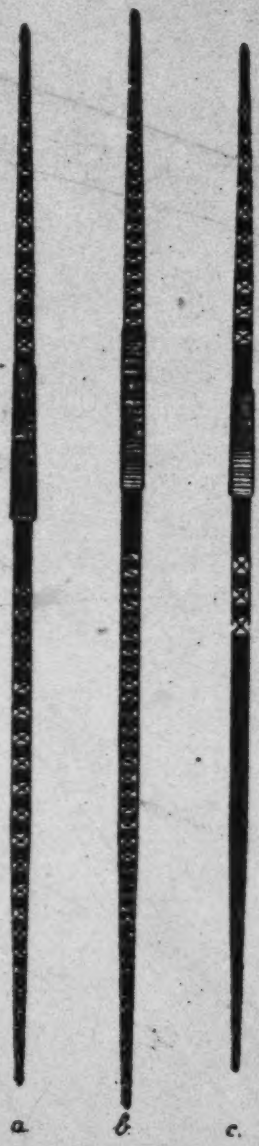

Fig. 16. — Arcs de grande chasse.
a : clan *Ki* (21/13)
b : clan *Apiboré* (26/18)
c : clan *Bidejéba* (3/10).

cédent, la partie centrale est en bois nu, sauf l'enroulement protecteur. Tout le reste de l'arc est recouvert d'une ornementation qui varie avec les différents exemplaires : gaines de plumes collées, anneaux de plumes ou de fourrure, mosaïques de plumes de couleurs différentes, etc... Tout le long du bois sont attachées, par paires ou par unités, de longues plumes d'arara ou de gavion. Enfin, certains exemplaires présentent à l'extrémité sommitale un bouquet de plumes variées.

L'origine de l'arc se déduit des trois éléments suivants : 1) nature et couleur du revêtement du bois ; 2) nombre, répartition, nature et couleur des plumes accrochées au bois ; 3) nature des plumes ou insignes placés dans le bouquet sommital ; ainsi, certains arcs du clan *Rakaro* portent, au milieu des plumes de l'extrémité, une petite latte de bois recouverte d'une tresse de fil noir et de piquants de porc-épic, cette technique étant son privilège.

La fig. 17 donne quatre « formules » d'arcs d'apparat :

a. Non identifié ; longueur 1 m. 52. Bois recouvert de petites plumes rouges collées avec de la résine ; sur les côtés, deux crêtes de duvet blanc interrompues au milieu.

br : plumes d'arara bleu et rouge
vr : plumes d'arara vert et rouge
bj : plumes d'arara bleu et jaune
bn : plumes de gavion à zones alternées blanc et noir
j : plumes de toucan jaunes.

b. Clan *Ārōre* ; longueur 1 m. 62. Bois recouvert de plumes rouges collées. Toutes les plumes pendantes sont attachées par paires. Bouquet sommital de petites plumes de perroquet rouges et jaunes, avec cinq longues plumes emblématiques.

b : bleu — r : rouge
br, bj, bn : comme ci-dessus.

c. Clan *Ārōre* (*ṭebegeᵐō*) ; longueur 1 m. 62. Bois recouvert d'anneaux alternés de plumes collées noires, jaunes et rouges.

r, bj, br : comme ci-dessus.

d. Clan *Ṭiba Ṭera* ; longueur 1 m. 50. Bois recouvert de plumes rouges collées, avec bagues de duvet blanc. Plumes accrochées de façon asymétrique par paires et par unités.

br, bj : comme ci-dessus.

Un exemplaire du clan *Ewdguddu* donne la formule suivante (fig. 18) :

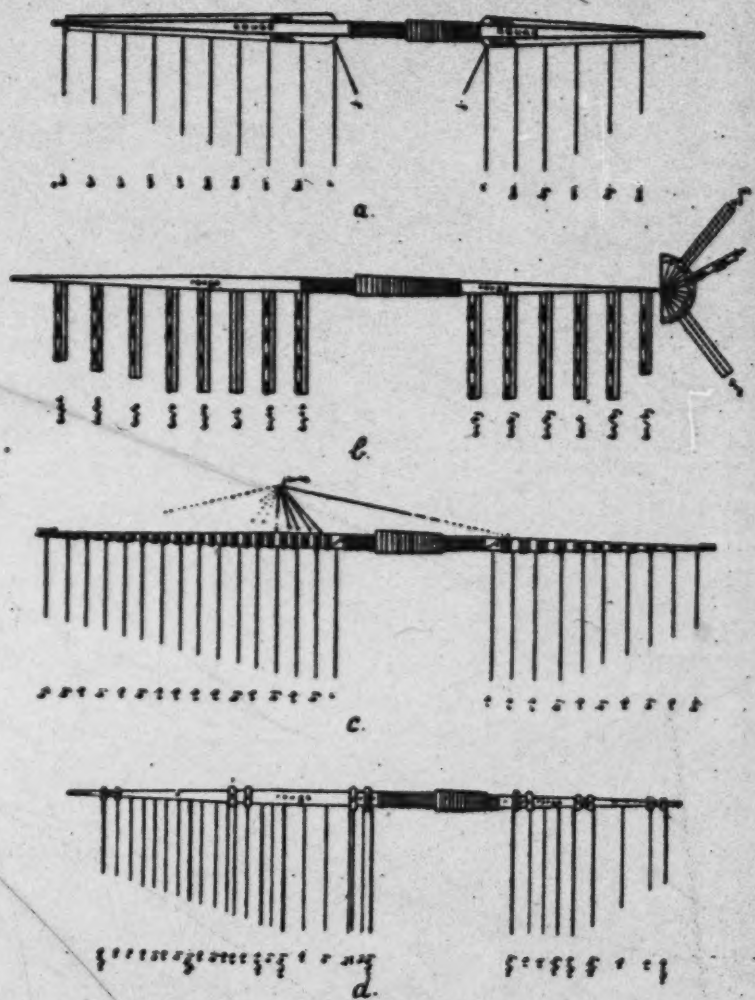

Fig. 17. — Arcs d'apparat.

bois recouvert de plumes rouges collées avec incrustations, sur la face interne, de petits carrés de plumes jaunes (moitié inférieure, quatre groupes de six ; moitié supérieure, trois groupes de six). Bouquet sommital de petites plumes de perroquet jaunes et rouges, avec sept plumes d'arara : br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. Toutes les plumes ornementales accrochées par paires. Moitié inférieure : br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Moitié supérieure : br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

Les flèches. — Les flèches utilisées à l'*aldeia* Kejara appartiennent à quatre types :

les flèches-harpon pour la pêche, indifférenciées ;

les flèches « à macaque », à pointe faite d'un os aiguisé coiffant le bois, indifférenciées;

les flèches à oiseau, à tête-massue, indifférenciées ;

les flèches à once, subdivisées en deux types :

1) pointe en bois dentelé ; une rangée de dentelures indique les *Čera*, deux, les *Tugare*.

2) pointe taillée en biseau creux formant gouttière.

La plupart des flèches à once portent à l'extrémité inférieure, entre les plumes de l'empenne un décor qui est la marque du clan du propriétaire. La fig. 19, A-L reproduit douze flèches à emblème :

A. *Paiwe* — B. **Karie Bokodori* — C. *Ewãgnddu* (?) — D. *Apibore kujagore* — E. *Bóro Čera* — F. *Ki* — G. *Apibore* — H. *Bãdejebu* (*Bakoro*) — I. *Arére* — J. *Köge Čera* — K. *Bokodori-Čiba-Čera* — L. *Ārére*.

Les exemplaires A et H sont décorés avec des morceaux de plumes collées. F, J, K, L sont revêtus de petites plumes liées ou collées par la base.

C, E, G, I sont ornés de petites touffes de couleur faites avec des barbes de plumes.

Le bois de l'exemplaire D est nu, et la marque clanique est constituée par les crans découpés dans les plumes de l'empenne. Ce procédé est assez rarement employé.

Le B est revêtu d'une tresse de fil noir et de piquants de porc-épic, décorée avec des plumes rouges et des touffes de barbes de plumes rouges et blanches. Cette formule se retrouve dans la plupart des objets du clan *Bakoro* et *Bóro*, qui l'a sans doute recueillie après la disparition

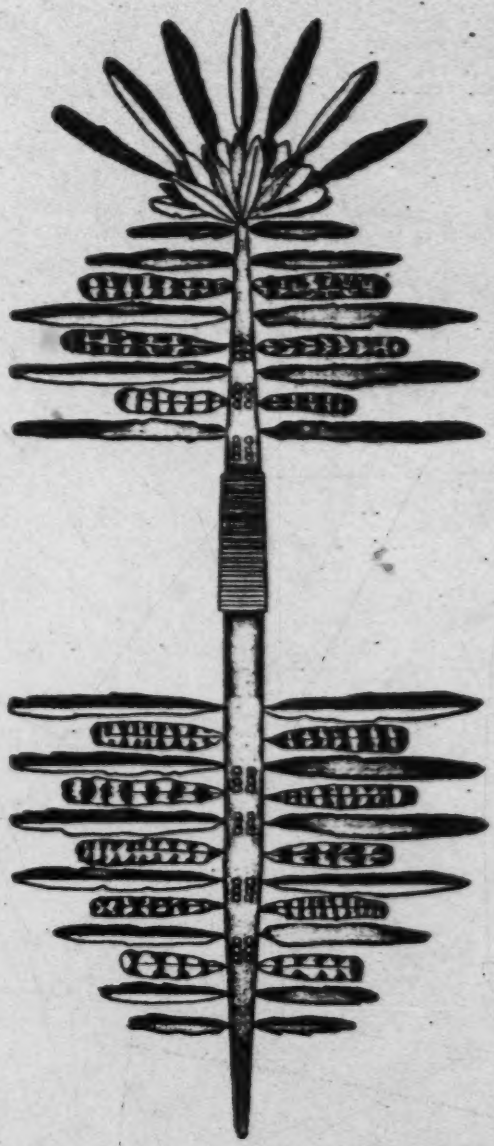

Fig. 18. — Arc d'apparat.

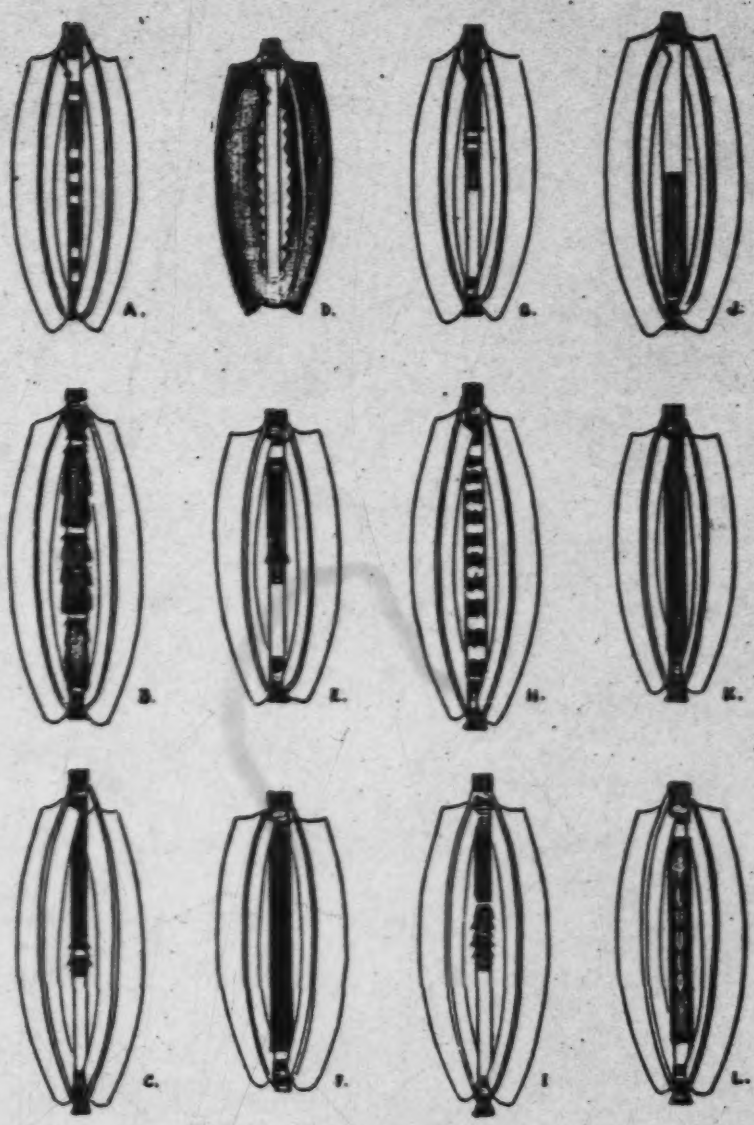

Fig. 19. — Flèches à emblème.

des *Bàdejebage Bokodori*, et l'utilise aujourd'hui de préférence à sa propre formule (H) (voir *Note II*).

I et L constituent deux variantes des couleurs *Ārōre* (rouge et noir). De telles variations sont extrêmement fréquentes. Chaque individu interprète à sa manière la formule de son clan.

Les couleurs bleu et jaune (A) séparées ou réunies, caractérisent en général le clan *Paiwe*. Mais la marque de ce clan semble moins résider dans l'emploi de certaines couleurs, que dans un certain procédé de distribution des couleurs en bandes alternées égales ou de longueurs différentes. Ainsi, un pendentif d'os de poisson recouvert de plumes du clan *Paiwe* présente la distribution suivante (bandes courtes en minuscules, bandes larges en majuscules) :

BLEU-rouge-bleu-rouge-bleu-rouge-BL.-j.-b.-j.-b.-j.-B.-j.-b.-j.-b.-j.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

On trouve le même procédé décoratif sur une trompette cérémonielle *Paiwe* aux couleurs alternées rouge, bleu, noir et blanc.

Ornements. — Les Bororo de sexe masculin vivent complètement nus à l'exception de divers ornements et du nœud de pénis (*bd*). Cet accessoire indispensable est fait d'un ruban de fibre de palmier, d'une longueur de 50 cm. environ, replié d'abord sur lui-même sur 10 cm., puis noué deux fois de manière à former une boucle conique ouverte à son extrémité. Cette boucle coiffe le bout du pénis, et le prépuce, tiré au dehors par l'ouverture terminale, forme bourrelet et maintient l'ensemble (*Pl. VII, C*). La double boucle une fois formée, il reste un morceau de ruban libre, d'une longueur de 8 à 16 cm. ; ce morceau est coupé au ras de la boucle dans les *bd* d'usage courant. Les jours de cérémonie au contraire, les hommes fabriquent et portent des nœuds spéciaux dont l'extrémité est découpée, peinte, ornée d'applications de duvet ou de plumes, de manière à former une sorte de petit étendard rigide caractéristique du clan du propriétaire (*Pl. VII, D*). Nous en reproduisons dix-huit exemplaires, fig. 20 :

A. sans marque
B. non identifié
C. *Ćiba Ćera*
D. non identifié
E. *Kòge Ćera*
F. *Paiwe kujagorə̀*
G. *Bàdejeba bo'pokẹjeuə*
H. *Paiwe ćorə̀*
I. (*Bokodori*) ou (*Ēwàguddu*) *Baiaddada*
J. *Ārōre ćẹbòge*
K. *Ārōre*
L. *Ki*
M. *Ēwàguddu ćàbòge*
N. *Bakoro*
O. *Bòro Ćera*
P. *Apibore*
Q. *Ēwàguddu*
R. non identifié

Ils sont peints en rouge et noir (graines d'*urucú* écrasées dans de la graisse de poisson, et résine *kiléguru*), avec applications de duvet blanc.

L'exemplaire L représente un des éponymes du clan *Ki*, le puma.

Le G évoque peut-être la forme du caïman, éponyme des *Bâdejebage*.

Il n'existe presque pas d'objets qui n'expriment ainsi, chacun à sa manière, la situation sociale de leur propriétaire. C'est le cas du pendentif labial dont il existe trois types : le pendentif rigide, en forme d'aiguille, fait d'os, de résine durcie, et — depuis que les indigènes peuvent se procurer de vieilles cartouches — de cuivre battu, semble le privilège d'un seul clan [1] ; une autre forme, en bois recouvert de plumes, de tresse, ou de fragments de coquille, et terminé à l'extrémité inférieure par un bouquet de plumes, indique le clan par la couleur ou la nature de l'ornementation ; enfin, un dernier type est constitué par un chapelet de menus fragments de nacre ou d'os. La forme de ces fragments — carrée, ovoïde, ronde, pisciforme, etc... — leur taille et leur nombre, révèlent alors l'origine. La planche *X, C* représente un indigène *Ćiba Ćera* en costume de fête, avec l'ornement nasal, privilège exclusif des *Bokodori-Ćiba-Kôge*, et le pendentif labial de son clan.

La marque clanique des grands pendentifs en ongles du grand-tatou est constituée par la couleur de la frange de coton centrale, et le nombre et la forme des fragments de nacre incrustés dans l'armature de résine.

Les diadèmes de plumes portent leur marque (analogue à celle des flèches) sur une latte de bois placée au milieu des plumes (*Pl. X, C*). Les couronnes sont caractérisées par la couleur et la matière (ainsi les *Paiur* portent un bandeau de fourrure de singe noire avec plumes jaunes, les *Bakoro*, des plumes rouges sur une monture en tresse de piquants de porc-épic, les *Bokodori*, des plumes jaunes et rouges, etc...). Ces couleurs se retrouvent dans les chignons de plumes, les trompettes cérémonielles (*ika* et *po'ri*), les divers ornements de corps et de chevelure, les flûtes souvent recouvertes de plumes (noires et blanches chez les *Ki*) ; les diadèmes d'ongles d'once se distinguent par la taille, le rapprochement ou l'éloignement des dents.

Techniques.

Un important privilège, non plus de clan mais de phratrie, réside dans le droit exclusif des *Ćera* à fabriquer les *bull-roarers* (*Pl. X, D*) ; le terme

1. Tous les exemplaires de cuivre que nous avons recueillis appartenaient aux diverses fractions du clan *Paiur*.

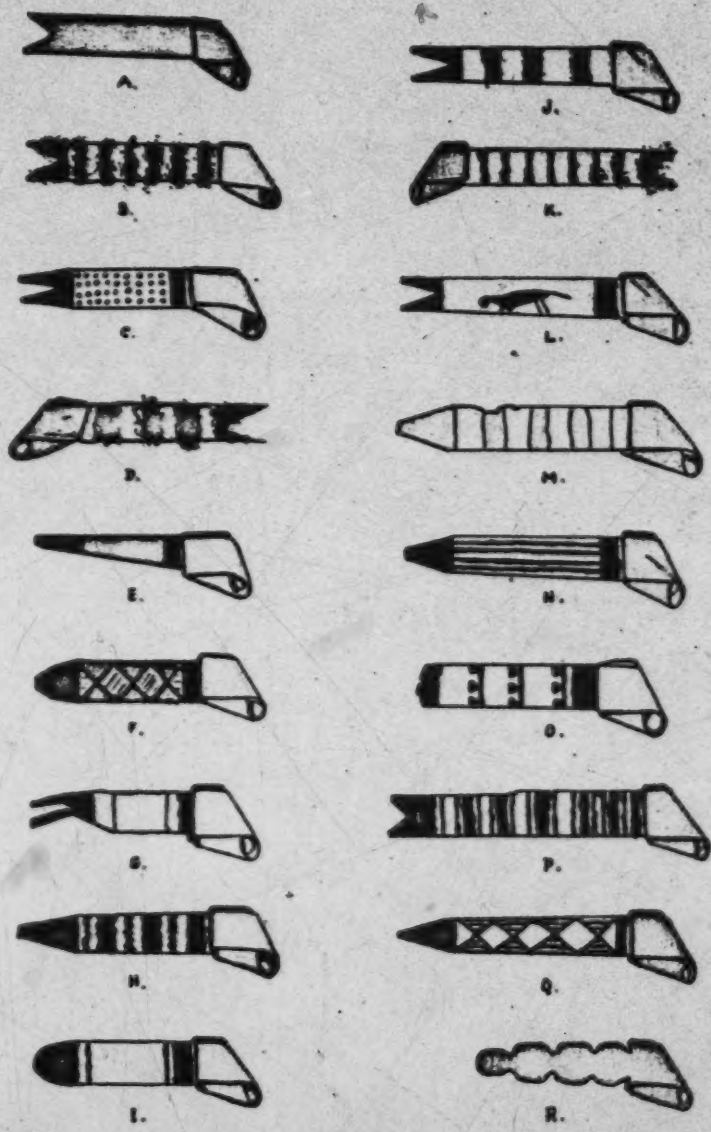

Fig. 20. — Nœuds de pénis.

« *ai'e* » désigne à la fois cet instrument, un animal fabuleux vivant au fond des fleuves, et peut-être un genre de peinture du visage. Sous l'une de ces deux dernières formes, l'*ai'e* fait partie du patrimoine des *Ārōre*, qui sont *Tugare*. Ce privilège ne peut donc leur appartenir que « par les femmes ». Dans notre liste des maisonnées du Kejara, nous n'avons pas mentionné le nom, parfois employé en notre présence, pour désigner les *Ārōre tẹkẹgẹ̃ʷõ* (n° 13), à savoir *Ai'e Arōre* « les femmes à l'*ai'e* ». C'est le seul cas où nous ayons vu établir une relation entre l'élément féminin du clan et ses emblèmes [1].

Division du travail.

Enfin, il est impossible d'étudier la répartition des droits et des obligations entre les clans et les phratries, sans tenir compte du fait qu'à travers ces variétés de statut social se maintient une stricte division du travail entre les sexes. Les femmes cultivent la terre, préparent la nourriture, font la vannerie et la céramique ; elles alimentent le feu, mâchent l'écorce qui leur sert à couvrir les parties sexuelles. Les hommes chassent et pêchent, construisent les habitations, et accomplissent tous les travaux de caractère artisanal. Nous n'avons jamais vu filer. Tous les travaux masculins sont effectués dans la maison des hommes qui offre l'aspect d'un vaste atelier. Deux tâches seulement se font dans la maison familiale : l'épilage de la région frontale des femmes qui fournit les cheveux utilisés pour la confection de cordes et de divers ornements ; enfin le tissage des bandes de coton dont les femmes mariées se serrent les chevilles, les bras et les poignets (*Pl. X, A*) est une besogne masculine toujours exécutée à domicile.

1. Cette expression est d'autant plus curieuse que, comme on sait, les Bororo pensent — ou disent — qu'une femme qui verrait un *bull-roarer* mourrait. La croyance est toujours très vivante. Lo première fois que nous vîmes fabriquer des *bull-roarers*, à l'occasion de fêtes funéraires où cet instrument joue un grand rôle, les indigènes répondirent à nos questions que c'étaient « des ustensiles de cuisine ». Après des négociations interminables menées avec le chef par l'intermédiaire d'hommes de confiance, on se décida à nous confirmer leur véritable nature et à nous vendre les exemplaires déjà faits ; mais non sans nous avoir révélé les conséquences tragiques qu'aurait une imprudence de notre part. Pour recevoir les instruments, il fallut se rendre après la nuit dans la maison des hommes avec tout ce que nous possédions comme ficelle, papier et sacs. L'empaquetage fut fait par les indigènes eux-mêmes, et l'on veilla à ce que les paquets disparussent aussitôt au fond de nos malles. Au moment du départ, comme un indigène et sa femme devaient nous accompagner pendant quelques jours, les mêmes recommandations furent renouvelées, et l'on nous fit promettre de ne pas ouvrir les malles avant Cuiabá.

NOTE I.

On aura remarqué que la plus grande partie des clans et des sous-clans portaient un nom d'animal ou de végétal. C'est le cas pour les quatre clans *Tugare*, et pour six des huit clans ou sous-clans *Čera*. Peut-on prononcer à ce sujet le mot de totémisme? C'est fort douteux. Les indigènes n'entretiennent, en effet, aucune relation avec leurs éponymes. Ils ne leur manifestent aucun respect, leurs rapports n'ont aucun caractère mystique, il n'existe pas de prohibition alimentaire, et les quelques cérémonies qui ont lieu à l'occasion du meurtre de certains animaux semblent sans relation avec le système social. L'animal éponyme est tué et mangé librement.

Par ailleurs, le choix des éponymes n'est pas fait exclusivement dans le règne animal ou végétal. Un héros est parfois invoqué. Ainsi *Bakoro* pour le clan *Bakoro*, et l'ancêtre illustre qui donne son nom au clan éteint **Karo Bakadori*. C'est d'après un objet manufacturé, le pendentif labial, que les *Biro* se sont désignés. La nature inanimée est également utilisée, car l'eau est un des éponymes des *Bâdejebage*.

La relation des clans avec leurs éponymes est très clairement précisée par le folk-lore indigène. Le recueil de récits et légendes qui forme la deuxième et la plus précieuse partie de l'ouvrage de Colbacchini [1] apporte une série d'informations qu'il suffit d'analyser. Dans tous les cas, c'est le même processus : l'adoption d'un nom est le résultat d'une révélation individuelle passée dans le patrimoine collectif du clan. Un jour, un membre du clan a rencontré un animal qui lui manifeste, par un cri spécial et guttural, qu'il n'est pas un animal vulgaire mais qu'il fait partie de la « société spirituelle » [2]. Cette révélation indique peut-être que l'âme du bénéficiaire vivra, après la mort du corps, sous la forme de cet animal. Encore ne faut-il pas trop se hâter de parler de métempsychose, car c'est moins l'âme qui doit se transformer en animal que la nature spirituelle de l'âme qui, pour se faire connaître à l'individu, choisit une incarnation particulière, animale le plus souvent, mais qui est parfois aussi le soleil, la lune, ou quelqu'autre intermédiaire sensible. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'individu qui a reçu cette révélation adopte imman-

1. Colbacchini (D. A.). *I Bororo orientali*. Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

2. Le terme « *aro* », que nous traduisons ainsi signifie à la fois la société des hommes adultes ayant accès au *bailtsemmage*, et la partie de l'individu qui subsiste après la mort.

quablement le nom de l'intermédiaire : « l'Ibis sera à moi », je m'appellerai le Grand Arara », etc...

L'adoption par le clan du nom ainsi choisi par son ancêtre illustre commémore donc, à titre permanent, le ou les miracles dont les descendants se réclament comme d'autant de titres de noblesse. Ainsi, les noms de « *Meriĭ audra* », « le Sentier du Soleil », et « *Meriri kurigeö* », « Grande Lumière », que nous avons rencontrés dans le système des unions préférentielles, appartiennent respectivement, l'un au clan *Bàdejeba*, l'autre au clan *Paiue*, en vertu d'une légende dont on trouve une version chez Colbacchini :

L'Indien *Paiue Rikbubugu*, allant un jour à la chasse, rencontra le soleil et la lune sur le sentier des âmes. Effrayé, il vint raconter l'événement à son père, le *Bàdejeba Baberokudda*, et tous deux retournèrent sur les lieux. Le bénéfice de cette commune expérience mystique entraîne de longues discussions entre le père et le fils sur leurs droits respectifs à sa commémoration, et chacun revendique les noms les plus propres à illustrer l'incident.

Il peut, en effet, y avoir compétition, rivalité, entre membres de clans différents. C'est le cas qui se manifeste à l'origine des *O Ĉera*. Colbacchini ne signale pas l'existence de ce clan qui semble ne pas avoir été rencontré sur le Rio das Garças. Mais c'est une légende de son recueil qui nous a permis d'établir (et ce fut confirmé par les indigènes) que le clan *O Ĉera*, qui occupe deux maisons à l'*aldeia* Kejara (fig. 15, n° 8 et 9) provient d'une subdivision de *Bàdejebage Ĉębegᵉ̃age* : *Iparitebu*, des *Bàdejebage Ĉàbegᵉ̃age*, vit un ibis noir qui lui révéla sa nature spirituelle, mais quelques jours plus tard son collègue *Bàdejeba Ĉębegᵉ̃ö* eut la même révélation d'un ibis rouge. Ils discutent sur la possession de l'ibis et finissent par se partager les deux espèces. La sous-détermination des noirs et des rouges, que nous avons signalée à propos d'autres clans, a probablement pour origine des arrangements amiables du même genre.

La compétition est toutefois exceptionnelle. Car, dans un même clan, un nombre illimité d'individus peut avoir des expériences mystiques. On trouve donc moins souvent la pauvreté que la richesse, moins souvent un partage d'éponymes qu'une véritable capitalisation de noms symboliques, qui rappellent autant de miracles ancestraux. Colbacchini compte dix-huit noms pour les *Paiue*, quatre pour les *Bokodori*, six pour les *Ki*, trois pour les *Bàdejeba*, sept pour les *Ärore*, cinq pour les *Eudguddu*, huit pour les *Apibore*, etc.. Nous ne sommes pas arrivés à un pareil

nombre, mais comme, le plus souvent, ceux que nous avons recueillis sur le Rio Vermelho ne sont pas les mêmes que ceux qu'il a obtenus au Rio das Garças, il est probable que le nombre véritable, exprimant l'ensemble des différentes traditions locales, est beaucoup plus élevé. Parmi ces noms, tous, d'ailleurs, n'expriment pas des traditions rigoureusement identiques. Si les *Paiuv* se réclament du maïs, du coton, de la résine et du tabac, c'est que ces plantes sont nées des cendres d'un enfant miraculeux, à forme de serpent, conçu par une femme *Paiuv*. On est donc bien en présence d'une remémoration d'événements magiques, au sens le plus général du terme.

Dès lors, il est inutile de rechercher, pour origine de l'éponyme du clan, une autre explication que celle qui s'applique aux collections de noms et d'emblèmes claniques. L'éponyme n'est pas d'une nature particulière. Il rappelle seulement l'événement le plus saillant, et c'est pourquoi on trouve aussi bien un héros illustre qu'un animal, une plante, ou un objet. Certain clan tire vanité d'avoir apporté à la collectivité le tabac, comme tel autre rappelle que son ancêtre est l'inventeur du pendentif labial. Bien plus : cet événement n'est pas toujours suffisamment marquant pour faire l'unanimité des membres du clan, ou des concitoyens hétéroclans. De là, dans un village, l'utilisation d'un nom inemployé ailleurs ; de là les divisions secondaires des clans.

L'expression maxima du système serait donc la suivante : une doctrine philosophique, fondée sur la croyance en la réincarnation de l'âme sous une forme animale, qui a pris pour certains individus, la valeur d'une révélation personnelle, célébrée par ses descendants sous la forme d'un nom commémoratif. Il est possible que les *Ćiba Ćera*, par exemple, aient été conduits à étendre à toute leur descendance l'expérience d'un ancêtre illustre, et se soient mis à penser qu'ils étaient tous destinés à revivre sous la forme de l'arara rouge. Mais il ne nous a pas été possible de déceler chez les *Ewdgudu* la croyance à la survie dans le palmier *burity*. Peut-être aussi faut-il adopter une hypothèse inverse : le mythe de l'ancêtre et de son miracle étant une explication rétrospective pour rendre compte d'une croyance incarnationiste collective. Il serait du plus haut intérêt de savoir si les expériences relatées dans les légendes appartiennent définitivement au passé, ou si les indigènes les considèrent comme susceptibles de se renouveler.

Dans un cas seulement on trouve, au moins en apparence, les caractères classiques du totémisme. Tous les paysans brésiliens qui vivent

ou ont vécu au contact des Bororo savent que ceux-ci répugnent extrêmement à manger le *veado* (ruminant de la famille du cerf), bien qu'on signale çà et là des cas contraires. Or, le recueil de Colbacchini fournit une version du mythe du déluge où l'on voit le seul Bororo survivant épouser la femelle d'un « veado matteiro », union d'où naissent six générations d'hybrides où les caractères animaux, prédominants à l'origine s'effacent progressivement jusqu'à aboutir au type humain. Mais l'animal de la légende semble nettement individualisé parmi la grande variété des types de *veados*, tandis que la prohibition a un caractère assez vague. De plus celle-ci est tribale alors que le *pokogo* (veado de la forêt) apparaît seulement dans les noms du clan *Ki*, tandis que l'*etado* et l'*orêgo* (veado de la prairie et cerf) ne figurent parmi les noms d'aucun clan.

NOTE II.

Ces épithètes ne doivent évidemment pas être acceptées sans contrôle. Les indigènes ont parfaitement pu trouver plaisant de décrire comme misérable un clan au nom prestigieux. Mais le même témoignage a été fourni par plusieurs informateurs, et la réalité semble le confirmer : les quatre cabanes *Bâdejekage* offraient un aspect assez misérable, et l'on n'y trouvait aucune de ces parures suspendues aux parois, fréquentes dans la plupart des autres habitations. Il est peut-être possible d'interpréter cette apparente contradiction.

D'après les missionnaires salésiens[1] qui sont en contact permanent avec les Bororo du Rio das Garças depuis une trentaine d'années, la phratrie *Ćera* comportait, au moment de leur arrivée dans la région sept clans, dont deux *Bâdejeba* : l'un *Bâdejeba Čiłogeⁿ̃o* ou *Akurio Bakodori*, l'autre *Bâdejeba Čęłogeⁿ̃o* ou *Bakorokudu*. Ces deux clans occupaient les deux extrémités de l'hémicycle *Ćera*, et donnaient chacun un chef, qui gouvernait le village en collaboration avec son collègue. Le *Bâdejeba Čęłogeⁿ̃o* occupait toutefois une place prééminente.

Soit que l'organisation sociale sur le Rio Vermelho (sur laquelle on ne possède aucune information) ait toujours été différente, soit que des révolutions politiques se soient produites au cours de ces dernières années, la situation du Kejara n'a qu'une ressemblance lointaine avec celle précédemment décrite. Comme on l'a vu, la division en *Čęłogeⁿ̃ge* et *Čiłogeⁿ̃ge* est faite par rapport à la direction du fleuve, tandis que sur le Rio das Garças elle s'expliquait, paraît-il, par une dénivellation de terrain. Mais

1. Colbacchini, *op. cit.*

surtout, si l'on accepte la description de Colbacchini comme historiquement et localement exacte, deux grandes différences doivent être constatées : la disparition des *Bâdejebage Bokodori*, la fragmentation et le déplacement partiel des *Bâdejebage Bakororo*.

Sans question de notre part, nos informateurs, exposant la distribution des clans dans le village, nous ont signalé l'emplacement du clan *Karia Bokodori* (fig. 13, entre le n° 2 et le n° 3 ou entre 3 et 4). Ce clan était éteint depuis une date relativement récente, puisqu'il y avait encore en circulation dans le village des objets portant sa marque. Antérieurement ou postérieurement à cette disparition, une profonde transformation se serait produite chez les *Bâdejebage Bakorokuddu*. Un groupe de familles, dont celle du chef principal, s'est sans doute déplacé vers le côté de l'amont, occupant ainsi l'emplacement devenu libre des *Bâdejebage Čâbège^mège*. Ainsi s'expliquent l'existence, le nom et la localisation des clans *Bakoro* et *Bóro*. Bien que le terme *Bâdejeba* ne soit jamais employé pour les désigner, nous n'hésitons pas à procéder à l'identification pour trois raisons : le clan *Bakoro* est celui de *Tuteuu*, chef des Bororo, le nom *Bakoro* est une contraction de *Bakororo*, nom primitif du clan, enfin, l'épithète *Bóro* commémore un événement marquant de l'existence du héros *Bakororo*, inventeur du pendentif de lèvre et de tous les autres ornements. Mais le clan *Bâdejebage Bakororo* ne s'est pas déplacé en entier. Une partie — la plus importante numériquement — est restée en place ; cependant, le processus de fragmentation l'atteignait également. Au nord-est des *Bâdejebage Čębège^mège*, on trouve en effet les deux cabanes *O Čera* ; et nous avons donné la preuve de l'origine *Bâdejeba Čębège^mo* de ce clan.

Tout se passe donc comme si — à la suite d'un événement inconnu, peut-être l'extinction des Chefs de l'amont — le clan des Chefs de l'aval s'était coupé en trois parties. Un premier groupe de familles, lui-même subdivisé en *Bakoro* et *Bóro* serait venu occuper l'emplacement du clan éteint ; en se séparant de son clan d'origine, il aurait emporté avec lui la prérogative essentielle, à savoir : la fourniture du chef principal, devenu chef unique.

Le reste du clan continuant à occuper l'extrémité ouest de l'hémicycle *Čera*, se serait également divisé. Un groupe de familles aurait constitué son clan propre autour de l'emblème de l'Ibis, animal célèbre dans les annales du clan. Les familles restantes auraient conservé le nom et l'emplacement traditionnels.

Si cette hypothèse est exacte, il faut admettre que les deux groupes scissionnistes se sont partagé les privilèges du clan. Ainsi comprend-on que les *Bakoro-Bóro* d'une part, et les *O Čera* de l'autre, possèdent de

nombreux ornements, tandis que les *Bâdejebage Čębę^ngę* en sont trouvés complètement démunis. Pour cette raison les indigènes les dépeignent (et ils le sont en effet) comme extrêmement pauvres. Par exemple, nous disait un informateur, « ils n'ont qu'un seul type d'arc... ». Ainsi s'explique également que *Tuiawu* ait « récemment » transporté sa maison en dehors du village sur l'autre rive du fleuve, son clan se trouvant coupé en trois tronçons, et qu'en même temps il ait conservé un droit de propriété (son lit s'y trouve toujours) sur une maison *O Čera*. Une autre raison tend à montrer ces transformations comme récentes : les quatre maisons du clan *Bâdejebu Čębę^ngę* n'étaient habitées que par des vieillards, tandis que les nouveaux clans *Bakwa*, *Bira*, *O*, comprenaient des éléments beaucoup plus jeunes. Les indigènes indiquaient comme éponyme des *Bâdejebage Čębę^ngę* le caïman, considéré dans le folklore comme l'animal des vieillards.

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1. Nous avons limité ce travail (les deux notes exceptées) à l'exposé d'une documentation recueillie sur le terrain. Pour une étude plus complète, on pourra consulter les ouvrages et articles cités ici.

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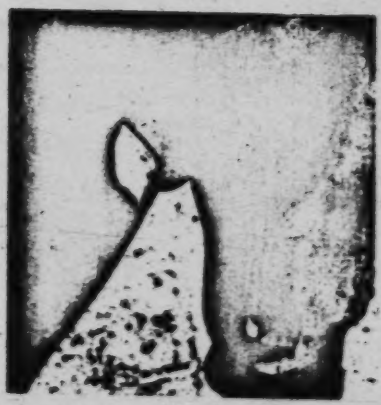
A

B



C

D

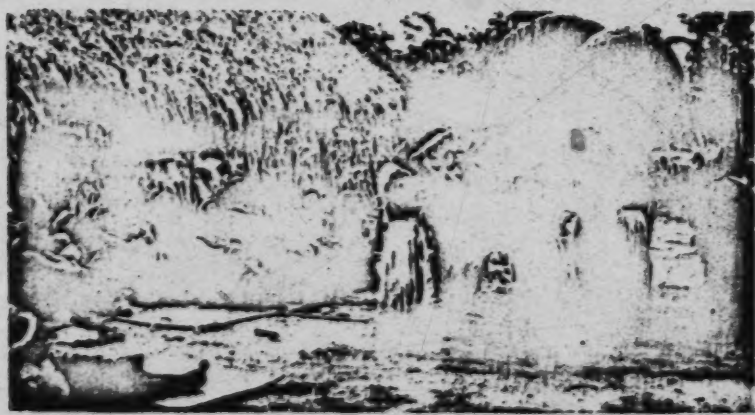
Indiens Bororo.

A. - Type d'homme.
B. - Un couple.
C. - Nœud de pénis, d'usage courant.
D. - Nœud de pénis, de cérémonie.

[End Plate I]

A

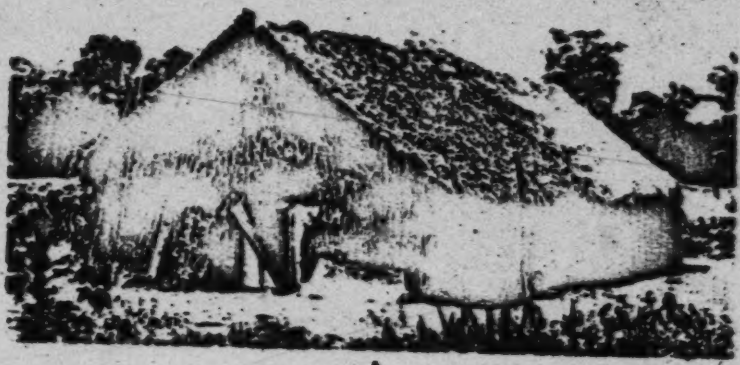
B



C

Organisation sociale des Indiens Bororo.
A. - La fermeture du cercle des maisons.
B. - Le village accueille une cérémonie.
C. - Le grand et le petit morif'do.

[End Plate 2]



A

B

C

Organisation sociale des Indiens Bororo.

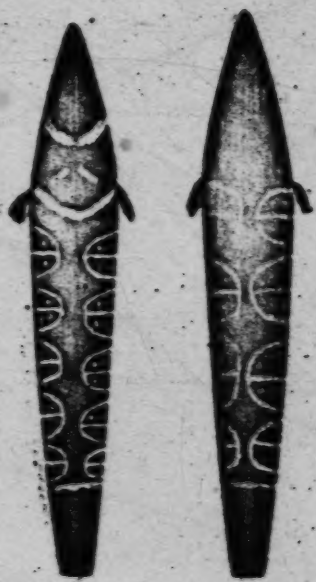
A. - La maison des hommes, porte des *Tugure*.
B. - Danse du clan *Paiaie*.
C. - Danse du clan du *burity*.

[End Plate 3]

A

B

C



D

Organisation sociale des Indiens Bororo.

A. - Deux femmes bororo en costume de fête.
B. - La sorcière du marid'ôe.
C. - Indien « Côe Ĉera » en costume de fête.
D. - *Bull-roarer* du clan « Bóro Ĉera » (sur les deux faces).
Hauteur : 106 cm.

[End Plate 4]

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 839

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

000

HANDBOOK OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 1
THE MARGINAL TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation

[Title Page]

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THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

B O 101 619 175 [197]

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pisarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrados as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

B [619]

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curumisaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

O [131]

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jauru, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabeçaes* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jauru River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

B [131] [361]

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Isabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

B [114] [162]

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

B [797]

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

B [172]

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CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others dis-
[178] puted the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition
224 to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were pre-
[222] dominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also
[462] helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and
[756] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated
[231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.
226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

362 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are
[263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded
[574] or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large
[342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall,
[345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of
[184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

only the Caboclass

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
361 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
616 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the
614 southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho
River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground,
over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[859] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
342 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[881] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

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Women wear a gray parinelhenu,

or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

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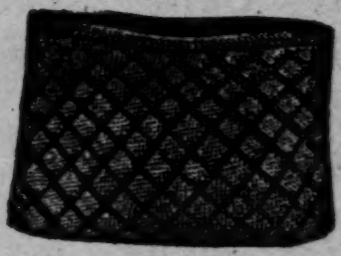

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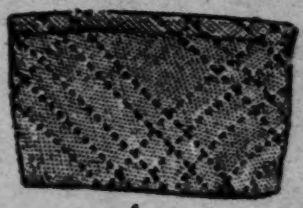

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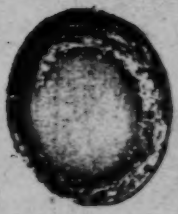

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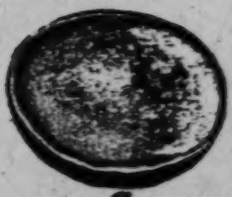

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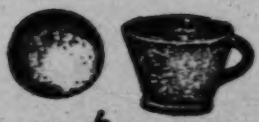

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FIGURE 51.—Bororo textiles and pottery. *a*, *b*, Bags with weave and designs (the same as mats); *c*, *d*, water jars (1/9 to 1/11 natural size); *e*, ladle (1/6 natural size); *f*, plate (1/6 natural size); *g*, bowl (1/6 to 1/10 natural size); *h*, cup (1/6 natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

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232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots.
323 The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by
415
[462]

412
237
284
415
531
534

FIGURE 52.—*Bororo manufactures.* *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent teeth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

285 323 415 [177]

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

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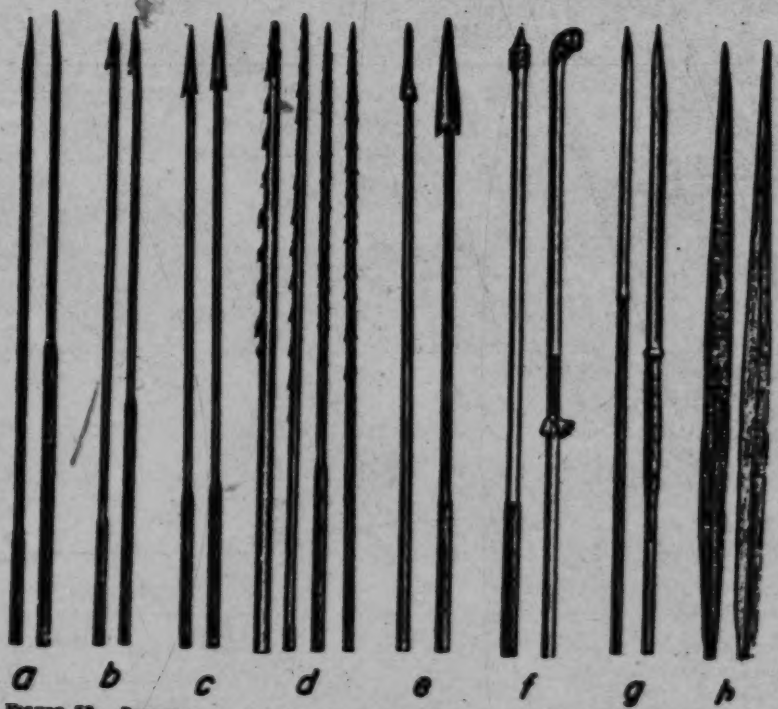

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (⅛ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

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441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[53-] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[614] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

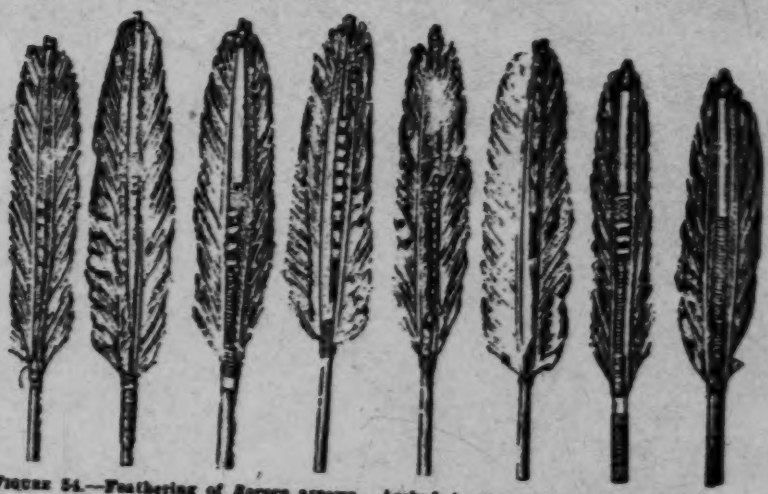

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅓ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
442 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

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The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 496 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [774] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

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643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
806 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

794 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[978] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
224 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

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Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-rearer (figs. 52, *c*; 55) and to attend rites from which 881

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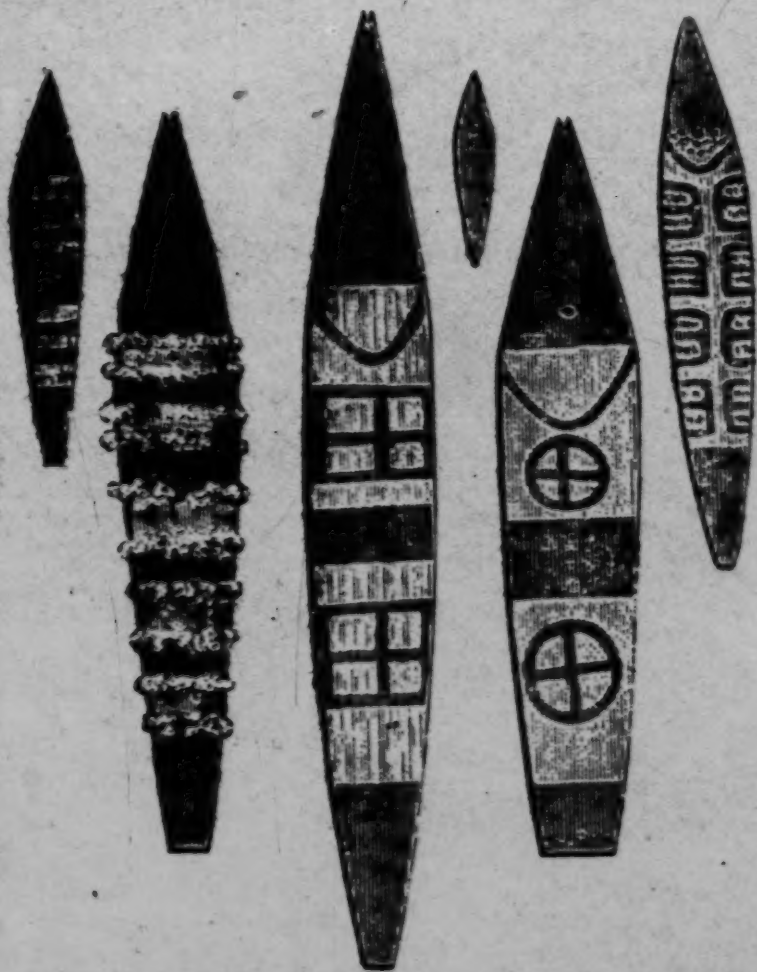

FIGURE 56.—Bull-rearers with various clan designs. (Approximately ⅙ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him. 881 [616] [27]

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836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are
582 abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and
174 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as
585 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous
591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is
763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk
602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors
764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's
[622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve
224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he
[616] has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him
881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for
764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread
764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

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of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 524

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

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534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 **Dances.**—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding
[726] bottle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of
[224] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin
[782] described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and
[237] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object
[825] of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 **Beverages.**—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine:
273 the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots
[756] or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and
776 rival functionaries.

775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope,
[824] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of
[753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness
[262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question
[756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal
[787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians
[773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu-
756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and
[787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a
[754] jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar,
771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a
756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the
755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an-
[562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most
[262] important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food
[778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

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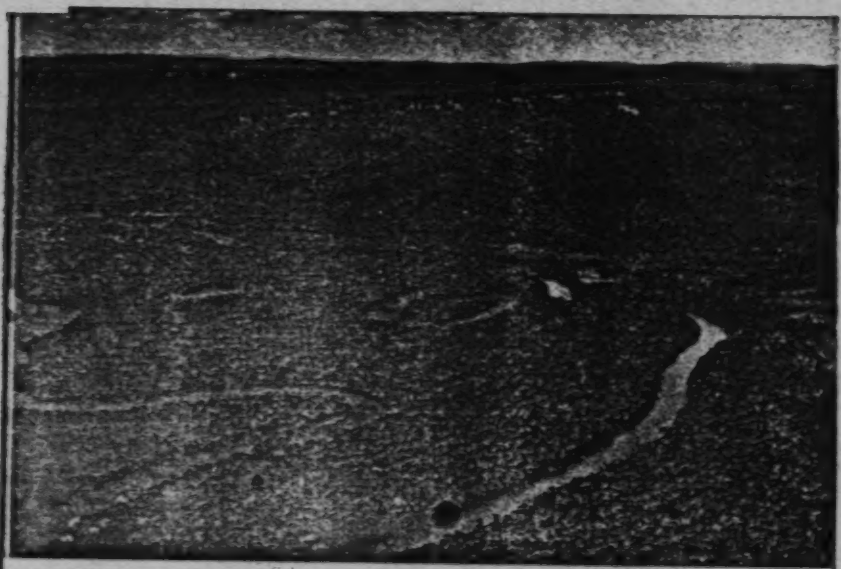

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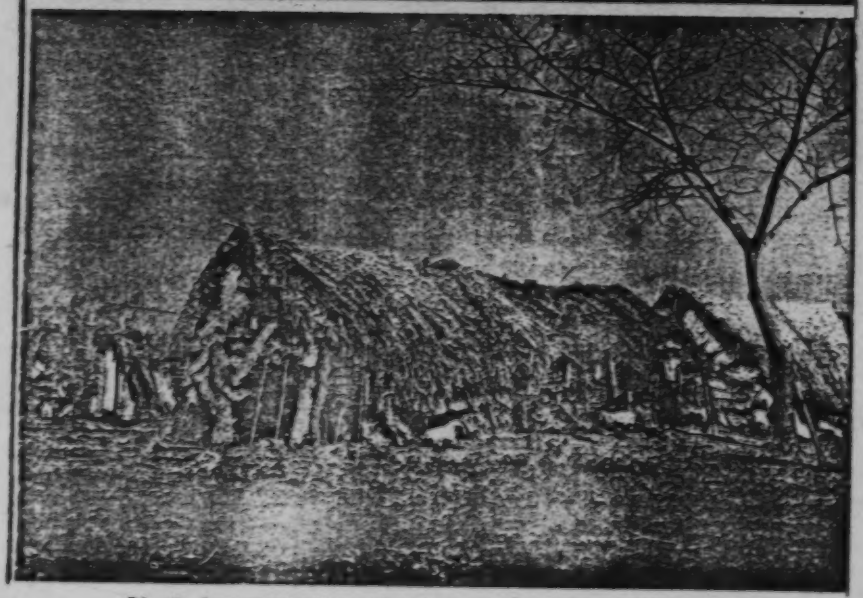

PLATE III.—Bororo country and bororo. *Top:* Air view of the Chapadão, north of Cuyabá. *Below:* Bororo palm-thatched hut. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-A]

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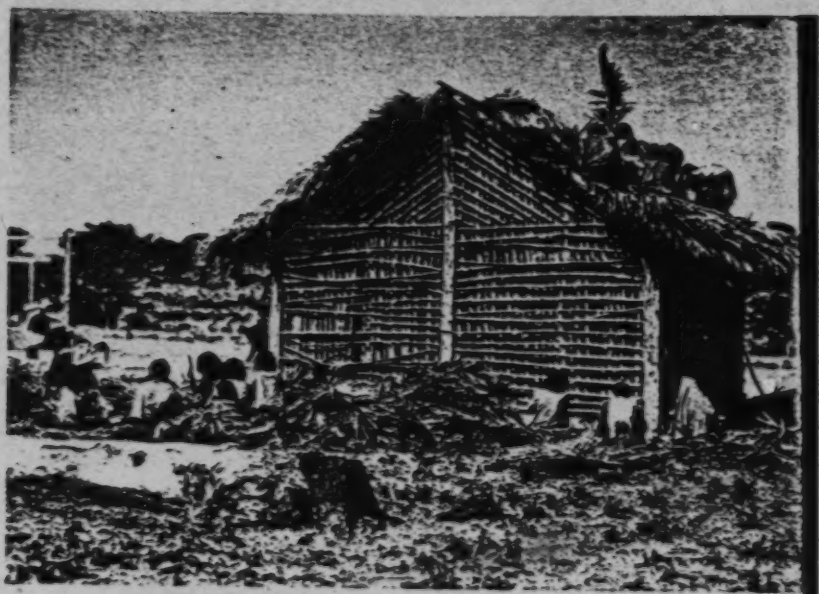

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PLATE 61.—Bororo houses. Top: São Lourenço Bororo house. Below: Bororo de Cerqueira village. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 432-B]

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PLATE III.—Bororo village of Bakororo. *Top:* Men's club in foreground. *Bottom:* Women in native dress.
(Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

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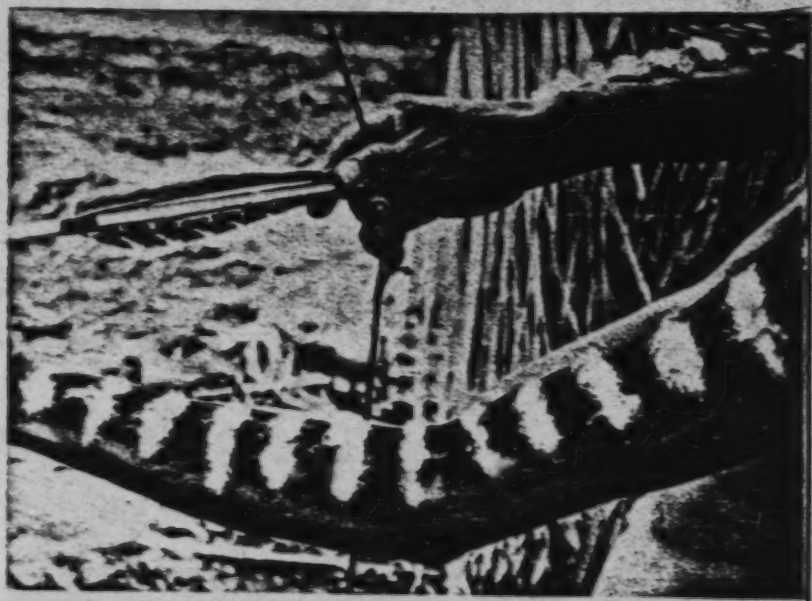

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PLATE 32.—Bororo archery. Top: Arrow release. Above: Aiwiñ of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) Below: São Lourenço, Bororo shooting fish. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432 - D]

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PLATE II.—Bororo festival at village of Kejara. Top: Dance of the "Marido." Below: Presentation of the "Marido." (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P. 432-E]

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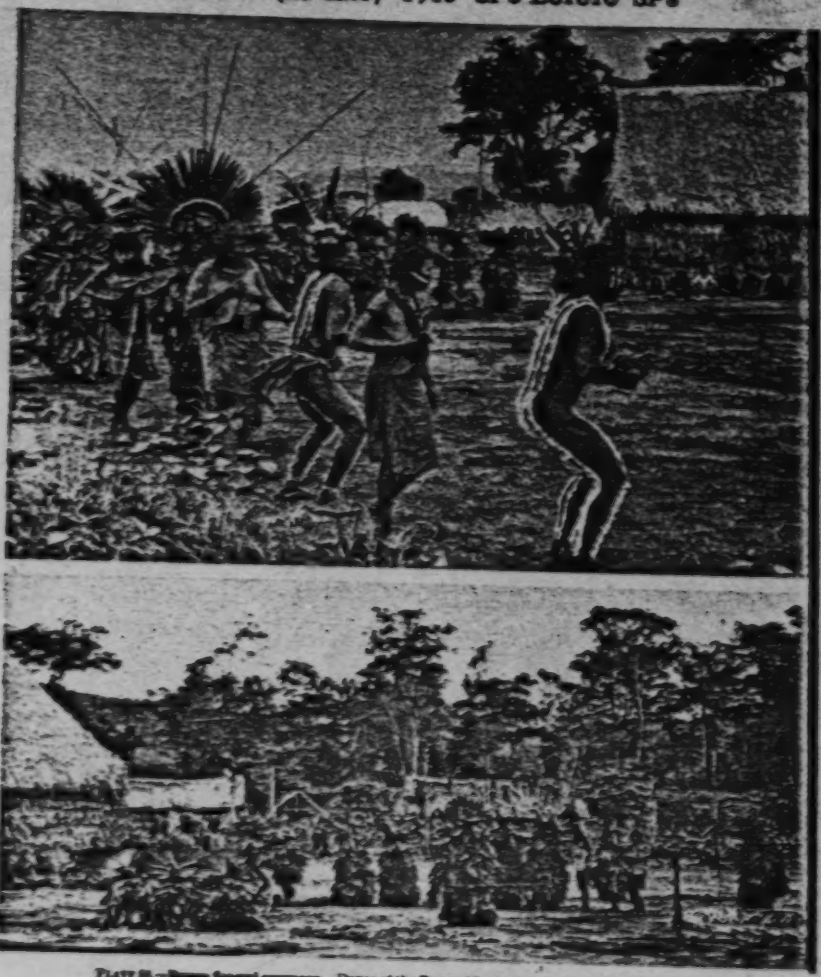

PLATE 66.—Bororo funeral ceremony. Dancers of the Iwagéddo clan, some dancers in leaf costumes, others decorated with down. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-F]

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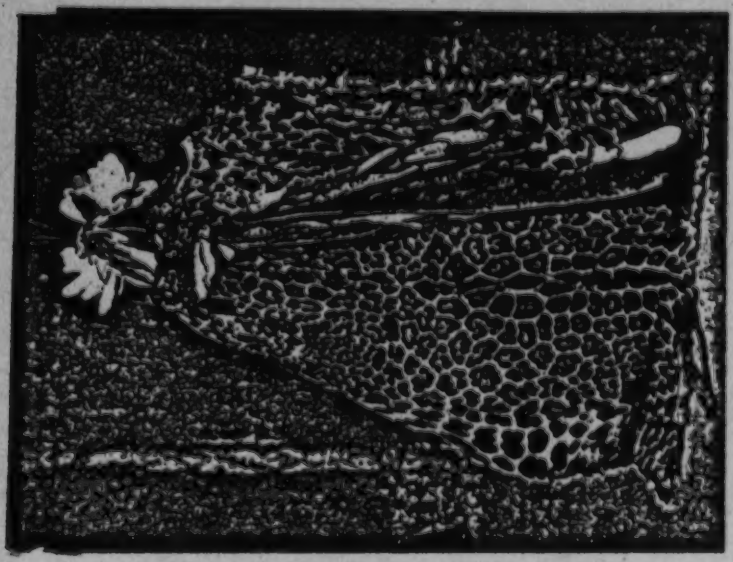

PLATE 18—Brown Spiney Impression. Ali do Campanha. Front and rear views. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-G]

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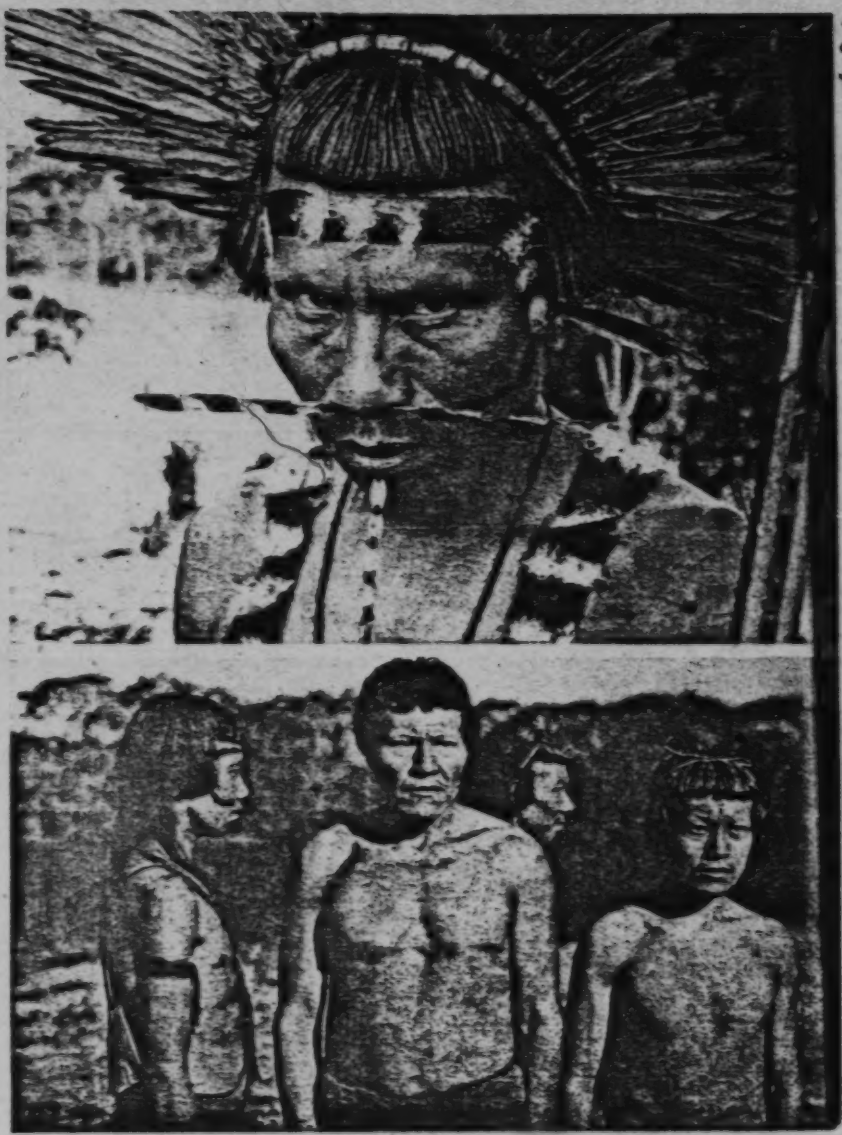

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PLATE 50.—Bororo Indian types. *Top:* Man in festival dress, with feathers through nasal septum and ears and beads through lower lip. Village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Below:* His Lonwaga men. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 432-H]

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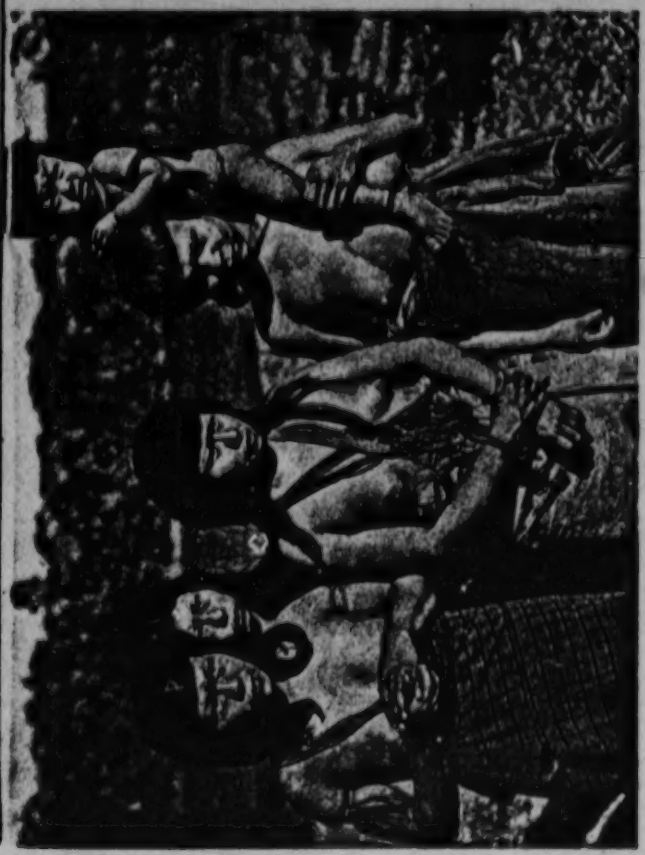

PLATE II.—Bororo women. Mato Grosso. (Courtesy David M. Rosen.)

[P. 432 - I]

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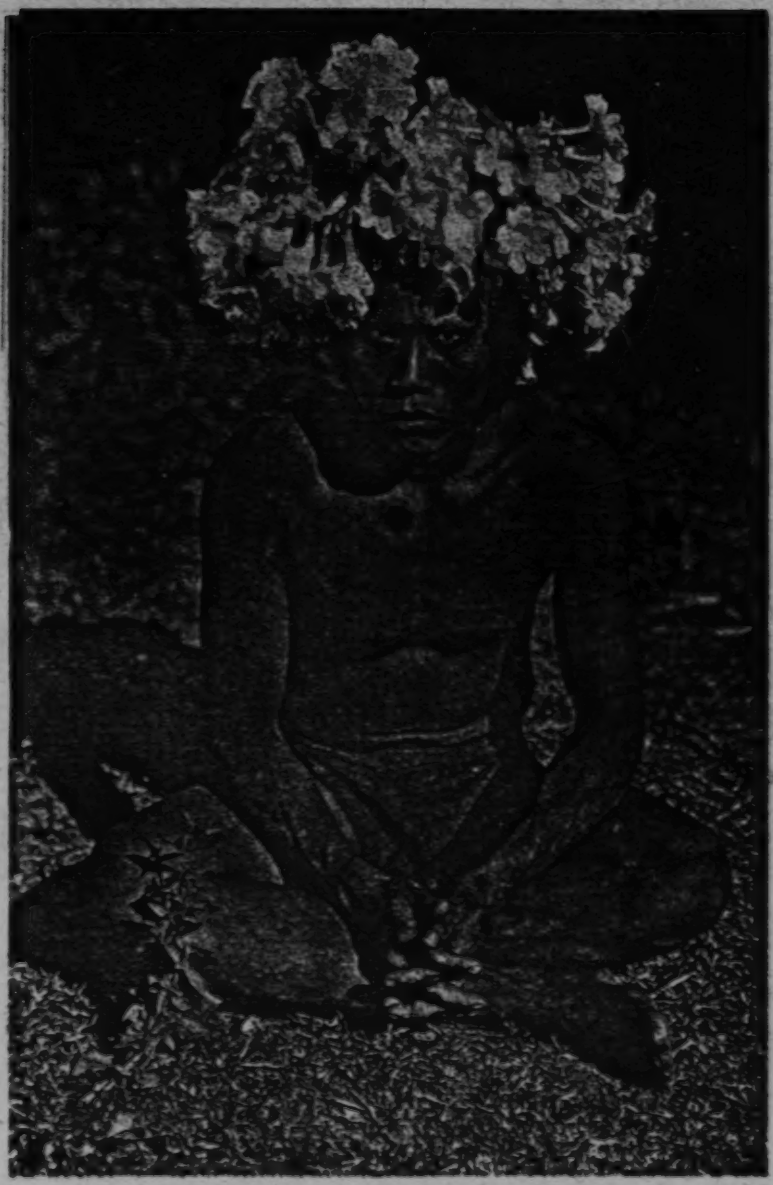

PLATE III.—Bororo man. Rio Lourenço. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-K]

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PLATE 94.—Portrait of young Bororo man. Sta Lourenço. (Courtesy David M. Newell.)

[P.432-L]

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(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 775 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 775 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 174

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [775]

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173 Sun (Meri) and Moon (Ari) are another pair of brothers, but figure largely as tricksters. Thus they put out the Indians' fire, which, however, is salvaged by a toad. The Indians pursue the mischief-makers, who climb trees, and kill Moon, who has sought refuge in a low tree and is eaten by a canid. Sun kills the canid and resuscitates Moon from fragments of his bones. This revival motif recurs in different contexts. In one game Moon kills Sun, but cannot restore him. However, Sun rises by his own power and turns into a red arara. Moon vainly looks for him and nearly starves, when Sun transforms himself into a fish, letting Moon harpoon him. Finally, Sun and Moon neglect the Buriti clansmen's warning, and break their hosts' bottles. They are pursued, caught, and blown skyward by their captors, who bid them remain above.

Other myths describe a flood caused by an angry spirit and the jaguar's swallowing of a monkey, who cuts his way out. In one tale boys climb to the sky on a rope, which they cut in order to prevent their mothers from following. As a penalty the boys must remain in the sky, their eyes becoming the stars.

173 The ascent to the sky by a rope or creeper is widespread in South
171 America, being found, e. g., among the *Cariban Taulipang*. In the Twin story, the pacification of the jaguar by the offer of a woman, her death through an older kinsman of the husband, the post-mortem extraction of the heroes, and their revenging the woman's death recall *Guarani* motifs, as well as the *Bacairi* tale of Keri and Kame. On the other hand, these *Bacairi* names and their linkage with Sun and Moon, respectively, rather suggest the second *Bororo* myth of a pair of brothers.

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V. M. PETRULLO

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PLATE

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3. Kuikutl women. Note uluri and the method of carrying the young.

PLATE

000

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PLATE

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8 a. b. c. Kuluseu-Kuluene styles of tying bow string.

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13. Pirigara Bororo bow decorated with taquara cortex and feathers.

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PLATE

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XXV Map of Matto Grosso. (*Facing page 180.*)

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TSUVA GIRL

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[Frontispiece]
[Plate I]

PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF MATTO GROSSO

An Account of Archaeological and Ethnological Field Work at the Headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, During 1931

By Vincent M. Petrullo

THIS account of my field work in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931, is offered to those interested in primitive peoples and especially in South American archaeology and ethnology, with the sole motive of making available source material. The paper is not intended as a critical study of the region with which it deals nor does it purport to be thorough in its treatment of the subjects that it discusses. To my critical readers I plead the fact that I was a novice in the South American field at the time that the material presented was gathered, and that I was among tribes that are either but slightly known or not at all, and that thus my difficulties were those to be met by the first workers. One handicap was lack of interpreters, limiting the field of my investigations to what was physically observable. However, it is intended that the paper give the fundamental setting of the cultures with which I came in contact for any analytical study that may be undertaken in the future. 114 121 [124]

The work was done under the auspices of the University Museum cooperating with the Matto Grosso Expedition and the Academy of Natural Sciences, whose representative was Mr. James A. G. Rehn. 122 121

Both archaeology and ethnology occupied my attention, my project being fundamentally in the nature of a survey of the possibilities that the country offers in both fields of research and to study the field conditions, rather than to bring back a conclusive and thorough study of some particular site or tribe. Though the unlooked-for acquisition of an amphibian airplane by the expedition aroused the hope that a prolonged stay with some tribe could be made, since the usual excessive amount of time spent in reaching the desired village could be saved by flying the distance in a few hours, the ultimate results were what had been originally planned for reasons that will appear in the narrative. 121 [122] 114

Briefly, my work included the locating of a number of archaeological sites and the partial excavation of two of them; visits to the Bororo da

114 Campanha, or Western Bororo, and the Eastern Bororo of the São Lourenço river valley; and a trip to the headwaters of the Xingu river, which resulted in meeting with the following tribes of the Kuluseu-Kuluene region: Bakairi, Anahukua, Mehinaku, Aura, known also as the Vaura, Trumai, Yawalapiti, Kamayula or Kamayura, Tsuva, Kuikutl or Culcuru, Kalapalu, and Naravute. Of these the Tsuva have never before been reported, and the Kalapalu, Kuikutl, and Naravute have not been described, though visited for the first time in 1920 by Major Ramiro Noronha while engaged in surveying the Kuluene river. The others are either described or mentioned by Karl von den Steinen and Max Schmidt.

So many stories have been told by travelers in little-known countries of the discovery and the collecting of remarkable material which was subsequently lost to science through some adventurous happening, that I hesitate to add another to these sagas of exploration. Nevertheless, as a matter of history, mention must be made that on the descent of the Kuluseu river we met with an accident under remarkably prosaic conditions which resulted in the loss of my Bakairi and Anahukua notes and collections, and the more serious loss of a great deal of equipment, which forced a more hasty itinerary and did not permit me to bring back any anthropometric data nor to carry out the work in racial blood grouping that had been projected. Modern equipment in the form of an airplane saved the trip from being entirely fruitless. By bringing fresh supplies of food and ammunition, it made possible the reorganization and continuation of the work, though the stay in the region was not as long as had been intended.

000 The projects of the Matto Grosso Expedition were many, and it is with regret that I cannot include a discussion of them in the present report. However, it is with pleasure that I take the opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to my companions on the expedition, with whom I shared so many pleasant and unpleasant experiences, and other things that fall to the lot of those traveling in little-known territory. Especially do my thanks go to those who were concerned with my work more intimately, and at times shared in bringing it to a successful end: to Mr. E. R. Fenimore Johnson; to Mr. Arthur P. Rossi, who is responsible for what photographic records we have of the Xingu region; to Messrs. Floyd Crosby and Ainslee Davis for photographic and sound recording; to Mr. Charles Lorber, the pilot of the amphibian plane, and

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to Messrs. Joseph Saneeda and John Doe, co-pilot and radio operator respectively; to Mr. John S. Clarke, Jr; to my Brazilian 'camaradas' and Bakairi canoemen, who followed me so courageously into a region that is not devoid of danger, and to whom a large share of the credit for the success of the venture is due; and to Mr. Giacomo Anzil.

To others not so intimately connected with my field work I am no less obligated. To Mr. Eldridge R. Johnson for his generosity in placing [122] at my disposal the amphibian plane, without which my survey would not have been carried out over such a vast region, and which was instrumental in averting a tragic end to the Xingu venture; to General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who so courteously granted the expedition permission to enter the Indian country, favoring us with his personal interest and friendship and with countless kindnesses; to Major Ramiro Noronha for the infinite pains that he took to give us all the information at his disposal concerning the region that only he knows so well, and for his intimate interest in our welfare; to Dr. Benedicto Duarte Monteiro and Dr. Alvaro Duarte Monteiro of the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios.

I further wish to thank the following institutions and individuals that in some way or other helped me in my task: Dr. Jules Freund of the Henry Phipps Institute; Dr. Max Schmidt for his advice and mapping out for me many projects; Dr. E. Roquette-Pinto, the director of the Museu Nacional, and Dr. Heloise Alberto Torres, of the same institution; Dr. A. Amaral and the Instituto Butantan for numerous courtesies and supplying Dick test material; the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios; Mr. John Gordon Ramsey for his hospitality and permission to excavate at Descavaldos; Miss Eleanor M. Moore for making [126] the six plates of drawings; Miss M. Louise Baker for drawing the map.

* * * *

Dr. E. Roquette-Pinto has expressed the opinion that to-day the most interesting groups of mankind are those to be found in the northern forests of Matto Grosso. Investigating the section of the state which he has called Rondonia, he found numerous tribes with a simple stone-age culture apparently unaffected by what has been happening on the continent of South America since the first arrival of European adventurers. Geographical barriers, and the fact that the surrounding peoples have

borne the brunt of European aggression have been instrumental in preserving for the anthropologist, cultures that are simple and archaic, and unquestionably of South American fostering.

* * * *

175 Matto Grosso was first entered, by way of the Paraguay river, in the latter part of the sixteenth century by Spaniards. Soon afterwards the Portuguese came from the east, succeeding in traversing the southern portion and even reaching the Andes, the sharing of the wealth of Peru being their goal. In the early eighteenth century, towns were founded on the banks of the Cuyabá and the Paraguay rivers. Following the establishing of these settlements, the southern portion of the state underwent gradual exploration, and its aboriginal peoples inevitable subjugation.

The nineteenth century produced a number of scientific expeditions which descended various southern affluents of the Amazon that have their origin in the highlands of Matto Grosso, but generally the north resisted penetration, so that at the beginning of the twentieth century it still remained largely unknown.

A number of reasons can be found for this. Unquestionably its isolation from the rest of Brazil, being surrounded by geographic barriers that permit entry only from the south, has contributed to its slow settlement. In fact, for the settlers it has held little attraction, until recent times. In earlier times, the desire to reach Peru, or to discover a watercourse linking the Amazon with the Paraguay, or to search for fabled gold mines, led to the penetration of the country.

The second dream drew many expeditions. For many years the hope was entertained—it still is entertained by some adventurers—that shipping could pass from the Amazonian waters to the Paraguayan, under the belief that Brazil was an island. In fact, the theory was not founded without being based on reasonable suppositions. At places the waters of the Amazon system almost meet the waters of the Paraguay, being separated only by a few miles, but the dream of free navigation beyond the headwaters of the Paraguay has never been realized. All of the vast rivers that flow northward to join the Amazon are broken by numerous falls, rapids and cataracts, making navigation impossible except with small canoes. Inspired by commercial projects as these early explora-

tions were, there was loss of interest in the interior of Matto Grosso when the above fact was ascertained. 175

Thus a large portion of the vast territory has remained a great hinterland, still little known and as difficult to penetrate as ever. In the popular literature it is often referred to as the land of lost civilizations, golden cities, fabulous gold mines, diamonds, death, hardships, terrible dangers, and unconquerable aborigines. In short, it is still largely the land of fable rather than a land of reality.

For opening the country, more than to any one else the scientific world is indebted to General Candido Mariano Rondon, who has devoted almost his entire lifetime to exploring the country and pacifying and protecting the Indians. He has led one expedition after another into the interior at great personal sacrifice. He has succeeded in instilling the same enthusiasm that characterizes him, in his assistants, to whom with characteristic modesty he attributes the success with which the expeditions have met. Without any practical laurels to reap, there has been sacrifice of health, and sometimes of life, in doing the country a service not always appreciated nor understood. The humane motive that inspired General Rondon and his subordinates to stop the inconsiderate treatment of the aborigines and to convert them into useful, productive citizens of Brazil, was too idealistic to meet always with the approval of the politicians. However, General Rondon has been successful even in overcoming this obstacle. So successful has he been in his contact with the aborigines that these same people, who a few years ago attacked his parties, have assisted him in building roads, and in putting up telegraph lines. Instead of being harassed by adventurers, these people are protected, taught and encouraged to develop their mode of existence as suits them best.

Matto Grosso is too vast a country even for such an exceptionally indefatigable worker as General Rondon to cover. A great deal of the work has been done by subordinates often leading expeditions into new and difficult territory. Major Ramiro Noronha, geographer, ethnographer and humanitarian, has been the leader of expeditions in the northeastern portion of the state and the only one who has visited many tribes on the tributaries of the Xingu river. Yet the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios, of which General Rondon was the chief, and Major Noronha, the leader in charge of the Matto Grosso district, has not com-

M 175 pleted its work. There still are many regions to be explored, and many tribes to be pacified.

* * * *

B M 133 Straddling as it does the Amazonian and Paraguayan drainage systems, Matto Grosso does not form a geographic unit, but is divisible topographically into three sections, each differing from the others in important geographic features. The south, drained by the Paraguay system, is low flat country subject to yearly floods which convert it into a veritable lake dotted with a few islands to which animal and human life retreats. At the height of the dry season this same plain becomes so arid that habitation is limited to the borders of the larger streams or the larger water holes. For the most part it is open grass country, with islands of jungle and palm groves to which the wild life withdraws during the day. Bordering the streams is found the thick and almost B M 136 impenetrable jungle, presenting two solid walls of green vegetation transformed in season to walls of flowers. In this country, bird life is rich and varied; mammalian life is plentiful and attains unusual size, especially in the cat family, one member of which, the jaguar, attains the size of a female Bengal tiger; tapir, capivara, deer, peccary, and otter abound, as well as various species of reptiles which crowd the banks of the rivers during the dry season; fish of many kinds, including the notorious piranha, crowd the rivers. [Plates II, 2; III, 1; IV, 1.]

M 13 The central plateau area, the chapadão, is in direct contrast with the southern portion, the pantanal. It rises abruptly from the pantanal to some twenty-five hundred feet in a series of steps [Plate IV, 1]. It is an undulating, open, sandstone table-land, cut into segments by numerous jungle-bordered streams that are the fountains of the Paraguay and southern affluents of the Amazon. Flat-topped escarpments, constantly being undermined by the streams, break the monotony of the vast open expanse. These sandy and open wind-swept moorlands are covered with grasses, shrubs and dwarf palms. Though many species of plants may be found, there is no luxuriant vegetation. Likewise, animal life, though it may be varied enough, is not abundant.

Where the Amazonian waters begin to assume the proportions of rivers, the Amazonian forest belt begins. Conditions in certain features approximate those of the pantanal. Bird life is richer than in the

[text continues on p. 98]

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FIGURE 1. THE PORT OF CORUMBÁ

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FIGURE 2. THE PARAGUAY RIVER AT DESCAVALDOS

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[Plate II]

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M 13 chapadão, as is also mammalian and floral life. The rivers are likewise well stocked with fish, and as the pantanal originally was comparatively thickly settled, so is this part of Matto Grosso. The quantities of fish seem to determine the density of the population. Indian villages are found along the rivers quite closely together. It is this section of Matto Grosso that is poorly and in some parts totally unknown.

M 361 Most of the southern part of the state is given over to civilized pursuits. The aboriginal peoples have practically disappeared, either having become exterminated or absorbed by the newcomers. From the time of the arrival of the earliest exploring parties, diamonds, gold and rubber have attracted the European adventurer, but now the main activity is cattle raising, though the search for diamonds still continues, especially at the headwaters of the Paraguay and the Araguaya rivers. A number of modern towns thrive along the railroad line, which runs from Porto Esperança on the Paraguay river, eastward. The most important cities are Cuyabá, the capital of the state, and Corumbá, the terminus of the shipping lines from Montevideo and Buenos Aires. S. Luis de Caceres is a typical frontier town, conservatively maintaining an atmosphere of the old colonial days. [Plate II, 1.]

B 361 648 Only the Eastern Bororo, on the São Lorenço, have survived the incursions of the white man. Parified but a few years ago, they have been collected on reservations, where they still maintain their own culture. Pirigara, Corrego Grande and Rondonopolis, all on the São Lorenço river, are comparatively large settlements.

B 101 The Bororo da Campanha have almost disappeared, and there exist but a few families of the semi-nomadic Guató. These are not of pure blood, having mixed with negroes and whites, and have practically forgotten their original culture. On the Taquary, a few Terenos have been collected in a settlement.

B 101 648 At Barra dos Bugres a few Barbados[1] remain. Their pacification has been completed and they are making rapid progress under the tutelage of the Inspectoria.

000 Further north the Paressi and some Nhambikuaras live in settlements along the telegraph line. The Paressi have shown great adaptability for Brazilian culture.

The Inspectoria maintains other posts, in various parts of the country, but at places like Pedro Dantes it has not succeeded in establishing permanent settlements. [See map, Plate XXV.]

1 [i.e., Umotina.-Analyst]

[text continues on p. 100]

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Plate 2. The Jaguar Dance of the Bororo in Campanha.

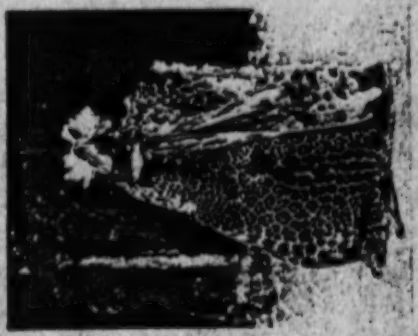

Plate 4. Back View of the Jaguar Costume.

[133]

Plate 1. Air View of the Painted Paintings.

Plate 3. The Impersonation of the Jaguar.

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[Plate III]

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Descavaldos, a cattle ranch situated about two hundred and fifty miles north of Corumbá, on the west bank of the Paraguay river, was chosen by the Matto Grosso expedition as its headquarters. It offered advantages of possessing abundant animal life, the study of which was one of the projects of the expedition, of comparatively good communication with the outside world, and localities rich in archaeology. Unfortunately the aborigines have practically disappeared from the region. A few Guató families still hunt in the marshes to the south, and a Bororo da Campanha village is within a day's ride of the port of the ranch, but its acculturation has gone so far that there is little left for the ethnologist. A few Chiquitos from time to time came from Bolivia, generally with rubber, over the road which probably has been taken by many migrating tribal groups, moving eastward or westward, for Descavaldos is the end of the natural road leading from the Andean Highlands. For this reason archaeological excavation there is of special interest.

Though a narrow-gauge railroad connects Rio de Janeiro with Porto Esperança on the Paraguay river in the southernmost portion of Matto Grosso, the more convenient way of entering the country for an expedition burdened with tons of baggage is by the Paraguay river. On reaching Montevideo from New York, the baggage can be transferred to a large and surprisingly comfortable river boat, and in two weeks Corumbá is reached. For this part of the journey the traveler would do well to equip himself with a hammock and mosquito net of fine mesh.

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To the naturalist, the territory flanking the Paraguay river still offers interesting material, but to the ethnologist, unless he leaves the boat and penetrates to the interior, especially to the west, there is little. The original inhabitants of the territory have given way to the Argentinian, Paraguayan, Bolivian, Brazilian and even the American. The country has been turned to the raising of cattle, or to various manufacturing projects. The world war hastened the process of transformation. With the need of meat in Europe, the country saw boom times, relics of which are deserted pretentious-looking buildings and equipment. However, small groups of aborigines can still be met at the ranches or the factories.

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Whether met in groups or singly, the aborigines that are close to the ranches, towns or factories, show the usual effects of acculturation, which very often results in reducing culture to almost nothing. For example, at Puerto Pinasco were found a band of Angaité, presumably employed

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
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to round up cattle for the factory. In the brief time spent with them, no vestige of their own original culture could be discovered. Living in abject poverty under wall-less shelters made of strips of corrugated iron, bits of cloth, and grass, wearing filthy clothing which was hastily donned on our approach, they seemed to have retained nothing but their language. Some Chamacoco and Lenguas that were met presented the same degeneration. However, it is said that when they withdraw to the interior, which is done seasonally, they revert to their own ways.

M: 105 177

Corumbá, which was reached in the middle of February, is a modern, comparatively busy port depending on commerce for its existence. The large boats from Buenos Aires or Montevideo leave their merchandise at Corumbá, where it is loaded on smaller wood-burning steamers, to be taken to S. Luis de Careres or to Cuyabá. It is also the real terminus of the railroad line running to the coast from Porto Esperança. [Plate II, 1.]

M 504 633

An air line has for some years been established between Corumbá and Cuyabá, reducing a journey of several weeks to a few hours.

M 509 484

While the expedition proceeded to Descavaldos in a small boat and three barges, I flew to Cuyabá, in order to present my credentials to the government and to arrange with the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios matters pertaining to my field work. The absence of Major Ramiro Noronha from Cuyabá did not make possible the achievement of my motive. However, since General Rondon, who had received me in Rio de Janeiro, had been good enough to send a telegram presenting me to the authorities at Cuyabá, the records of the Inspectoria were placed at my disposal. The presence of Professor Max Schmidt of Berlin at Cuyabá was a fortunate occurrence. So little is known about the interior of Matto Grosso that the opportunity of conversing with Professor Schmidt and of the Inspectoria field men was indeed a fortunate one. Later, on my meeting Major Ramiro Noronha, and on the reception of a telegram from General Rondon giving the desired permission to enter the Indian territory, Major Noronha, whom I found in Cuyabá on other visits, placed at my disposal and at the disposal of the expedition personal knowledge, especially of a geographical nature, which proved invaluable.

B M 114

Perhaps a word ought to be said concerning the attitude of the Inspectoria in respect to foreign expeditions. On arrival at Cuyabá I discovered that it was forbidden to visit any of the aboriginal tribes

M B 114 123

[text continues on p. 103]

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Figure 1. Air View of the Upper Paraguayan Valley

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Figure 2. São Lourenço Bororo Spearing Fish

[P.102]

[Plate IV]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

without special permission from the government. It developed that in recent years a number of foreign expeditions, under the guise of having scientific and humanitarian purposes, well supplied with credentials from pretentious scientific societies, membership in which can be had simply by subscribing to some publication, and often with political recommendations, have applied for entrance to the interior of Brazil. They have been received courteously and often every facility at the disposal of the government has been theirs. Subsequently have appeared sensational articles describing the terrible hardships encountered, and the scientific results have never been made public other than from the popular lecture platform, or have been published in some kind of adventure book. In many cases both the Brazilians and the aborigines have been maligned, and hardly ever is it mentioned that the Brazilian government did all in its power to help the expedition. This modern 'exploration racket' has justly aroused the ire especially of the Inspectoria de Proteção aos Indios, and the attempt is made to keep all foreigners out of the Indian country, unless it is proved without a doubt that the purpose is scientific. An expedition of the above kind which sensationally visited the country a few years ago was well remembered at Cuyabá, and its antics unquestionably caused us much delay. However, when the Inspectoria was convinced of our sincerity, it cooperated with great courtesy and sympathy.

M B 114 123

Archaeological Excavations at Descavaldos

B M 172

Early in April, I returned to Descavaldos, and immediately began excavating the first archaeological site on the west bank of the Paraguay river. The water was so high at this time that traveling overland was impossible. Descavaldos was literally an island, and the project of sampling numerous archaeological sites further inland, the location of which I had learned from the natives, had to be abandoned. Intermittent heavy rains threatened to destroy what was uncovered, and the untrained workmen made progress slow at first.

As soon as the water subsided somewhat, another site was opened some five miles away to the north of the first. This site was covered with jungle which had to be cleared. In the place of rains, we had to contend with peccarys and wild cattle. The site differed strikingly from the first in the types of burials.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

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With the exception of the hills of Dourados, the country between Corumbá and S. Luis de Caceres is pantanal, with here and there a hill or range of hills rising abruptly from the level lowlands. Between Dourados and the Jauru river, the Bolivian border and the Paraguay river, is the vast ranch of Descavaldos, which is larger than Belgium in area, with many thousands of cattle roaming its meadows and an insignificant number of people to testify to its existence as a reclaimed land. Wild life is more abundant than the cattle, demonstrating its great tenacity in comparison to human life. Its original human inhabitants have gone, and new ones, Brazilian, Paraguayan, Bolivian, German and American, have taken their place. A mere handful of Bororo, who are so only in name, remain where there were once thousands.

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But the ranch is rich in archaeology. Its aboriginal population planted in the ground some phases of its culture which have withstood the action of water and other destructive elements. There are numerous localities where the archaeologist can recover some of the products of the arts of the now-extinct tribes. The newcomers to the land have not left these undisturbed. In the making of caña and in keeping it afterwards the large funeral urns that can be so easily gotten from the ground have been found to be excellent receptacles. In the making of new pottery, it has been discovered that the clay of the old mixed with the fresh preparation, gives it a better temper. The result of these two useful discoveries has been the ruthless excavation of a number of sites in a most destructive way. Fortunately the area is a vast one and the population very sparse, and archaeology is to be found everywhere, so that the scientist can still tap fresh and undisturbed sources.

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It has been known that urn fields are plentiful in the region, and Max Schmidt also discovered petroglyphs in the hills of the Morro do Triompho near the Ilha de Caracaras. The natives also report the presence of mounds or tumuli, from one of which at Agua Verde, located on the Descavaldos ranch, the specimen shown in Plate XIX, 3 is supposed to have come, according to the lessee of the territory. It had been planned to visit the Morro do Triompho and the hills of Dourados to search for petroglyphs, and also to excavate one of these mounds. Climatic conditions interfered, causing the abandonment of these projects, for when the waters were high it was impossible to reach the desired localities, and when they had withdrawn, ethnology was occupying my attention.

[text continues on p. 106]

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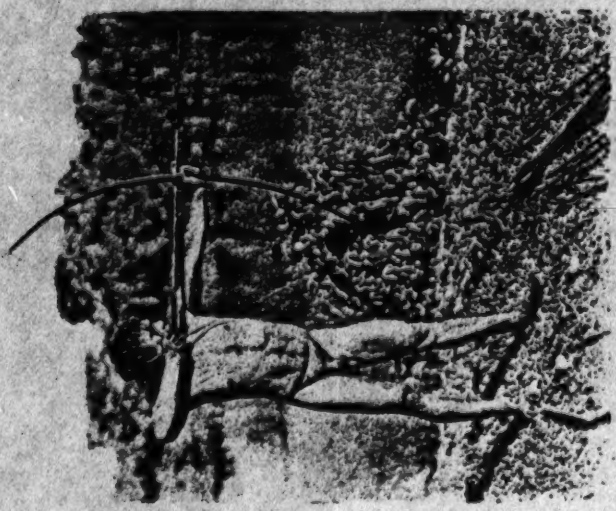

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS DRAWING THE BOW

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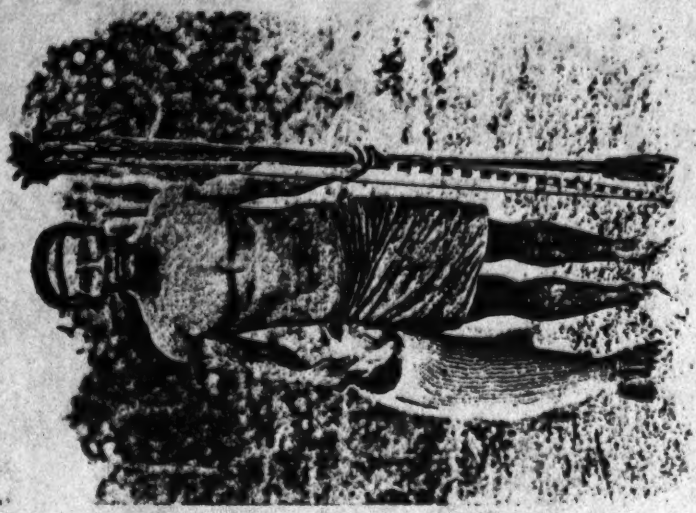

FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS WITH FLINT HIS SHOT

[P.105]

[Plate V]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1

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As has been mentioned, in the early months of the year the expedition was practically marooned on what was virtually an island, the port of Descavaldos, where most of the ranch buildings are located. At one time it was a prosperous and thriving settlement, having in addition to the buildings for the officials of the company that owned the ranch, a number of rows of houses for the ranch hands and their families, a factory, warehouses, power plant, hospital, church, and school house. Today the empty, crumbling buildings and rusting machinery attest to its past grandeur. Where hundreds led a busy and gay life, only a few score have remained.

CEMETERY I
(Plates VIII, 1; IX, 1, 2)

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The settlement was built on an extensive aboriginal cemetery, whose limits have not been established as yet. For many years archaeological material has been brought to the surface by workmen, but no systematic excavating has been done, though the site was tested by Max Schmidt. While digging a fence ditch, members of the expedition came upon some interesting material, and work was stopped awaiting my arrival, and after that event the withdrawal of the waters, before continuing further.

This section, which was subsequently excavated, is between a row of houses and the waters of a lagoon that sweeps in from the Paraguay proper. At the commencement of the work early in April, it was no more than twenty meters from the water's edge. The buildings, fences, and a large tree that we were not permitted to remove, interfered with extending the excavation in desired directions, after the work was gotten under way. When work was stopped two trenches perpendicular to each other had been made covering twenty-two square metres of ground, at an average depth of one and one-half metres.

For the work, men were drawn from those on the ranch, men accustomed more to the saddle and work in connection with cattle, rather than such a careful and metirulous occupation. However, after it became settled in their minds that the objects uncovered were of importance and interest to me, they made excellent helpers.

Surface Finds

Over the entire area on which the buildings are built, potsherds are found in great quantities, but other artefacts are rare. The withdrawal

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of the water after the flood season often exposes objects, and several interesting pieces were found on the very edge of the bed of the Paraguay, indicating probably that the river has shifted its course since the time that the land was held by the aborigines, a not uncommon thing for the rivers of Matto Grosso to do. One such piece is a broken, polished, thin celt of limy chert. It is two centimetres in thickness, eight centimetres in width, and ten in length [Plate XIX, 1].

Most of the potsherds are of no value, since they show no decoration and no technique different from that of the pottery that is to be found below the surface. Several pieces show impressed string pattern decoration.

A grooved, heavy, polished celt was found on the surface of the section excavated. It is shown in Plate XIX, 2. It is badly and unevenly made of quartzite of coarse texture.

A polished, grooved, round fragment, measuring five centimetres in diameter and eight centimetres in length, may have been the upper part of a pestle. Another piece may have been used as a hammer stone.

At all levels between thirty centimetres below the surface and the floor of the excavation which was the top of the hard pan, were found burials, most of which were badly preserved. The action of water, and roots of the tree, and probable disturbance during the construction of the buildings, had broken many of the pots and damaged the skeletal material.

The hard pan was struck at an average depth of one and one-half metres. At several places, with much labor, it was excavated to a depth of ten and fifteen centimetres, but this brought forth nothing. Lack of time stopped further investigation in this direction.

No evidence of any geological stratification appeared on the walls of the trenches, so that the dating of the site is impossible by this means, except to say that it is of a recent date.

The site yielded abundant pottery, shell and teeth ornaments, but very little skeletal material could be preserved with the materials that we had. However, several skull caps, one skull minus the lower mandible, and a skeleton minus the head have been brought out but have not been studied by a competent person as yet.

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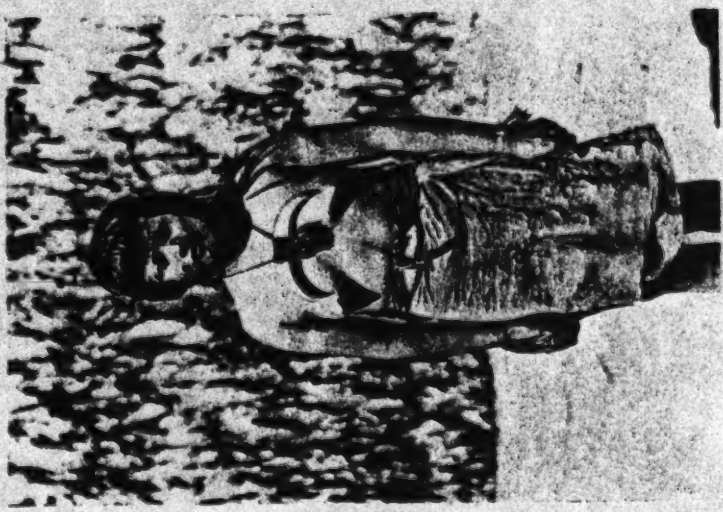

FIGURE 2. São Lourenço Bororo Girl.

FIGURE 1. São Lourenço Bororo with Facial Paintings

[P. 108]

[Plate VI]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1

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Scattered everywhere, and sometimes definitely associated with the burials, were found a large quantity of aquatic shells [Pomacea australis (Orbigny)].

So close together were some of the burials that in some cases they overlapped. Though not enough burials were uncovered to determine this without further question, from what was found, there is indicated that the burials were grouped. In order to make the description easier to follow, the term 'unit' has been adopted, referring to a find that is considered to be separated from the others, though it may originally have consisted of more than one burial.

Unit A

At a depth of thirty centimetres there was uncovered an inverted yellow pottery bowl, but slightly damaged, measuring about thirty centimetres in diameter and ten in depth. There are marks on the surface which indicate that it was made by the coiling technique. On the whole it is poorly made, and bears no decoration of any kind.

Underneath it were found a number of small, fragile mussel shell beads and perforated monkey teeth. No bone fragments of any species were associated with this unit. However, the presence of the teeth and beads is good evidence that originally a skeleton had lain under the bowl. In all probability it was that of a very young child, the fragility of the bony material accounting for its disappearance under the climatic conditions.

Unit B

This unit was located at a slightly lower level than A, and about a metre away from it. It consisted of an inverted pottery bowl, slightly smaller than the bowl in A, of red ware, in excellent condition. On its removal it was discovered that it had been covering another bowl of elliptical shape which rested on a skull. It was found that this second piece fitted the top of the skull exactly, so that it must be concluded that it was made for that purpose. The skull rested on its base, facing the southeast. It was that of a young person, and its bones were poorly preserved. In spite of all the care that was taken, most of it crumbled when the attempt was made to remove it.

At the base of the skull and close to it were several shells, and also perforated teeth, a few long, cylindrical jasper beads, and the fragile

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
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mussel shell beads that were found with A. In addition there were a few long bones of some bird or mammal, which because of their fragility could neither be taken out nor identified.

Unit C

A badly preserved skull, at a slightly lower level than B, and at a distance from it of one and one-half metres. It was not protected by any pottery, and no artefacts were found associated with it. It was the skull of an adult.

Unit D

About a half metre away from C appeared an inverted bowl of approximately the same size, shape, and workmanship of A. Under it were some unidentifiable fragments of bone and some mussel shell beads. Being on the same level as C, this unit may very well have been a part of the C burial, shifted and separated from it subsequent to the interment, by the action of the water and other disturbing elements.

Unit E

At a depth of half a metre and about two metres away from D was uncovered the skeleton of a child, unprotected by any pottery. The child had been placed on its back, the knees drawn up to the chest, the lower leg doubled on the femur. The greater portion of the skull had disintegrated, but a few teeth remained. All of the bones were badly damaged and could not be preserved. No grave furniture of any kind was found in association.

Unit F [Plate IX. 2]

Work stopped from progressing in the direction taken by D and E, by the foundations of a wall. the trench was extended in the other direction from A and later swung to the right so as to be at right angles to the original trench. In this new section were uncovered a number of overlapping burials, which, though badly preserved, nevertheless added considerably to the material.

[text continues on p. 112]

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FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO WITH A FLOWER LABRET

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FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO GIRL

[P. 111]

[Plate VII]

MATO GROSSO SP1

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About two metres away from A were a group of overlapping burials in the same level. After clearing away the debris, burial F was isolated and was found to be in a fair state of preservation.

This unit was first revealed as three inserted bowls, all badly broken. On their removal a skeleton of a young person was uncovered, lying on its back, its head slightly turned to its right, its knees drawn up and outward, and its feet together, thus forming with the legs a diamond-shaped figure. It was orientated northwest to southeast, with its head to the northwest.

Extended at its right side, with the fragments of the skull partly resting on it above the pelvis, was the fragmentary skeleton of some small mammal, probably a monkey, also carefully covered with a pottery bowl.

The skeleton, besides occupying such an odd position, showed other peculiarities. The head was large, and judging from the formation of the teeth it must have been an individual past puberty. The bones of the legs, in contrast, were puny, being both thin and short. Around its neck and chest, still in position, perforated teeth were found, in such a quantity that the bones were entirely hidden by them. On their removal a still greater quantity of small perforated shell discs, in position so as to make any other inference than that they formed a necklace impossible, were about the neck and extended partly down the neck. A good number of the same cylindrical jasper beads were scattered among the perforated teeth and the perforated discs.

The small skeleton of the mammal likewise was adorned with a necklace of the same cylindrical jasper beads.

Several aquatic shells were found associated with the burial.

No other artefacts of any kind could be found.

Most of this skeletal material has been preserved.

Unit G

Close to the left of the head of F, a number of burials must have existed, but we found only debris consisting of potsherds, beads, perforated teeth and bone fragments. One small pot was preserved whole, but it was found to be empty. It may have belonged to unit F originally. It is a small, globular pot with a broad rim decorated with impressed

string patterns, similar to the decoration found on the surface potsherds already described.

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Unit H

This was located about one and one-half metres away from G, and at the same level. It consisted of a well-preserved adult skeleton of large proportions, lying on its right side, the knees drawn up to a sitting posture, the lower legs flexed on the thighs. The skull could not be located. No pottery or any kind of ornaments were associated with it; but it did present a new feature in that at its back was found a cache of piranha jaws and teeth. The body lay in an east to west line.

Unit I

A number of burials were uncovered about a metre away from H and to its right. They conformed to the general type. Four pottery bowls, badly damaged, covered skeletons, one of which occupied an extended position on its back. The other skeletons were so damaged and so mixed that little information could be gotten. There was total absence of any ornaments, but the shells described above were also associated with this group. The bone material was that of children.

In addition to the above finds there were recovered from accidental excavations nearby a skull minus the lower mandible and a skull cap. They have not been studied as yet.

* * * *

Lacking any geological data on which to base an estimate of its antiquity, it is significant that no artefacts of European origin were found in the excavation.

Though most of the skeletal remains were those of children, it cannot be inferred that the site is a child cemetery, when it is remembered that infant mortality is especially high among primitive peoples.

The method of burial for children seems to have been a simple interment protected by pottery. Ornaments such as the children wore were placed with the bodies.

Of these ornaments, the perforated shell discs are still very common among the tribes of the upper Xingu which were visited later, but were not found either among the Bororo da Campanha or the Bororo of the

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[text continues on p. 115]

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FIGURE 1. AIR VIEW OF DESCAVALDOS SHOWING LOCATIONS OF THE CEMETERIES

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FIGURE 2. A SECTION OF CEMETERY II

[P. 114]

[Plate VIII]

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Mato Grosso SP1

São Lorenço valley. The mussel shell beads and the cylindrical jasper kind are not to be found among the Bororo or those groups mentioned above.

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The method of burial of the Bororo is radically different from what was revealed in this excavation, leaving no doubt that the cemetery must antedate the occupation of the territory by these people.

The piranha is associated in magico-religious concepts of the tribes of the Kuluseu-Kulusne region. Its jaws and teeth find practical application by all of the aborigines, being used as scrapers, or cutters. The cache of piranha jaws and teeth thus becomes meaningful.

The body was not buried alway in the same position. The site revealed that it was placed sometimes on the side, and sometimes on the back, with the legs flexed at various degrees.

All of the burials were unquestionably primary, judging from the articulating position of the bones. No marks of any kind were found on the skeletal material.

The pottery is of poor quality, being of coarse clay and badly fired. The decoration that was found on several potsherds and on one small pot was impressed string pattern. The pottery ware is different from that made by the Bororo.

B [323]

The lithic industry is too poorly represented to permit any conclusions. What was found is polished, and badly made. Its scarcity suggests that it was not a major industry in the culture represented. However, the stone, if not the artefacts, must have been imported from the highlands of the west or the north, since there is no stone in the region.

CEMETERY II

[Plate VIII, 1, 2]

About five miles to the west of Cemetery I, and the port of Descavados, is located Cemetery II, part of an extensive archaeological site whose limits have not been determined. The land is slightly elevated from the rest of the pantanal, so that during the floods it forms an island, but at the height of the dry season it remains partly surrounded by a large lagoon which is connected with the Paraguay only by marshes. When the water is high it can be reached by canoe from the Paraguay. It constitutes an ideal location for a native village, in that it is situated in the pantanal where game is plentiful, it is close to the river, though hidden

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

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away and protected by swamps, and it is always close to good water. The site is completely covered with thick jungle growth.

The same men that excavated Cemetery I were employed on Cemetery II, and they proved very ingenious in solving the new problems that arose, in clearing the site, in excavating and in transporting the archaeological material to the port.

An area seventy-five by twenty-five metres was cleared of all underbrush, and staked out in five-metre squares. Though this did not include the entire site, it was enough for our purposes. On the removal of the vegetation, clusters of rocks were found scattered about. In every case such clusters marked the location of a group of funereal urns. Another way of determining fertile places employed by the natives was to stamp on the ground. If this happens to be done over an urn a sound like beating a drum is produced.

At several places the site had been disturbed by the natives and ranchers, who sought to excavate the large urns intended to be put to domestic use. They had not been always successful in taking out whole pots, as several broken urns attested.

It was so late in the season that rains did not interfere with the excavating, but being away from the ranch settlement, we had to contend with cattle and peccarys that formed the habit of visiting the site at night. It became necessary to build a strong fence about the area being excavated.

Three smaller sections of the cleared and staked area were opened: one close to the lagoon, measuring thirty metres square; the second, twenty-five metres away from the first and to the extreme right of the cleared section; and the third, about forty metres away from the first and to the extreme left. In this manner, a test of the site was made as to whether it contains the same type of archaeology throughout.

The most fertile of the sections excavated was the first, and since the others differed in no way from it in the style of pottery or burial found, it only will be described.

In general, the material was in a better state of preservation than in Cemetery I, due probably to the larger and coarser pottery being able to resist the action of water and other disintegrating agents better. Very little skeletal material was successfully gotten out, as in the first site.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
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At places the excavation was continued to almost two metres, but the walls of the cuts revealed no difference in the soil, not even the humus line being marked. In this respect it was similar to the first cemetery, no change of soil occurring until the hard pan was reached.

Surface Finds

These include only material that was found over the areas excavated or to a depth of a few centimeters. As in the first site, the entire area was covered with potsherds, which in most cases revealed nothing that was not learned from the whole pottery to be found under the surface. However, a few pieces of decorated pottery were found. These are shown in Plate XX, 1-4. The decoration is painted in red on red ware. It is rectilinear and consists of broad red lines which are drawn either parallel to each other or criss-cross.

Other finds include:

On the very surface two iron tomahawks, of the usual type.

Three unhafted polished hornfel celts, beautifully made. The average size is about eight centimetres in length, five centimetres in width at the cutting edge and two centimetres at the butt. The greatest thickness is three centimetres. These were found about fifteen centimetres below the surface. [Plate XX, 7.]

One celt, of the approximate size of the above, with a slight groove encircling the butt.

Several jasper cylindrical beads of the same type as those found in Cemetery I.

One large polished quartzite bead.

One large polished hafted quartz pendant [Plate XX, 5].

A small undecorated pitcher-shaped vessel with out-turned rim, crude handle and flat base. It measures but four centimetres in height and is characterized by exceptionally thick walls. [Plate XX, 15.]

Four small round pottery vessels of hemispherical shape with thick rims. Three of these are decorated with painted designs in red.

(a) This is the largest, measuring ten centimetres across the top, and seven in height. Its walls are disproportionately thick, and the rim is made even thicker by a roll of clay, forming the upper border of the painted design, the other being formed by another roll accentuated by incised lines, on each side. The painted decoration is in red, consisting

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of parallel lines, criss-cross, and filled-in triangles. A section of it is shown in Plate XX, 9. Close to the rolled rim on one side, the vessel bears a smooth, round hole less than one centimetre in diameter. It was unquestionably put there intentionally by the potter.

(b) This specimen is of identical shape as (a) but smaller, measuring but seven centimetres across the top and four centimetres in height. It bears the rolled rim, and incised lines. The painted decoration is black and consists of lines and rectangular figures, sectioned off. The hole close to the rim again appears. [Plate XX, 9 a.]

(c) Of the same size as (b), and is identical with it except that the rolled rim is heavier and does not bear any painted decoration.

(d) This is the smallest of the four, and is identical with the others, only differing in the painted decoration, which consists of diamond and triangular figures filled in with parallel horizontal lines. The ware is red and the decoration is in red. [Plate XX, 9 b.]

(a), (c), and (d) were found in close proximity to each other at the same level, thirty centimetres below the surface, but not in association with any of the urn burials. (b) was found also about thirty centimetres below the surface and in the section where the urns were closely packed.

That the hole served the purpose of passing a string through it in order to keep the vessels suspended seems to be a reasonable assumption, but as to their probable use little that is definite can be said. One of the Bororo da Campanha workmen offered the information that in his boyhood he had seen similar vessels used by the girls in the catamenial periods, especially during the period of the puberty initiation ceremony in connection with fasting. These vessels were used as measures for the amount of water and food the girl was permitted to have; whether it was per day or per meal he could not say. However, the ware is not of the Bororo style, and such vessels were not found in use among the Bororo of the São Lorenço region, so that this suggestion cannot be taken as conclusive.

B [88] [804] [415]

Another find consisted of several conical bone points, with concave bases, similar to those found on Bororo arrows, and also on the arrows gotten in the Kuluseu-Kuluene region. [Plate XX, 6.]

Five pottery spindle whorls of the form shown in Plate XX, 8.

Between a depth of thirty centimetres and hard pan, we came upon a large number of closely packed pottery vessels, some of which con-

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

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tained fragmentary bone material. Plate VIII, 2 shows part of the excavation. Besides a great quantity of aquatic shells, which were found at all levels in the soil, below thirty centimetres, nothing was found but pottery and skeletal material. Not a single fragment of any artefact could be located, though the earth taken out was most carefully sifted.

To facilitate the discussion, the pottery can be roughly divided in the following types, according to the shape and size:

(a) Large urns with conical bases, bulging sides, forming shoulders, narrow mouths, either with or without a rim collar, and undecorated. These for the most part were found to be empty, except in those cases where the cover had been broken, in which cases they were filled with debris. [Plate XX, 19-21.]

(b) Globular urns, smaller than (a), with or without rim collar, with or without rudimentary handles, undecorated, always containing skeletal material. [Plate XX, 17, 18.]

(c) Bowls undecorated, but for one, of various sizes, used as covers on the urns. [Plate XX, 14.]

The pottery ware is crude, badly fired, and the larger urns are never perfectly shaped. The surfaces show the marks of the coiling technique.

The following units are typical of the site:

Unit A [Shown in the right foreground in Plate VIII, 2.]

A large urn in good condition, of red ware, with a rim collar, measuring .85 metre in height and .80 metre at the greatest diameter. Originally it had been covered with an inverted bowl, the fragments of which were found inside it. It contained no skeletal material and no artefacts.

Unit B

A unique burial group seen immediately behind A in Plate VIII, 2. It consisted of an urn of type (b), bearing a bowl cover. The urn was empty even of debris, but on the outside and packed close to it were remains of three disarticulated skeletons. The bones were in such a bad state of preservation that few of them could be taken out. No artefacts of any kind were found in association.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

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B
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Unit C

A large urn bearing a bowl cover, the inner surface of which bears a painted rectilinear design in red. The bowl is a large one, measuring forty centimetres across the top and fourteen in depth. In the bottom of the urn were found fragments of bones.

Unit D

A globular urn about forty centimetres in diameter, bearing rudimentary handles. It was covered with a bowl and contained disintegrated skeletal material.

Unit E

Urn of type (a), on which rested another urn of type (b), which was covered with a bowl. Both urns contained skeletal material.

Unit F

One of the largest urns taken out, measuring 1.23 metres in height, and .97 metre at the greatest diameter. This specimen is now in the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. It bears no decoration. With the debris that it contained was found some skeletal material.

Unit G

A large urn of type (a), measuring .90 metre at the greatest diameter and an equal amount in height. The sides slope in abruptly forming shoulders, terminating in upturned rim collar. It bears no decoration. It likewise was originally covered with a bowl.

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Bororo da Campanha

While work continued at the cemetery site, a visit was paid to the remnants of the Bororo de Campanha, collected at a village locally known as Laguna.

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The trip to Laguna was made in the company of Messrs. E. R. Fenimore Johnson, John S. Clarke, Samuel T. Hoopes, Floyd Crosby, the cameraman, and guides. The village is situated on some high ground, covered with palm and banana groves. It consisted of a few huts arranged haphazardly, with that of the headman at the edge of a cleared

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina 574
to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had 735
been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. 342
The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleep- 352
ing either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no 512
further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make 323
pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no indus- 287
try whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were 411
several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language 177
being almost forgotten even by the older people. 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, 574
they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one
for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the 533
men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompani- 535
ment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Sev- [273]
eral times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

[Bororo da Campanha]

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533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoulders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar' dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side. His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

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[Plate IX]

[P.123]

Figure 1. A Section of Cemetery I

Figure 2. A Burial (Unit F) in Cemetery I

Figure 3. Yawalapiti and Mehinaku Encamped at the Mouth of the Kuluseu River

Figure 4. Our Arrival at the Kuikuti Post on the Kuluene River

SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1
Yaruma
Nauka
SP25
SP18

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1

Eastern Bororo

B 101 184 361

On the São Lorenço river are a number of colonies of the eastern Bororo, who have not come so much under the influence of European civilization. These people still live apart in their villages and maintain their own institutions and industries. They unquestionably differ from the western Bororo in many ways.

B 114 361

The colonies at Pirigara, Corrego Grande (São Lorenço), and Rondonopolis were visited by the expedition, but Corrego Grande received most attention. Sound motion-picture studies of the dances and industries were made and rich collections of artefacts obtained.

B 361 184 423

Unlike that of the Western Bororo, the village is still an orderly affair, being built in circular fashion with the men's hut in the center. The men actually live in this hut, the other houses really belonging to the women. Fishing, the cultivation of manioc, and hunting are the main occupations. [Plates IV, 2; V, 1, 2; VI, 1, 2; VII, 1, 2.]

B 114

Since an excellent study of a community of Bororo exists by Colbachini, little could be said of a descriptive nature in this brief paper that would not be duplication. Therefore, it is felt that time and space ought to be given to the Xingu trip.

At the Headwaters of the Xingu River

M 114

My original plans were to descend the Kuluene river, which has never been descended by an ethnographer; in fact, only recently has it been mapped by Major Ramior Noronha. However, after several conversations with Major Noronha at Cuyabá, finding that such a plan would add difficulties which would not bring any added results, I decided to descend the Kuluseu and ascend the Kuluene to the Seventh of September, and then to ascend that river. This had the advantage of avoiding a longer overland trip and many miles of rapids, and offered the opportunity of seeing more aborigines.

For purposes of reconnaisance and as a safety measure, it was decided to make use of the airplane. Accordingly, before beginning the overland trip, two flights were made to the north. We decided to depend on water for taking off and landing, since the country did not offer such open runways that landing on wheels would be safe.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo
Mato Grosso SP1

Major Noronha had informed us that, after departing from Cuyabá, no landing of the plane would be possible until we reached either the mouth of the Kuluseu or the mouth of the Seventh of September, a distance of approximately three hundred and fifty miles. The first trip was undertaken with the purpose of locating the nearest large body of water and any aboriginal villages en route. Mr. Samuel T. Hoopes, one of the sponsors of the Matto Grosso expedition, accompanied us on this flight, as well as Dr. Benedicto Duarte, of the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios. We flew over Chapada and took the route for the Bakairi post on the Paranatinga river. The pilot relied more on Major Noronha's verbal descriptions than on the maps which we had, and which unquestionably were too conjectural. We had to do some flying along the Paranatinga river before we were able to sight the post. From that point we flew northeast, cutting across the headwaters of the Rio Fermo, the Batovy, and numerous smaller ones, which, joining eventually, form the Xingu further north. Having located what we thought was the Kuluseu we flew northward, but we did not locate a stretch which would permit safe landing. Finally we turned back for Cuyabá. During this flight we were in touch with our radio station at Descavaldos and with the Panair station at Para. We reached Cuyabá after over six hours of flying, to the astonishment of its citizens, who had not expected to see us again. [See map, Plate XXV.] 114

On the second trip we went further than on the first, and finally, the river broadening out, we made a good landing at the juncture of the Kuluseu and the Kuluene. So far we had not seen any villages or canoes on the rivers. At a distance we had sighted smoke, but since the entire area is burned by Indians and Brazilians, either to make new manioc fields or for pasture, we had not attempted to ascertain its meaning. After breakfasting and waiting in the hope that some Indians would appear, we left several strips of cloth tied to a bush with some knives, fish hooks, and mirrors, and took off. We had no doubt that though we had not seen any Indians we were being observed all of the time. A few minutes later we sighted a village. Flying low and circling it several times, we spied running figures making for the jungle and a stalwart line of men holding tall bows in their hands gazing at the plane. All of the people had the appearance of being colored red, even to the head. Another interesting feature was a tipi-like structure which stood to one side of the

[text continues on p. 127]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

Y 342

W 361

Y 342

[P. 126]

[Plate X]

Figure 1. Yawalapiti Village

Figure 2. Half-Finished Naravute House

Figure 3. Detail of Framework of Naravute House

Figure 4. Completed Naravute House

SP8 Bororo
Waura SP18
Yaruma SP25

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo
Mato Grosso SP1
Bacairi SP7

clearing. After dropping a sack filled with trade goods, we flew back to Cuyabá, surprising its population for the second time by our safe return. On this trip we had been away almost the entire day, so that practically no hope was held out for us, though there was a rumor that we had found gold, which caused our delay. M 114

The distance from Cuyabá to where the plane could land on the Xingu was so great that if we wanted to do any further air exploring we had to get a deposit of gasoline there. It was therefore decided that I was to transport overland ten cases of gasoline. The plane would pay my party a visit on the sixth week after my departure from Cuyabá, that being the time calculated that it would take to reach it overland, at the same place where we had landed at the mouth of the Kulusen.

After recruiting four men in Cuyabá, three of whom were recommended by Major Noronha and proved to be the finest that could be employed, we set off for the Bakairi post in two motor trucks. Our baggage consisted of airplane gasoline, an outboard motor, gasoline and oil for it, trading goods, personal equipment and food. No tents were taken for shelter, nor canvas canoes, and so forth. Our food consisted of manioc flour, beans, rice, coffee and meat. In addition, we carried six sealed tins containing emergency rations for a few days, of which we had occasion to make use later. Our camping equipment was as simple as that of the camarada, merely a hammock, blanket and mosquito net. Our only luxury was a portable phonograph, which as long as we had it helped to keep the men and aborigines in good humor. M 114 122

It took us three days to reach the Bakairi post, after an early end of the expedition was threatened by the breaking of two wheels of the truck. Beyond Chapada the road is good. This section was built by the Bakairi under the direction of Major Noronha. On our way we stopped at the Protestant Mission at Burity, where we were hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Moser. It is on the property of the Mission that the Veio de Noiva Falls are.

THE BAKAIRI

The peoples of a number of villages speaking Bakairi have been collected at the post, Simões Lopes, on the Paranatinga river. The post consists of a number of excellent government buildings in charge of an agent and a small staff. A little distance away is the Bakairi village, in B 361 648

Bakairi SP7
Mato Grosso SP1

B 361 648

a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give aborigines the isolation that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bound to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

B 177 648 M 658

The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of such groups of the native population as come under its tutelage.

B 177 [233]

The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, when they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly, and plants his foods.

B [241]

B 164 [165]

In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, because of the improved methods, and this may account for the lowered resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the headwaters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kulusen who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fevers upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

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Bacairi SP7

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Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this. 361 13 [164] [177]

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease. 178 226 262

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simões Lopes. 126 177 323 439

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu. 177 [411]

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept. [352]

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product. [301] [439]

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies. 178 [291] [304] [534]

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating. 114 143

Bacairi SP7
Mato Grosso SP1

B 464 [551] Nine canoemen, recommended by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Bakairi. The nine included Paghuli, or Marcellino, and Apacunu, both of whom had lived on the Kulusen before the withdrawal of the Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Anuhukua to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. [191] [396] Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

B 501 The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

B M 114 As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giacomo Anzil, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of oxen and mules, which were to transport it to the Kulusen river. The men not concerned with driving the oxen went afoot. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the oxen, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-horned oxen, small mules, filed in a long line across the wastes of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual bantering conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers [B 177] [29] and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian camaradas.

As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked

Mato Grosso SP1
Bacairi SP?

streams. Under the hot sun this became hard work, but in general the march was a pleasant one. The start in the morning was made at about eight o'clock, unless some beast had wandered too far off, when there was some further delay. A low fog hid the tall grass from sight early in the morning, but soon afterwards it would lift. In the early afternoon would appear white clouds in the skies that had been perfectly clear, enough to enhance the beauty of the sunsets, and no more. The region is windswept, so that though the sun was hot enough the heat was never unbearable. Camp was generally made in the middle afternoon, by some stream, in order to give the oxen a chance to graze. Skies were invariably clear at night. The temperature fell so suddenly that few slept after midnight, most preferring to huddle around the fire, to talk and drink coffee, which I allowed. Precipitation was heavy during the night, as was attested by our blankets, which were wringing wet by morning. However, the nights were not so uncomfortable that it would have justified the carrying of heavy tarpaulins. BM 114

In this manner we traveled over the rolling country. Sometimes we surprised deer that bounded off before a shot could be had, though several fell to our guns. Once Tupi, a short-haired New York fox terrier that accompanied me, roused a tapir; the other dogs joining in the chase, it was bayed and killed, a welcome event, for it supplied us with meat for several days. A puma one day caused a great deal of excitement. On being seen, almost the entire personnel gave chase, whirling lassoes, shooting arrows, whooping, yelling and laughing. It was finally shot. Several mutung, birds whose meat was found to be excellent, were killed in the jungle patches bordering the streams. BM 114 136

We passed near two deserted village sites which the Bakairi identified as being Kayapó. Traveling on schedule, however, we were not able to stop to investigate archaeological possibilities. BM 114 172

On the sixth day from Simão Lopes we entered more wooded country, necessitating cutting a way through, and on the seventh day we reached the banks of the Kuluseu river below the mouth of the Prame. This last day was marked by an accident to one of the tame pack oxen. It fell, breaking its back. For the wild steer that we had taken with us, its face covered with a leather mask so that it could not see where it was going, but naturally followed the other oxen, this was fortunate. The hurt ox was killed and its meat dried. The steer was sent back to the post BM 114

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo
Mato Grosso SP1
Bacairi SP7
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M
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in the morning with the other oxen, with another extension on its life span. The extra men that had driven the oxen also returned to Simão Lopes, their fear of attack by the Kayapó hastening their journey back.

We were now totally out of touch with the world that we had left. The underbrush of a patch of jungle was cleared for our camp. This was always our practice, the insects and the moisture being less troublesome there than in the open. Furthermore we could swing our hammocks between trees, whereas it would have been necessary to set up hammock poles were we to camp in the open. As to danger of attack by the aborigines, it was felt that one is equally safe in the forest.

The following day the Bakairi began the search for suitable jatuba trees, for our canoes were to be made from the bark. The Bakairi set out early, without the customary breakfast, and carrying nothing but their weapons, without which they would not stir from camp. Were a man to eat before setting out to locate the trees he would never find one, they said. In case, by some fortuitous accident he did, the bark would be too thin, or too thick, or too dry, or would crack. Therefore nothing must be eaten until the trees are found. In the afternoon they returned with news that several had been located and also that a trail marked with broken twigs had been discovered running almost in a circle around our camp, indicating the presence of the Kayapó in the neighborhood. During the night it was claimed that strange calls were heard, but during our stay at this camp we were not molested.

For the comfort of the Brazilian camaradas I permitted the making of a dugout canoe; with this sort of watercraft they were familiar, but were distrustful of the bark canoes. Subsequently I had occasion to repent my decision and they their request.

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In four days the Bakairi made six canoes, two of which were of good size, each capable of carrying an estimated load of fifteen hundred pounds. The dugout was not completed until the seventh day, and it proved hardly serviceable then. Its only baggage was two cases of gasoline, and it gave infinite trouble to its men in the rapids because of its non-flexibility and great weight.

On the other hand, the jatuba bark canoe is flexible; this feature, combined with the thickness of the bark, diminishes the chances of perforation or capsizing on hitting a submerged rock or tree, which cannot be avoided, especially in the upper waters of the rivers. Such a

Bacairi SP9

B 396

bark canoe suffers little or no damage where a dugout would either capsize or split. Canvas canoes would tear too easily.

When a jatuba tree suitable in size and condition of the bark is found, a platform of slender poles is built around it. Three upright poles are set up forming a triangle around the tree. Cross pieces in which the worker stands are lashed across from pole to pole. The outline of the canoe is then marked on the tree and is peeled off carefully by driving in flexible wedges in between the bark and the wood. B [40]

The bark thus gotten is bent into the proper shape by building a smouldering fire on its inner surface and by means of poles used as levers on the sides, forming eventually a framework in which the canoe is wedged. The bending in of the sides too much is prevented by cross pieces. Sometimes the maker etches out a design on the outer bark.

The canoe thus obtained is a shallow affair and practically flat bottomed, which gives it stability. The bow is open and clay is used along the edges as a bank to keep out the water. The stern is raised somewhat but often water enters by it likewise.

The Bakairi, while making the canoes, fasted until the end of the day's work, when they ate pure food, in this case rice, farina and meat. It was explained that really they should have eaten nothing but piranha and biiju, foods that we did not possess. Sexual abstinence is necessary, and were some women in the catamenial period to pass nearby, the bark would split. After work is begun no one, in fact, must approach, and if he, unaware that a canoe is being made, does come near, he must not leave on any account. B 396 784

Though we found other signs of the presence of aborigines in the neighborhood we never saw them; but that we were being watched carefully, there was no doubt. 000

With overloaded canoes we finally embarked on the next lap of our journey to the mouth of the Kuluseu river. For another seven days we worked in the rapids, fatiguing and morale-destroying work. Often we had to cut our way through fallen trees; for long distances canoes were dragged over dangerous stretches; many times the canoes had to be unloaded and the luggage portaged. The men worked naked in the water, and it remains a marvel how we came past the rapids without having suffered some serious injury and without having lost either canoes or baggage. However, the work in the water told on the men

000 and a number went on the sick list with fever. From this time on, at least three of my fifteen men were daily suffering from some malady that incapacitated them for hard work.

B 361 103 Just below the rapids formerly were located a number of Bakairi villages, as reported for instance by Von der Steinen. We passed the sites of the villages known as Marika, Igueti, Maiueti, names meaning mosquito, harpy eagle, and turtle, respectively.

000 At this time some of the camaradas began to show restlessness, especially one man that I had brought from Descavalhos to act as my foreman but who had failed in most of his duties to show the efficiency necessary. This, the fact that there was so much illness, and because we were behind our schedule, urged me to make use of the outboard motor now that we were in clear water. Accordingly three canoes were lashed together and the other four were towed in pairs. We made good speed, but an odd change came over the men. From being expert canoemen they became clumsy in their movements, as if that were the first time that they had seen canoes. Also, having nothing to do, they became increasingly restless in their places. This resulted in disaster several days later, after we left the Anahukua, at whose port we had encamped.

Y 123 622 Pressed for time in order to keep our scheduled meeting with the plane at the mouth of the Kuluseu, the Anahukua village was not visited. We camped opposite their port late in the afternoon, and soon afterwards Aloike, the chief headman, and some of his followers, appeared on the opposite bank. He came alone, since none of his men apparently had the courage to visit us. A few gifts were made to him and he went over, promising to be back in the morning with his people and food for us.

Y [262] Aloike kept his word, for in the morning the opposite bank was crowded with naked men, women and children, carrying calabashes filled with farina, baskets filled with biiju, and piki wrapped in leaves. Our phonograph kept them amused on their crossing over, but our presents to them interested them more. In the few hours that we stayed with them I tried to make as many notes as possible and collected a number of objects—work that was of no avail, for a few hours later everything was lost under fifty feet of water.

Y 622 554 Authority among the Anahukua did not exist. It was in vain that Aloike tried to impress us with his power; everyone behaved as he

[text continues on p. 136]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo -
Waura SP18
Yaruma SP25

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142
291
302
482
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142
291
302
411
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Figure 2. Tupi Women

Figure 4. Kaingang Men

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516
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Y
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854
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Figure 1. Mundurucu Men and Boy

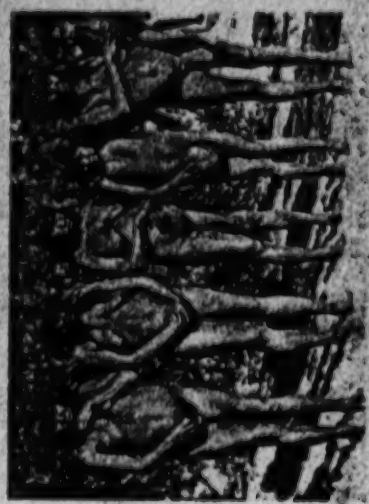

Figure 3. Kaingang Women

[P. 135]

[Plate XI]

SP8 Bororo
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Nauka SP18
Trumai SP23

Y
622 pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed
559 that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoul-
[562] ders, a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

000 Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until late in the afternoon three canoes were capsized by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

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Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being built. Farina and biiju were given us and we found the people delighted and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

T
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146
648

On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes, but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small, being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met, but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we

WAURA SP18
TRUMAI SP23

distributed gifts among our hosts, the Mehinaku begged that we give gifts also to the Trumai, who were a poor but good people. T 142 146 648

Of all the groups met, the Mehinaku were the most pleasant and the most reliable. The incident of helping us to move down stream has been mentioned. Later, on making contact with the plane, we had occasion to test their intelligence and reliability further. Eight cases of aviation gasoline had been left on the sand beach where the disaster occurred; as we needed the gasoline, six Mehinaku went back and brought it to us in remarkably short time. [Plate XI, 1.] W 181

In the morning, while some of the rumors were being punished, I visited the new village. Though only one house had been built, and it was not quite finished, a tall conical structure made of poles tied together at the top, housed a harpy eagle. I was told that that was the first structure put up. The house structure differed in no way from others that were subsequently seen in other villages, which will be described later. W 342 343 231

The original village of the Mehinaku was on the west bank, but having exhausted the soil, they were moving to the east bank. They had a few beans and maize seed, which they were carefully keeping for planting. W 361 241

With the help of these kindly disposed and gentle Mehinaku, we continued our journey down stream, meeting with groups of Aura and Auiti, and finally arrived at the mouth of the Kuluseu. In the morning some Tauva brought us the news that the plane was several bends of the river away, and we hastened to it. 000

Our meeting with Johnson, Rossi, Lorber, Saucedu and Due was a happy occasion for everyone. While waiting for me, news had come to them about some white men, but our failure to put in an appearance caused them worry. Their food supplies having been almost exhausted, they had decided to fly back to Cuyabá, when we appeared.

On the sand bank where the plane was beached there were collected Anahukua, Auiti, Aura, Kamayula, Yawalapiti, Tauva, Kuikutl, and Kalapalu, and we brought Mehinaku. Each group was jealous of the others and we had to distribute our favors equally.

Learning that I had lost my photographic equipment, Arthur P. Rossi, who had made the trip with the plane merely to take aerial photographs of the region, insisted in staying with me when the plane flew back to Cuyabá the next morning, even though the plane would not return for three weeks to bring us fresh supplies of food. Rossi was a welcome

000 addition to our party. Two of our men, having become troublesome, were unceremoniously flown back to Cuyabá.

While waiting for our party, Johnson and Rossi had visited the Tsuva whose port is on the Kuluene river. This group has not been reported in any literature and was not on the Kuluene in 1920 when Major Ramiro Noronha descended that river.

492 Rossi and I with several Bakairi paid this village another visit, guided by the Tsuva that had come to see us. We took up the line of march, with two girls, carrying on their heads baskets in which were their hammocks, leading, and then I as the 'capitão,' the Tsuva, and the Bakairi, who brought up in the rear. The Tsuva men carried our baggage in their carrying baskets, which hung on the back from a thong drawn over the upper arms and across the chest. This method of carrying was preferred even by my Bakairi men. The women were never seen to carry these baskets, nor were they ever seen to carry loads in this fashion, preferring to carry everything on the head.

574 609 Due to the absence of the headman from the village there was no ceremonial reception. Most of the people were in their huts, and those that were not sought their cover. However, those that had accompanied us soon made our peaceful mission known and we were asked to sit on a log, placed in front of the men's house. Later the sub-headmen came [262] to offer us the bird stools, and the women came with farina and a refresh- [562] ing drink made from manioc. Again it was noticed that the younger women stood behind the older when dealing with us.

Because of the absence of the headman we were not received in the men's house, but instead were shown to a half-finished residential house. The entire population paid us a call there, but there was no trading.

On my expressing the wish to visit the other houses, there were signs of protest, showing that since the headman was not there, that could not be done. On my insistence, finally the same young people that had guided us to the village took us into the houses.

531 In one of them, living in a compartment made of mats, we found a [582] girl. It developed that she had married a Kamayurá, who was now dead, and she had escaped to her own people, who were keeping her in hiding. She proved to be the most interesting person in the village, being the local artist. The best basketry collected was made by her, the best ham-

mock, and the mat shown in Plate XXIV, 4, and she decorated everything that she made. Y 531

One of the houses was half burned down. We were given to understand that the headman had died and that the house had been subsequently burned down intentionally. Y 622 768

There were four finished family houses, the half-burned house, half-constructed house, the men's house, and the harpy eagle cage. The population was under a hundred. Y 361 161

Our reception by the Yawalapiti was by far more ceremonial. When near the village our guides shouted a number of times, and finally we were met by a group of men who told us that the headmen were before the men's house. We found there two men seated on a log smoking, surrounded by their men. The chief headman wore a diadem of jaguar hide. Both went to their huts and brought two bird stools, in which Rossi and I were asked to sit. Calabashes containing manioc water, and biiju were offered then, and we in turn distributed a few gifts to everyone present. A number of long speeches were made back and forth, but finally we were taken into the men's house, where we put up our hammocks. In the meanwhile the women had formed in line, with arms linked and the palms of the hands held against each other with the fingers interlaced, and began a song in our honor. Later in the night they entertained us in the same way. W 574 609 [622] [292] [352] [262] W [533]

In the morning we were awakened before sunrise by beautiful whistling from many directions. It was explained that the young men were leaving the village to hunt and fish. Everyone, even to the smallest child, took a bath, though it was cold. W 512 515 198

Later in the day we were entertained by two clowns, painted in black and red, and wearing nut-shell rattles on the right ankle, and playing two sets of pan pipes, three in a set. The longest pipes were about five feet long, and all were played in unison. The clowning consisted of marching grotesquely from one hut to another, which was entered to the sham fright of the women. W 522 534 302

A more serious performance was given in the men's house. The performers were three in number, apparently a specially designated group. Each played a bass pipe shown in Plate XIX, 6. They arranged themselves side by side, the middle man being the leader and wearing deer-hoof rattles on his right ankle. They played in unison with some attempt at W 574 609 533 535

Wauaa SP18
Yaruma SP25

W
574 harmony in short, staccato notes, at the same time marching stiff-legged
609 forward and backward. These flutes are kept hidden from the women,
[533] who though they know what they are, fear death as the penalty for
[534] actually seeing the instruments. The women also have a great deal to
[535] say about their disposition, for when I attempted to buy them, the men
[422] had to consult the women, who protested and claimed that without their flutes their life would be joyless.

W In this Yawalapiti village the conical-shaped structure contained a
343 harpy eagle. Judging from the amount of bone material on the floor of
231 the cage, the bird is kept well supplied with food. In fact, each man and boy must share whatever he obtains hunting or fishing with the bird. In recompense he receives a feather at the periodic plucking of the plumage. [Plate X, 1.]

W The Yawalapiti village was the one over which we had flown and
574 dropped the sack filled with trade goods. We were given to understand
609 that the women were so frightened that they even cast away the 'uluri'
123 as a sacrificial gesture. However, on finding our sack, they understood that the aerial monster did not intend any harm to them, and so, thinking that we—gods perhaps—might have been offended at the warlike behavior of the men, they did not know what to do to have us visit the village again. We gathered that they prepared a great quantity of biiju, and at intervals the entire population of the village faced the south, the direction in which the plane had disappeared, and ceremonially called to us to come back to their village and share their hospitality. They had
W given up hope after several weeks. On our departure from this village
[152] the women and children set up a ceremonial wailing which we heard for a long time afterwards as we paddled away in the lagoon. [Plate X, 1; XII, 4.]

000 Following our visit to the Yawalapiti, we broke our camp at the mouth of the Kulusen to begin our journey up the Kuluene to the mouth of the Seventh of September river, where we intended to await the arrival of the plane which was to bring us fresh supplies.

Y On our way we encountered Tsuva, Kuikuti and Kalapalu at their
609 respective ports. We would find them amassed on the bank, with food for us and great curiosity. Many of them followed our canoes, so that upon reaching the mouth of the desired river and establishing our camp we found that several hundred aborigines had also slung their hammocks

in the same patch of forest. Generally three or four hammocks would 609
be arranged around a fire for warmth. [Plate IX, 3, 4.]

With Rossi and three Bakairi, two other trips were made. One was 114
the attempted ascent of the Seventh of September, but having gone some distance and not discovering any signs of Indians, the project was abandoned. The other was a visit to the Naravute.

The usual march for several hours was necessary to reach the village 123
in the hot sun. Upon our sighting the village, our guide called out, and 574
did so at short intervals until, when we were almost in the village, his 609
calls became continuous, not stopping until we were in the clearing in front of the men's house. Then the population began to come out of the huts, led by the two headmen who brought not the customary bird stools, [231]
but stools of bark. The absence of the bird stools was significant, since [352]
the bird cage with its eagle was also missing.

Unquestionably we were shown more hospitality in this village than in any other. The women brought great quantities of manioc water, a very refreshing drink, and in every way demonstrated great joy at seeing us. Some of the women even linked arms and chanted one of their songs. [533]

We were housed in a half-finished house because, it was explained to us, it was more comfortable than the men's house.

Great quantities of firewood, biiju, farina, and manioc farina were brought to every adult member of the group. Correspondingly, each one received some trinket or other from us, the children not being neglected in this respect.

Again we were awakened before sunrise, this time by a pounding and 512
the voice of a man who sounded as if he were chanting a sermon. My 577
Bakairi translated that he was exhorting the people to rise early and bathe as did their ancestors, not to be lazy and lie in their hammocks, to [515]
begin the day's work, and so forth. In fact, the entire population filed to the lagoon for its bath, and the pounding that we heard came from women busy at work making farina. The harangue lasted about a half hour, when things became quieter. The sun did not rise for an hour afterwards.

Three roosters helped to awaken the day. Not having noticed them 648
the day before and knowing that our hosts had not been in touch with 231
any Brazilians except for Noronha's expedition in 1920, this was somewhat startling. We learned that they had been gotten from the Anahukua.

Yaruma SP25
Mato Grosso SP1

Y 648 231 where they had been left by an Inspectoria expedition several years before that had gone to the relief of an American-English group, searching for Col. P. H. Fawcett and his party, and who, believing that they were in imminent danger of attack from the Kamayurá and other tribes, had radioed for help. However, there were no bens in the village.

Y 535 Led by a young man, who we were given to understand held the office of leading all dances, the men entered our hut and began to circle around counter-clockwise, stamping the right foot. A group of women arm in arm danced outside the circle, holding the palms of their hands against each other with fingers interlocked, and chanting at the same time. Y [534] Their dance consisted of taking three steps forward beginning with the right foot, pausing and stepping back. No musical instruments were used.

152 609 574 The ceremonial weeping at our departure was repeated at this village.

* * * *

M 114 As in the rest of Matto Grosso north of the sources of the Paraguay river, ethnographical investigation of the peoples in the region under discussion has not been carried very far. Most of the available information is to be found in the reports of Von den Steinen and the studies of Max Schmidt. In recent years the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios has had several expeditions, but they have been concerned chiefly with geography, and thus very little anthropological data can be gotten from their reports.

I know of no published description of the peoples of the Kulisehu river. Major Ramiro Noronha descended and surveyed this river in 1920, and is well informed on the general culture of the Naravute, Kalapalu, Kuikti or Cuiruru, but has not published his data. The Tsuva were, however, unknown to him. These tribes are not mentioned by Von den Steinen.

Y 361 The approximate location of the villages of the peoples met on the Kulisehu and the Kulisehu are shown on the map. It will be noted that they are grouped on the lower waters of both rivers, and that the region between Simão Lopes and the village of the Anahukua is uninhabited. Our canoes were made at the mouth of the Arame, and from that point it took nine days of hard work in the rapids to reach the port of the Anahukua. Major Noronha encountered no villages above

Aneto SP6
SP8 Bororo
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Y
361

that of the Naravute on the Kuluene, where the rapids end. Thus habitation of the banks of these two rivers begins where the rapids end, and the rivers become deep and, in the case of the Kulene, broad. This seems the line likewise of the end of the open lands of the chapadão and the beginning of the forest belt that stretches northward to the Amazon. Thus the region occupied by the aborigines having permanent settlements is that which borders on deeper waters well stocked with large fish, where mammalian life is poorer, but bird life richer and the soil is better.

According to Von den Steinen, the Mehinaku, Aura and Yawalapiti speak Arawak; the Auiti and Kamayula are Tupi, and the Bakairi and the Anahuka are Carib. The Trumai speak an isolated language. Keeping this classification, we must include in the Carib stock Naravute, Kuikutl (Cuicura) and Tsuva, if the fact that these groups could converse freely with the Anahuka and that my Bakairi, who knew a little Anahuka, is an indication that they have a common language.

WATBY
197

Thus, three of the four linguistic stocks of South America that have the widest geographic distribution are well represented on these headwaters of the Xingu. The fourth, the Tapuya,[1] is spoken by tribes in the surrounding region, most of whom are scarcely known by name. It is generally held that the Tapuya are the oldest inhabitants of eastern Brazil and that they were dislodged by the Tupi. In this region, it seems that the Tupi, Carib and Arawak are holding the more desirable locations near the rivers, and that all of them have as their common enemies tribes speaking some form of Tapuya, who are kept away from the deep waters and the fish. The most numerous are the Caribs, with five villages; the Tupi have two, and the Arawak have three. However, it must not be implied that because the villages speak languages which belong to the same stock that they are united politically. Each is a separate political community and apparently language affiliation plays little part in political or social alliances.

Since Von den Steinen's visit, the tribes have shifted their habitat somewhat. Changes of village site is often caused by the necessity of fresh manioc fields, death or warfare. The Anahukna, for instance, gave the information that their former home was to the east of the Kuluene, but that following a disastrous attack by the Jaruma they

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[1] [Tapuya means "enemy" in Tupi. Perhaps this fourth stock is Ge. — Analyst]

SP8 Bororo
Yaaura SP25
Waura SP18
Bacaini SP7
Aneto SP6

Y
361 moved to the Kuluseu. A comparison of the map with that of Von den Steinen will reveal that a number of changes have been made.

B Y W 361 131 Formerly the four Bakairi villages were to be found below the Tannay falls, being the first habitations that were encountered on descending the Kuluseu. These have now been abandoned, and the Bakairi peoples, including those of the Rio Novo who are almost extinct, have withdrawn to the Inspectoria's post on the Paranatinga. Thus, the first people to be met are the Anahukua, whose village is on the right bank, in about the same location as that given by Von den Steinen. Several days of paddling downstream is the port of the Mehinaku, on the left bank, and the village is as usual several hours' march away from the bank. This also is in the approximate location given by Von den Steinen. At the time of our visit, however, the Mehinaku were busily building a village on the right bank. Their fields were ready, the eagle house was built with the eagle in possession, and one house was almost completed. The reason given for the movement eastward was that there was necessity of seeking better fields. Another Arawak people, the Aura, also have a port on the west bank of the Kuluseu, below that of the Mehinaku, but their village must be close to the Batovy. A group of them that came to visit our camp came by way of the Batovy and Kulnene.

W A 131 361 Below the mouth of the Kuluseu there is a lagoon and buritisal on which are located three villages. The southernmost is that of the Auiti, a Tupi people, who have in addition a port on the Kuluseu. Next to them to the north are the Yawalapiti, who are Arawak, and close to the mouth are the Kamayula, also Tupi, a numerous and much-feared people. Fishing in the lagoon is restricted to members of each group within certain limits.

Y 361 648 The Kulnene river up to the rapids is in possession of Carib peoples. Just below the rapids are the Naravute, and then going northward are met the Kalapalu, the Kuikutl (Cuicuru) and the Tsuva, all having their villages on the west bank. These groups are in constant warfare with the Tapuya-speaking people that wander over the territory east of the Kulnene, and sweep westward, but to the south of the Naravute and Anahukua. It would seem that the Tapuya peoples actually surround the other peoples of different linguistic stocks that have more permanent settlement.

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluseu, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them. T 101 361 648 [50]

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kayahó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Marituava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penehoko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tsuruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayahi, Kajahi; Apinkala (Apinka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people. B 101 829

The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kaluene, the Siuya (Suya) and Tsuruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Juruna, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yahã, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tahulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.] Y 101 829 648

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuya, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi, Y B 648

SP8 Bororo
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

Y
B
648 kinsmen. One of my Bakairi was treated as a headman, loaded with
[609] presents and made to lead a dance, taking the place of the master of ceremonies, by these people.

The Mehinaku were in fear of all the tribes but the Aura and Yawalapiti, who are also Arawaka. The Kamayula and especially the Kuikutl were feared by all.

Y
123 In our contact with these tribes, the fears of the Bakairi and the Mehinaku seemed to be somewhat justified, though at no time did we
648 clash with any group. Disputes sometimes arose, springing from the
439 difficulty of making our mutual requests understood, but we were able
177 to settle everything amicably. At one time we were warned that the Kamayula were lying in wait for us, having resented our failure to visit their village, which was due to my inability to walk at the time. However, on passing the place where they were supposed to be in ambush, we were not molested. We were told that, having waited for us several days, their food supplies had been exhausted, and that they had gone to their village for food. The Kuikutl were a little troublesome, being somewhat arrogant, yet several of their men performed excellent and quiet service, for the axes and knives that were given them. All of the tribes met have been very little affected by the outside world; in fact, the only articles that we saw not of their own manufacture were a few nails which had been converted into arrow points. Thus, in our dealings with them we had to depend entirely on trade goods. Knives were wanted and prized by all, but axes were not wanted. Fish hooks of all sizes, and fishing lines were wanted and given to everyone. Clothing was wanted as a protection from the insects, but we were not supplied with it. Necklaces came next in importance as trade goods. Other objects were taken, but not with the same enthusiasm as the ones mentioned.

Y
171 In the region under discussion, three of the most widely disseminated
105 linguistic stocks are represented, and yet no appreciable differences in their material culture were discovered in the field. An examination of the collections that have been brought back has resulted in verifying the first impression.

All are a fishing people, and the methods employed are common to all; manioc is the other food staple, and the associated traits in the cultivation and preparation of it are found in every village; the houses are constructed in the same manner; the bows and arrows used are

monotonously similar; pottery, basketry, musical instruments, body ornament, all conform to the same general pattern. Thus in speaking of their material culture, the description of that of one village applies to all, with the possible reservation of small, unimportant local developments or omissions. Y 171 105

The mode of life and the dependency on the environment doubtlessly is responsible for the unity of culture. The rivers are the highways, with canoes traveling up and down, its occupants in search of fish. Meetings between groups of individuals belonging to two different villages are more apt to be cordial, especially since one may be in need of food which the other has. Inter-marriage is frequent and the interchange of goods is carried on extensively. In fact, in most cases it is impossible to be certain as to which village made a particular specimen. Y

The villages are composed of a few houses arranged around a clearing, where the men's house and the cage for the eagle are built. The houses are exceptionally large and well built, and are occupied by a number of related families. Each house has its headman. [Plate X, 1.] 105 361 582 171

The houses are not arranged in any well-defined manner, thus the village does not have the appearance of being well planned as one of the Bororo.

Each house has two doors placed at the middle of each side opposite each other. The door opening on the side of the house away from the clearing is used mostly by the women, the back yard being used for the preparation of manioc bread, or farina, and so forth. The houses are built with light grass-thatched walls, which afford good protection against cold and rain. Y 105 171 342

There is some difference in the care with which a house is built. Of those seen, the Naravute seemed to have them more fastidiously constructed. Y [342]

The ground plan is in the form of an ellipse, about ten metres in width and twenty in length. About five metres from each end and in the center the three main posts are set deep into the ground. They are about twenty centimetres in diameter and stand about eight metres above the ground. A ridge pole is lashed on top. A wall one and a half metres in height is made of posts of approximately the same thickness as the main posts, set about fifteen centimetres apart. Then long, thinner poles are lashed to these posts, their tops bent inward so as to meet, and

[text continues on p. 149]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo
Waura SP18
Yaruma SP25

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415
516

W
142
297
301
309
516
595
854

Figure 2. Tawadahi Women Pounding Manioc Farina

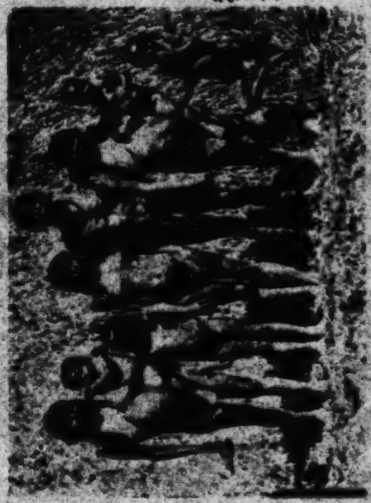

Figure 4. Tawadahi Polygynous Family

W
252
516
412
417

Y
252
415
516

Figure 1. Tawadahi Woman Pounding Maize

Figure 3. Tawadahi Manioc Press

[P. 148]

[Plate XII]

lashed together. To keep them secure they are lashed to the other poles running transversely, and heavier short poles are lashed to the ridge pole, resting on and lashed to the bent poles which form a sort of false roof. The entire structure is then covered by a sort of light framework of lashed horizontal pieces and is thatched with grass, leaving an opening between the false roof and the ridge pole as a smoke hole. The ends of the ridge pole are prolonged and thatched decoratively. [Plate X, 2-4.] Y 105 171 342

The inside of the house contains a central platform on which valuables, such as farina, basketry, and so forth, are kept. Each family has its own corner taken up by the hammocks, implements, and valuables, and its fireplace built close to the hammocks for warmth during the cold nights. There are no compartments except when a birth takes place, when a section is screened off by woven mats. Y 342 353 105 171 592

The entire community shares in the building of a house, which takes many months. The women do the lighter work, but the actual building is in the hands of the men and boys. Y 342 476

The central posts are often decorated with geometric designs, which are often colored in red and black. No special significance seems to be attached to them, but this must be taken with caution, since the lack of proper interpreters made the investigation of symbolism in art an impossibility. Y 105 171 342 [531]

Some of the houses seen, those that were constructed poorly and were smaller, such as the men's house, contained only two central posts. The Yawalapiti men's house had no doors. W [342]

The men's house, outside of being relatively poorly constructed and smaller, has a ground plan that is closer to the circular. The inside is empty of all furniture, except that two logs running lengthwise to the house are placed a little raised from the ground against the main posts. On these logs the men sit when at work or watching some performance. It is in this house that the sacred flutes which must not be seen by women are played. For this reason Von den Steinen refers to such a house as the flute-house. Y 105 171 345 [352]

Though it is used as a meeting place of the men, and the women are excluded from it, it is not the living quarters of the men as it is among the Bororo. The boys and the men live in the family houses, sleeping, eating, working and loafing there. This house is reserved for ceremonies

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

Y 105 101 345 8 Y 768

and for guests. Generally, outside and in front of the house there is a log on which newly come visitors sit, until the bird stools are brought.

On our visit to the Tauva we saw the charred framework of a house, and upon inquiring about it, we were informed that on the death of one of the inmates of the house it burned down. The Bakairi confirmed the existence of this custom among their people.

Y 105 171 241

The fields are situated close to the village and are always cleared forest land. The trees are burned down, sometimes cut down and burned, as well as the underbrush. The ashes give greater fertility to the soil. The manioc cuttings are then planted. The men do, as usual, the heavy work, the women helping as much as they can.

Most of the groups cultivate nothing but the bitter manioc or cassava, but a few of them have maize and sweet potatoes, neither of which are extensively cultivated. The Arawak groups seem to be better and more interested husbandmen. The Mehinaku had maize seed and sweet potatoes. The Yawalapiti had maize.

W [243] [244]

W 532 243

Of interest are the maize effigies which were seen in the houses of the Yawalapiti and Mehinaku. One ear of maize is embellished with legs, arms, a skirt and a painted visage. These figures are hung from the rafters of the roof. Some of them, instead of representing human beings, are made in the likeness of birds. Several of these effigies are in the collections of the University Museum.

Y 105 171 482 415

The crops are transported to the village in 'carrying baskets.' The framework of these baskets is of wicker, consisting of an elliptical loop for the bottom, and similar loops lashed to it and to each other forming the sides. Each loop is filled in with a network of bark strips. These baskets are made in all sizes, some of the larger ones measuring over a metre in length. It is carried on the back, with a tumpline, also made of bark fiber, across the chest and upper arms. This method leaves the arms and hands free, while the load needs no balancing. No women, however, were ever seen carrying a load in this manner, preferring to carry on the head, a method utilized also by the men. [Plate XI, 2-4.]

Y 105 171 252

When the manioc is brought to the village it is first grated to a mass. The grater is a board with piranha teeth inserted into it or bits of shell. In order to extract the juice, which is poisonous, this manioc mass is squeezed between the hands or sometimes in wicker mats. It then is put out in the sun to dry in the form of cakes. If not for immediate use,

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

these cakes are packed in large carrying baskets, carefully covered with leaves and stored away. [Plate XII, 1, 2, 3.] Y 105 171 252

Some of the grated manioc is made into farina, by sifting it through a basket sieve and baking it in a flat pottery pan. In this form it will keep indefinitely. If biiju is to be made, the grated manioc is sifted, but instead of baking it so as to dry it in small particles, it is spread out in the pan to form a sort of thin cake. This is the form in which most of the manioc is eaten. The biiju cakes keep for several days, and always form part of the traveller's baggage. Y [484]

A non-intoxicating but nevertheless refreshing drink is made by mixing the unbaked grated and sifted manioc with water. This is the drink offered the visitors, on arrival at the village, by the women. It is served in large half gourds. Y 105 171 272

Depending almost entirely on fish and manioc for food, great quantities of both are eaten, and eaten continuously. The women begin making biiju before sunrise, so that those setting out to fish will be able to take it along. Y 105 171 262

In connection with the making of biiju fire, fans made from strips of palm leaves, or sometimes of grass, are used. To smooth out and turn the biiju cakes, wooden spatules are in use, generally made to suggest the representation of a snake or a bird. [372] [412] Y 105

In the food quest, besides the cultivation of manioc, fishing occupies the attention of the men. Though the women assist by steering the canoe and paddling, not one of them was ever seen actually fishing, though the Bakairi informed me that the women are capable of it. 171 226 [501] [462]

Shooting the fish with bow and arrow is the most common method. It is never done from the banks or by wading in, except in the rapids. The man doing the shooting stands up at the bow of the canoe while his companion, who may be his wife, perhaps with a baby at the breast at the same time, gently paddles, keeping the canoe close to the bank. To learn to shoot fish is not easy, since both the force with which the arrow is driven into the water, its deflection upon striking the water, the motion of the canoe, and the movements of the quarry must be gauged. The bow is held upright, the arrow in position but the string relaxed until the game is seen. In case of a miss, the arrow floating on the surface of the water is retrieved with the end of the bow, the arrow being caught between it and the string. No opportunity of getting fish B [105 171 226]

[text continues on p. 153]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo
Waura SP18
Yaruma SP25

Y 226 501 ←
Y 142 302 →

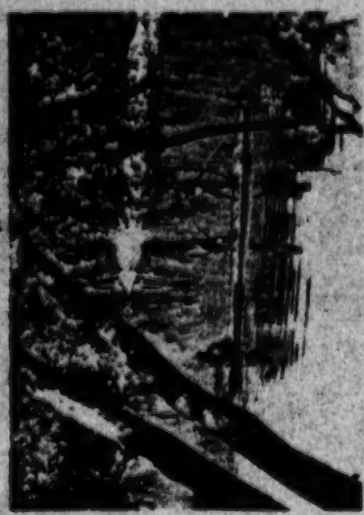

Figure 2. Kalapalo Shooting Fish

Figure 4. Bows

W 226 501 ←
Y 142 302 →

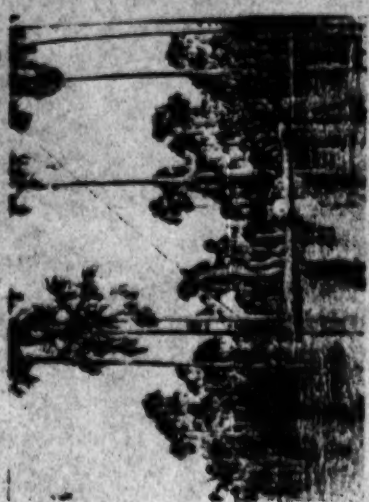

Figure 1. Mehinaku Spearing Fish

Figure 3. Kalapalo Man

[P. 152]

[Plate XIII]

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

is ever lost. Our Bakairi were imbued with the same spirit, for often the paddle would be dropped and replaced with bow and arrow though we may not have needed the extra food. This anxiety to gather as much food as is encountered was also manifested in the case of turtle eggs found in the sand banks. For those days that we travelled, each canoe at the end of the day would have gathered at least thirty or forty eggs. This food was shared generously with everyone. [Plate XIII, 2.]

Y Ba 226 105 171 [202]

Another method of fishing was with a spear. Especially in the dry season, the fish withdraw to the deep pools where it is impossible to reach them with an arrow. A spear is usually made of two sections: a wooden shaft with a large conical bone point and a reed extension to the shaft. Both sections measure about seven metres in length. [Plate XIII, 1.]

Y [411]

Damming of the lagoons is resorted to. A dip net with a handle about three metres long is in use, and drag nets are apparently used in season.

Y [227]

Fish is eaten almost raw; the only method of cooking seen was barbecuing, either by placing it on a platform over a fire or by placing it on a framework close to the fire. Salt is unknown and not liked, as evidenced when they were asked to try our food, when though hungry, none would accept it if it had been seasoned with salt.

Y 105 171 252 [263]

Another food in usage, highly prized and carefully stored away is the fruit piki, which grows wild. The fruit is boiled in the large earthen pots, placed in cylindrical bark containers, about one and half metres to two metres in length and a third of a metre in diameter, sealed tight at both ends, and placed under water in some cool pool. These bark containers are reinforced with wooden slats. On ceremonial occasions they are opened and a quantity sufficient for the immediate needs is taken out to be distributed to every member of the village equally. It is mixed with water and drunk, without fermentation. Both the Yawalapiti and Naravute had these bark containers.

Y 105 171 251 415

Pottery

Pottery is poorly developed in the region. Neither in quantity nor variety, nor in technical perfection does it compare with that of the Bororo. The forms are simple though characteristic.

Y Bo 105 171 323

[text continues on p. 155]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo
Waura SP18
Yaruna SP25

Y
142
302

Figure 1. Anahukua Woman

Figure 2. Profile

W
142
291
302

Figure 3. Yawalapiti Girls

Figure 4. Profile of Yawalapiti Girl

[P. 154]

[Plate XIV]

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25 Y
105
171
323
[317]

The absence of good clay perhaps is responsible for the poorness of the industry, for tribes of the same linguistic stock in other parts make good pottery.

The most common form has a circular base and a turned out rim. The sides are thick, and the pots are disproportionately heavy. The clay fires black. In many cases the outside of the pot is painted. The top of the out-turned rim often bears simple incised designs, such as are seen on Plate XX, 12. These pots are used in the preparation of manioc farina and in boiling piki. To the Bakairi they were so valuable that they begged to be permitted to take several of them back to Simões Lopes. [Plate XII, 2.] B [323] [439]

Smaller pots are made, sometimes with different shaped rims, such as were collected by Von den Steinen. They are comparatively rare and do not seem to have much importance in the culture. A great many of the pots are traded from the tribes further north. Y [439]

Other Receptacles

However, good substitutes for pottery have been found in calabashes and gourds, which are obtained in almost any quantity and are of any desired size. They further have the advantage of being light and do not break easily. They can be made to serve as bottles, dishes, cups, spoons, and every other kind of receptacle, by cutting off a section of the neck, or a section on the side, or by splitting in two along the neck to the base. The inner surface is charred and often decorated with painted red dot designs, the most common of which is a cross made by the crossing of two sets of two parallel lines of dots. Some of the other typical designs are shown in Plate XXIII. The outside of the receptacles are also often decorated—never with red dots, but always with linear painted geometric patterns. A few are also shown in the same Plate. Y 105 171 415 Y [322] [531] Y

A great variety of basketry exists, being made in many shapes, utilizing divers weaves, and are used for many purposes. The carrying basket has been described. Another common type is a circular flat bottomed basket of hexagonal weave. It is of especial interest since this type can be duplicated in Oceania, Africa and other regions. For temporary purposes, a basket is quickly made from a single palm leaf by braiding the leaflets together. A number of intricate weaves are known producing interesting basketry designs. [Plate XXI.] 105 171 285

Bororo
Suya SP21
Waura SP8
Yaruma SP25

Y 105 171 285 Cross, palm leaves, and splints, are used in making basketry. Some of the baskets are reinforced and decorated with interwoven cotton thread.

Bows [Plate XXII, 8-14]

Y 105 171 411 The bows are uniformly large, only those of the Aura showing a slight comparative smallness. One bow collected from the Naravute measures 262 centimetres in length.

In cross section, the most common is the slightly ovoid; the round bow appears, but is less common, and one of rectangular cross section with rounded corners that was collected was said to have been made by the Suya.

S [411] With the tension of the string released, the bows are almost straight. The Suya bow mentioned is curved outwardly at both ends.

Y [285] [284] None of the bows are reinforced even by lashing. The string is made of fiber or of bariry leaf strands. Part of it is wound about the middle of the bow, serving as a reserve should the string break in drawing the bow.

Bo 411 The Bororo bows show greater specialization and higher technique. They are smaller, somewhat flattened, and highly decorated according to the membership of the owner in one of the clans. Colbacchini has given a good description of these.

The pellet bow, similar in almost every feature to one collected by Max Schmidt from the Guató, was collected from the Bororo.

Fish Spears

W 411 A number of spears, used to transfix fish found in deep clear pools, were collected from the Yawalapiti-Mehinaku. A Mehinaku with a Yawalapiti wife was first seen using one, and later a number were collected in the Yawalapiti village.

The spear consists of a long wooden shaft, pointed at both ends. One end receives a large bone conical barbed point; the other a long reed extension of the shaft, used only when the depth of the pool is greater than the length of the wooden shaft. The total length of the spear, including the point and the reed extension, is over six metres.

W 226 Most of the fishing is done in lagoons or bayous which contained many deep pools. The water is generally crystal clear, so that the hundreds of fish swimming about close to the bottom can be as easily seen as in

Waura SP18
Bacairi
Suya SP21
Yaruma SP25 W 226

one of our city aquariums. The fisherman stands up in the bow of his canoe, while perhaps his wife is doing the paddling and steering, and after having chosen his fish, he lets down the spear into the water until the point is close to the fish, and then with a quick thrust impales it. The fish are a large size, and will struggle violently. Often it becomes necessary for the man to dive overboard holding on to his spear, and the battle is continued in the water until the fish becomes exhausted. This is attended with much laughter and jesting by the onlookers and by the fisherman himself.

Arrows [Plate XXII, 1-6, 16-20]

Y 105 171 411

Proportionately with the large bows used in the region of the Kuleseu and Kuluene rivers, the arrows are long and thick, measuring up to two metres in length. The arrow consists of a point of bone, wood and in a few cases of iron, a foreshaft of wood, a reed shaft and feathering and lashings which are usually functional but sometimes merely decorative.

Y [237]

Using the points as criteria, they can be classified as follows: 1. A bone acuminated point set on the foreshaft diagonally so as to form a barb, being bound to it by fiber string and cemented with wax. 2. Bone conical acuminted point set on the foreshaft, with a concave base, the points of which form two barbs, held on the shaft by wax cement. 3. The same as 1, but the bone point has been substituted by one of iron, made from the ordinary iron nail. Those arrows that are feathered show the sewed technique, the two feathers being but slightly spiralling. Almost all of them have a feather decorated butt, which is also reinforced by fiber lashing. The reed shaft is likewise thus reinforced, especially where the foreshaft and shaft meet. The wax used to cement the points on to the foreshaft is used on some as a decoration, always on the foreshaft. The length of the foreshaft is about one-quarter that of the seed shaft. The knobbed arrow was not seen.

Y [237] [531]

The University Museum possesses several specimens of whistling arrows. These are feathered, but lack the point and foreshaft. In the place of a point there is a tucum nut shell, with slits cut out on its sides. When the arrow is shot a whistling sound is produced. These are used only in play. [Plate XXII, 6.]

Y [524]

Only one arrow with a bamboo blade was collected, and it was claimed that it was a Suya arrow, a tribe that was not met by our party.

S 411

[text continues on p 159]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo

Yaruma SP25

142
302

Figure 1. Tsuva Woman

Figure 2. Profile

Figure 3. Tsuva Man

Figure 4. Profile

[P. 158]

[Plate XV]

Bacaini
Yaruma SP25

Bo
411

The Bororo arrows show more specilization and difference in technique. They are smaller, in keeping with the smaller bows, with a finer reed and wooden foreshaft. Of the bone points, only the conical points made from the humerus of some mammal is in use. Even this point is smaller and better made than the Kuluscu-Kuluene. The feathering is also quite different. The feathers, spiralled, are lashed to the shaft, not sewed.

The feathers are trimmed on both sides, but unlike the Kuluscu-Kuluene type, not to the midrib on one side. The inner surfaces of the feathers are toward the shaft and each other.

Sometimes the foreshaft has many miniature barbs, and in one case the foreshaft has been serrated on two sides.

Often the bone point is lacking, its place being taken by an accuminated foreshaft.

Bamboo blades on the jaguar and war arrows are common and of two types—a flat wide blade, and a narrow grooved one.

Spears and Throwing Sticks

Y
411
105
171

A number of throwing-sticks were collected, all conforming to the same type. Only one shows decorations, which consists of a basket sheath. A wooden peg is lashed to the end of the stick, serving to receive the butt of the spear. The spear is thrown in the following manner: the tip of the index finger is inserted in the hole just above the hand grasp, the arm is pulled back and the spear thrown without guiding it with the fingers.

The 'spears' consist of a reed with a heavy knob at the end, which comists often of a piece of wood covered with wax, or some heavy object. The butt is not notched. Many of the spears are inserted in a tucum nut shell with slits in it so that a whistling sound is produced when the spear is thrown. These spears are used only in a game, which consists of two parties lining up facing each other at a good distance and throwing the spears at each other. The goal is to hit one of the other party.

Y
[526]

It seems that the function of the throwing stick with a true spear, such as is used in the Chaco for hunting and war, has been forgotten by these people. In the forest such a method of hunting would not be practicable. [Plate XXIV, 3.]

Y 105 171 352 *Seats*

In front of the men's houses a log is usually kept, on which the men sit, and which guests occupy until bird stools, or in the case of the Naravute, bark stools are brought by the headmen of the village.

Y [345] In the houses the hammocks take the place of stools or mats, except when biiju is being prepared by the women. In the men's house there are two parallel logs running almost its entire length, lashed to the main posts.

Y [285] [531] In the villages, sitting on the ground is avoided whenever possible. Mats, made of lengths of taquara, held together by two strings passed through holes in the individual pieces, are used. Such a mat is shown in Plate XXIV, 4. Often the upper surface is decorated with incised rectilinear geometric patterns, as shown in the sketch. These mats are especially used when making farina or biiju.

The bark stools seen among the Naravute which were brought to us, as the guests, in place of the bird stools, consist merely of a piece of bark about thirty centimetres long, bent inward and lengthwise. They bear no decorations of any kind.

Y [231] [532] The bird stools are of the type shown in Plate XXIV, 10, 11. They are carved from one piece of wood, the head of the bird and the tail being easily recognized, although the style is extremely simple. The bird represented is the harpy eagle, and is in some way connected with the keeping of the bird in the cage in the village as described.

Y [574] [622] Of the bark and bird stools there are but a few in the village, owned only by the headmen, and are used on those occasions when visitors arrive at the village.

Y 516 [501] In the canoes the occupants sit on sticks placed crosswise on the bottom. The paddlers hold the legs straight before them, or bent, but never under them.

When not sitting on stools, hammocks or mats, the men squat. The women double the legs under them as seen in Plate XII, 3. When standing they frequently lean on each other's shoulders, and also employ the crane's posture [Plate XII, 4].

Ba *Musical Instruments*

Y 534 105 171 Pan's pipes are known to all of the peoples on the Kuluseu and Kuluene rivers, including the Bakairi. One type consists of five reeds

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

of different lengths, closed at one end. Two or three of the pipes are played in unison. Though the intervals between the lowest note and the next two in the scale are well defined, there seems to be but a very slight difference, if any at all, in the pitch of the notes produced by the shorter pipes. This type is used for practicing the music and for personal amusement, but not in ceremonies. They are easily made and are carried about frequently. Though different sets may be pitched differently, the note intervals seem to be the same, at least in the three sets that are in the University Museum collection, though they were collected from the Bakairi, the Naravute and the Kalapalu. [Plate XIX, 7.] Ba Y 105 171 534

In the Yawalapiti village, the two clowns used pipes made of bamboo. Instead of five, they consisted of three pieces, the longest of which measured over one and a half metres. The three notes produced, though different in pitch, corresponded to the three lowest notes produced on the pipes described above. In this particular ceremony, each of the men in turn played what may be called the lead part, while the other played the accompaniment. W 522 534 533

Single end-blown flutes, such as are illustrated in Plate XIX, 6, are common to the entire area. They were seen in the Tsuva, Yawalapiti, and Naravute village, and apparently were known to the Bakairi and to peoples of the other villages. They are made of taquara, and to be played they must be well soaked in water. The upper part is so cut out that when the flute is played the chin rests on it. At the other end, there is a narrow aperture. Four holes control the pitch of the notes. It was noted that the note intervals were the same as those of the Pan's pipes. They are used strictly in the ceremonies, and the sight of them is prohibited to the women, death being feared for failure to observe the tabu. However, not only are the women permitted to listen to them, but they are listened to with great pleasure. It was the women that prohibited the men to sell them to us in the Tsuva village, and in the Yawalapiti village, the women pretended to weep when it was decided to let us have them. Three flutes are played together in the ceremony. Both the flutes and the office of playing them in the ceremonies seem to be inherited. Ba Y 534 105 171 Y Ba [784 562] W [425 562 152]

Another flute, smaller than the above mentioned, was obtained at the Yawalapiti village; it differs from the others in that close to the top W 534

[text continues on p. 163]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo

Yaruma SP25

142
302

Figure 1. Kuikutl Man

Figure 2. Profile

[301]

Figure 3. Naravute Woman

Figure 4. Profile

[P. 162]

[Plate XVI]

Waura SP18
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

there is a small aperture for blowing. This type need not be wet to play. [Plate XIX, 8.] W 534

The only other object that might be called a musical instrument, that was seen in use, was composed of a number of nut shells joined together by a string and worn by the dance leader on the right ankle. In the dance, the beat is always accentuated by the stamping of the right foot and these rattles help to make it more pronounced. Y 534 105 171 535

Gourd rattles were collected from the Bakairi, and they informed me of the existence among them of the bull roarer, which is taboo to the women, but neither of these were seen among the other peoples of the Kuluene-Kulisehu area. Ba 534 784 171

The men were never heard to sing. In the ceremonies that are accompanied with singing, the women take that part, generally accompanying it with a dance, consisting of linking arms with the palms of the hands against each other and the fingers interlaced, and taking three steps forward and three backward, leading with the right foot. While traveling, the women were heard to sing softly to themselves, and apparently the repertoire is a large one. Y 105 171 533 484

Other Ceremonial Objects

The use of stools, flutes, and rattles, in connection with ceremonies has been noted. Although no ceremonies other than those described in the narrative were observed, a number of ceremonial objects were collected which show interesting features. Y 105 171 796

One of the Naravute masks consists of a piece of knotless netting with two splint rings sewed at the upper portion to represent the eyes, and with a painted geometric design in black and red to suggest the face. When worn, the net falls over the face and breast, and is kept in place by a string that is tied about the waist, and another about the head. Y 532 796

A Yawalapiti mask consists of a tightly woven piece of cloth, ovoid in shape, bearing a painted design in black and white, suggesting the face. Grass is attached to it on every side, so that when the mask is worn, the grass falls to the knees. W 532 796

Another Yawalapiti specimen consists of a conical shaped hat with grass attached to the sides, so that it falls over the face and neck to the shoulders.

Y 532 796 The headdress shown in Plate XXIV, 8, was collected from the Naravute, but similar objects were seen in the Tsuva and Yawalapiti village. W 532 796 It consists of a gourd painted with geometric figures, in black and white, with wicker and grass attachments.

Y 292 535 Woven splint diadems were found in every village. Generally they bear geometric designs in black. A specimen from the Naravute is encircled by a band of feather mosaic. These diadems are worn by the leaders in the dance.

Miscellaneous

Y 412 Combs are made of splints held in place by cotton string woven in with them. A Yawalapiti specimen is shown in Plate XXIV, 1. The splints are further lashed together by transverse pieces of bamboo. A string wrapping hides the woven designs on the body of the comb.

Y 249 276 Tobacco is not cultivated, but some wild form is smoked in the form of cigars, though not to any extent. It is dried and kept in wicker mats.

Y 372 484 Fire-making is avoided as much as possible. In the villages, the fires are kept smouldering when not in use. On canoe trips, fire is carried in the stern, both for heat in the early morning, and also to cook the fish that are caught.

Y 372 171 Nordenskiold differentiates two types of drilling appliances found in use in South America, both based on the principle of rubbing wood on wood. Type A, 'a wooden stick is twirled in a hole in another stick, and where a narrow groove more or less marked on one side leads down to the tinder, which is placed underneath the stick'; type B, 'a wooden stick, usually an arrow shaft is drilled into a slab of bamboo or wood, which is pierced whereby glowing particles of powdered wood, produced by the friction, drop down on the tinder.'

B [372] The first method was seen employed by the Bororo and also by the native Brazilian 'woodsmen' of Matto Grosso. The second method, that of piercing, was found among the Kuluscu-Kulurne aborigines. The appliance consisted of four or five small pieces of bamboo or other reed, tied together on a plane and held by one man in place on the ground. A small hole is made on the upper stick so as to receive the drill which is a long reed, twirled rapidly between the palms by another individual. In this manner the drill pierced all of the sticks in succession to the

very bottom, when the hot powdered woody particles fell on tinder which was fanned to a blaze. Fire was made in about a minute by this method. 372 171

Clothing and Decoration of the Body

If by clothing we mean any object worn on the body for protection against the inclemency of the weather, or to cover the genital parts, either from a sense of social modesty, or for protection of a practical or magical kind, the peoples under discussion are absolutely naked; but if our definition for clothing should include the habitual wearing of anything on the body, then we can classify these people among those that are partly clothed. 291 105 171

Rarely is a man seen without a waist string. Those who sometimes dispense with it are the old. It may consist of merely a cotton or bark fiber string, or a roll of such strings, or a string of seed beads or perforated shell discs. Whatever it may be, it is tied in front. Among the peoples of the Kuluene the ends are allowed to fall over the genitals, but no really serious attempt is made to keep them covered. However, it seems that a sense of shame is connected with its wearing. The following incident illustrates the point.

At a time when I was bartering for specimens, with some fifty men, women and children about, I asked for such a waist band. Though I offered to buy one for an exceptional price, no man appeared to be willing to part with this article. On adding still more objects to what already had been offered, one man offered to give it to me on the morrow. On my insisting that he give it up then, he did so with the greatest reluctance. Immediately laughter and cries of derision were directed at him, especially by the women. He withdrew with apparent shame, but reappeared a few minutes later with his composure regained. He had gone to the nearby trees, gotten some bark fiber and had made out of it a band which he was wearing. It was accepted as a substitute, and he was let alone.

In addition to this band, the men often wear cotton bands at the ankles, at the knee, sometimes only below it and sometimes covering the knee. Similar bands, or feather bands are worn on the forearms and wrists, and the young men, especially those who are not married, wear feather ear ornaments, which consist of a stick adorned with bril- 301 105 171

[text continues on p. 167]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo

Yaruma SP25

142
302

[301]

FIGURE 1. NARAVUTE WOMAN

FIGURE 2. PROFILE

FIGURE 3. NARAVUTE HEADMAN

FIGURE 4. PROFILE

[P. 166]

[Plate XVII]

liant down, generally of the macaw, inserted in a hole in the lobe of the ear. One Analukua headman wore a headband of cotton, and one of the Yawalapiti headmen wore a diadem of jaguar skin, but these are the only occasions when a man was seen wearing any kind of head ornament, except in the ceremonial dances. In addition, some of the men, if they have them, wear necklaces of puma or jaguar claws, or a seed necklace or mussel shells, but ornaments of this sort are more often worn by the children, and not the adults. Y 105 171 301

In place of the waist band, the women wear the 'uluri.' This consists of a square piece of taquara cortex, folded ingeniously in the form of a triangle to one of the points of which is tied a thin string. Another string passes between the folds of the uluri. When worn, the triangular piece rests on the mons veneris and is held in place by one string that is worn about the loins. The other string passes between the labia majora, and is hooked behind on the loin string. Before puberty the girls wear merely the loin string, but once having assumed the uluri it is never taken off. No decoration was seen on the uluri. Y 105 171 291

The women do not wear any bands about the arms or legs, the only exception to this being in the case of the girl during the puberty initiatory period, when her legs are bound tightly below the knee and the ankles (Naravute) for a period of two months. Some wear necklaces of shell, though not if they have children, for then such articles as may be possessed are given to them, or to the men. Y 105 171 301

Body painting is practiced by both sexes, more by the tribes living on the Kuluseu than those living on the Kuluene. Since this happens to be coincident with the fact that the insects are less bothersome on the Kuluene, there is a suggestion that such painting is practiced as a protection and not for magical reasons, as Von den Steinen points out. Most commonly used is urucum which is put on the entire body in a thick layer, even to covering the hair. Piki oil is likewise used, and carried along always. That this last is undoubtedly used for insect protection is well supported by the fact that it is generally put on the back where the insects become more annoying to the paddler, since he cannot easily brush them off, even when using a twig with leaves dipped in the stream for that purpose. Often the canoes stop and its occupants share this oil with one another, whether they belong to the same village or not, generously painting each other's backs with it. Y 105 171 302 825 Y [484]

Yaruma SP25
Bacairi SP7
Waura SP18

Y 302 105 171 During the trip, at various times, a number of men were seen that were covered completely with soot. However, it could not be ascertained for what reason this was done. By my Bakairi, several explanations were given: that the man had been working in clearing the fields, or that he had partaken in some ceremony and the soot had not as yet worn off, or that he had put it on for caprice.

The women often covered the forehead and the face down to the cheekbones with a thick layer of urucum. The children also were often so painted. This seemed to be purely for aesthetic reasons. The men never did it, and it was practiced more often by the young women. It was evidently done with a great deal of pride and pleasure, the mothers finding especial delight in painting the children in that manner every morning.

B 302 751 177 One of my Bakairi, whose original home had been on the Rio Novo, one morning appeared with the identical facial painting, but instead of using urucum, he had used soot. On my inquiring about it, he said he had done it to protect his eyes from the glare, but on being pressed he gave me the impression that there were other reasons. The anxiety of the Bakairi to appear devoid of practices which are not European undoubtedly prevented getting the real reason. Soon after our conversation he wiped it off.

W. 302 532 304 The Mehinaku and Yawalapiti women bore three painted parallel lines on the wrists, on the forearm, and on the cheek. One of them was actually tattooed in this manner. One Mehinaku living with the Naravute bore painted geometric designs on the legs, too indistinct, however, to reproduce.

Y 302 105 171 There is no doubt that body painting for decoration is practiced widely and whenever the mood comes upon the woman. In the case of the men, they bear no painting other than the ordinary urucum protective coating except when they take part in some ceremony. The paint is not washed off afterwards, but remains on the body until it wears off.

The universal style of wearing the hair among the men is to cut it evenly around the head, following a line a little above the eyebrows. In addition, the crown is shaven. This latter practice, like the wearing of the waistband, is abandoned by the old men sometimes.

The women cut the hair across the forehead, but let the rest grow long and wear it loose.

The heads of the boys before arriving at puberty are often shaven, but the girls wear the hair in the same style as the older women until puberty, when the hair is not cut and must be worn over the face until after the end of the initiatory period [Plate XII, 3, 4]. Y [881] 302 105 171

Body hair, especially of the genital parts, is pulled out by both sexes. Hair of the legs and arms is not pulled out unless it is unusually thick, but the trunk, the armpits, the face, receive careful attention. For this purpose a spiny grass is used. In contrast with the Bororo, the eyebrows are not taken off. Bo [302]

With the exception of ear piercing, which is performed on the boys, no other type of body mutilation is practiced, though the use of piranha-teeth scrapers to draw the evil out of the body in case of sickness, done by the individual himself, often leaves marks on the body. This is done also to alleviate itching. Y 105 171 304

Filing the upper teeth is limited to the Bakairi, who file the upper front teeth to a point. [755] Ba 304

* * * *

Each village is composed of a number of houses, generally about five, with a headman to each. The heads of households are interrelated, often being brothers. In each household a number of families live together, each having its own possessions, and its own section of the hut. Such a household generally consists of the headman and his wife, his unmarried children and the married females with their husbands and children. The young man goes to live in the house of his wife's father, but when he is capable of it he may build his own house. Y 105 171 621 [592] [591]

There is a nominal head to the village. His authority, however, is limited to the ceremonial; in other things he is more of a counsellor than a leader. Y [622]

The women are actually the authoritative persons in the village. Succession and inheritance is traced through them, and though the stranger deals with the men, they consult their women in everything and refuse to do anything unless the women are compliant. Often the women are openly more aggressive than the men. Y 105 171 562 621

Marriage takes place soon after the puberty initiations, which both boys and girls have to undergo. For the girl, the initiation consists in having her legs bound in the manner already described, covering the body Y 881 [582]

[text continues on p. 171]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo

Yaruma SP25

142
302

Figure 1. Naravute Woman

Figure 2. Profile

Figure 3. Naravute Man

Figure 4. Profile

[P.170]

[Plate XVIII]

Yaruma SP5
Bacairi SP7

with ashes, letting the hair grow long and over the face, and keeping away from the sight of men. During this period she is taught by the old women the various duties that fall to the lot of women. Everyone in the village, men and women, feels a responsibility toward her, and watch her development with sympathetic interest. Numerous gifts are made to her so that she may become more desirable to the men. The boys undergo a corresponding ceremony, but very little data was obtained concerning it. Y 881

The method of seeking a girl in marriage seems to be as follows: After the man has given the girl's parents some presents, and has received some encouragement from the girl, at nightfall he goes to her house and hangs his hammock below hers. They sleep that way that night. On the following day, if the girl accepts the proposal she hangs her hammock below his. That being a sign that she has accepted, they cohabit that night, and are accepted as man and wife by the community. They live with the girl's parents until the man is ready to build a house of his own. Probably there are other ceremonial performances to be gone through, but a marriage not having been witnessed, no more information was had on this point. Y 584 591 171 105

For the boys, marriage occurs later, since often there are no girls in that community or a friendly community available for marriage. Sometimes it is the male who is lacking, and in that case the girl fares badly. However, in most of the marriages the couple seemed to be of about the same age. Only among the Bakairi did I note that several of my young canoemen were married to much older women. Lack of marriageable women in a community often brings about a raid on another community. In the Tsuva village I found a girl hidden away in one of the houses in a special compartment. She refused to go outside. It developed that she had been married to a Kamayalua, had had a son by him who was then living with her, while the husband had died. Having no protectors in the tribe she ran away to her own people, but was kept in hiding lest the Kamayalua learn of her whereabouts and attack the village. Y 105 171 582 721 B [582]

The usual form of marriage is monogamous. It is a purely practical custom. The middle-aged men, and the headmen often have two wives, but only if they can support that number and the children that may come from that union. A second wife is desired principally for the sake Y 595 105 171

YaRuMa SP25
WauRa SP18

Y 105 171 595 [165] of children. Infant mortality is high, and only a few of one's children survive. Thus the headman of the Naravute had had nine children by his first wife, but all of them had died. With the consent of his wife, with whom he has continued to live in a most lovable companionship, he married another woman, by whom he has had children that have survived.

In such cases of polygamy there is no sexual jealousy between the wives. It was the wife of the Naravute headman who told of the loss of her nine children, and then pointed with pride and pleasure to another woman nursing one child and with several others about her, and told us that she was the second wife of her husband. The first wife remains at the head of the household, the second wife occupying a less important position, the relationship being more like that of mother and daughter.

Y 105 171 858 [853] Children are the most prized possession of the parents, and they are dedicated to them with such complete abandon that it is hardly conceivable unless one is in their company. The child is nursed by the mother until it reaches three or four years of age. Food and ornaments are always for the children first. All of the men and women that received objects from us in exchange for their hospitality gave most of them immediately to the children. Their health is guarded assiduously, as is W [846] evidenced by the custom of the couvade. One of the Mehinaku that accompanied us had a son about two months old. During the entire period that he was with us, six weeks, he refused to eat anything but black pirnaha and biiju. Everything that he received from us he put away for 'pili,' his baby, or asked us to keep it for him lest the others Y [846] take it away from him. Likewise the Anahukua headman kept strictly to a black piranha diet, lest the baby sicken and die.

Y 105 171 861 [578] Not once did I see any adult scolding a child. As a matter of fact, not once did I note any violent altercation among the adults themselves. On the other hand, I noted no case when a child deserved to be scolded. They were full of fun, and obedient. There was no organized play for the children, but the adults, both men and women, played with them. On their side, they helped the adults, especially in the food quest. The W [222] [593] first Mehinaku that we met followed us with his wife and his young baby and little girl of perhaps five. The little maiden spent a good portion of the day gleefully gathering turtle eggs on the sand bank, hand in hand with her mother carrying the baby, being taught where to look for nests.

105
868
171

The education of the children is taken in hand by the respective sexes in things that pertain to them. Thus the making of biiju is taught by the women, but the making of arrows and bows by the men.

462
105
171

Labor between the sexes is as evenly divided as their physical powers permit. Roughly, the heavy work is done by the men, with the women assisting, and the light work is done by the women, with the men assisting. The men clear the manioc fields, while the women see to it that they are supplied with food; the women do the planting, but the men aid constantly, and it is the same way with gathering. The making of farina—the grating and squeezing out of the juice—and the making of biiju is taken care of by the women; but the gathering of wood, the parking of the farina for storing, the making of the baskets, and other occupations are taken care of by the men. Fishing is a man's job, as is whatever hunting is done, but the women assist by steering the canoe and doing the light paddling. When actually travelling, the man always paddles in the stern, and the woman never paddles if there are two men in the canoe. When travelling afoot, the loads are shared by the men and the women in proportion to their physical powers. In short, men and women and children mutually help one another in any undertaking.

3:Petrullo · E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25
Mato Grosso SP1

PLATE XIX

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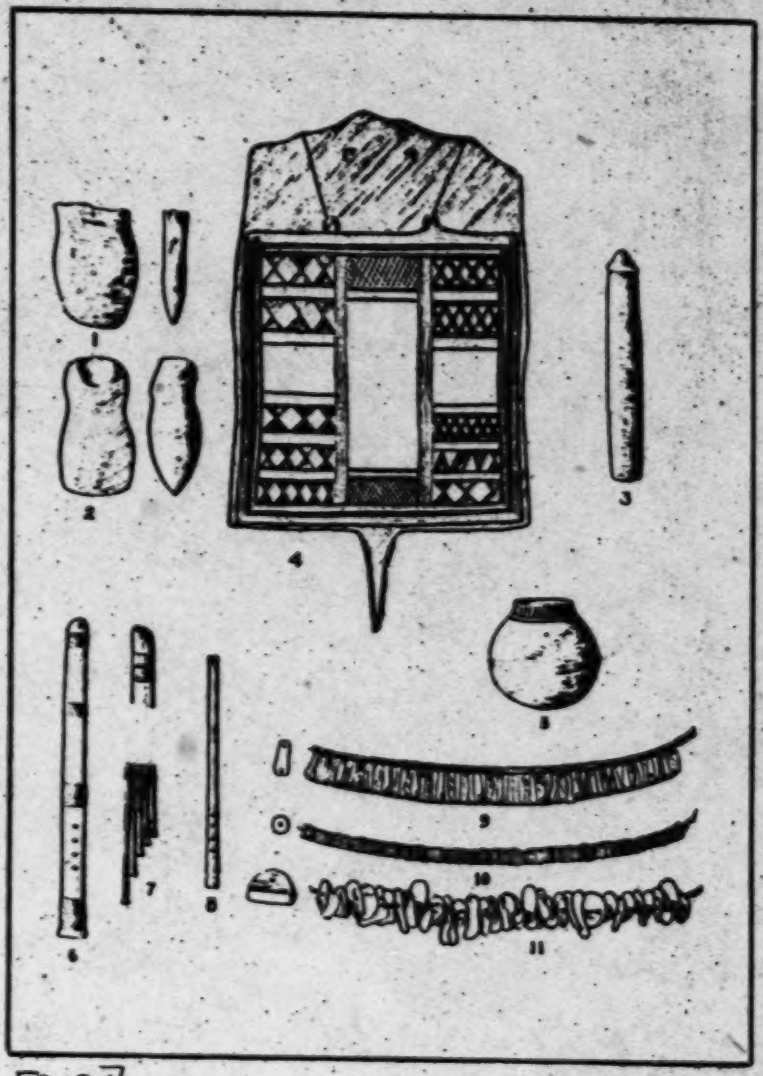

[P. 174]

[for captions, see cat. 116, p. 82—Analyst]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso ~~SP2~~
Yaruma SP25 PLATE XX

B
M
172

B
415
411

Y
415
105
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531

[P. 175]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp. 87-88. — Analyst]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Borero SP8

PLATE XXI

YARUMA SP25

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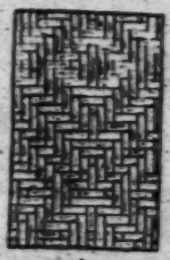
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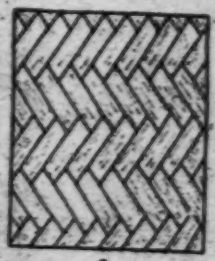
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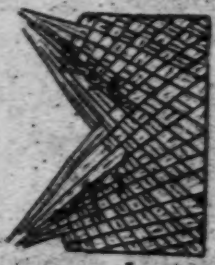
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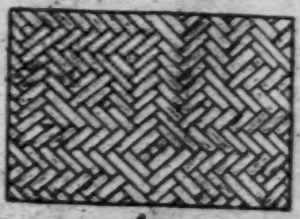
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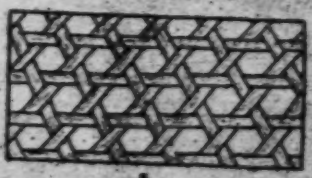
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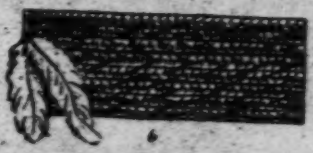
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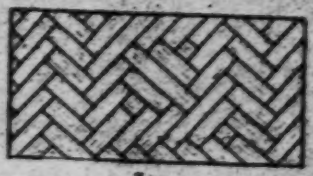
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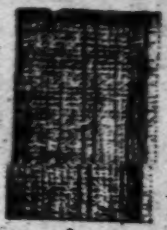
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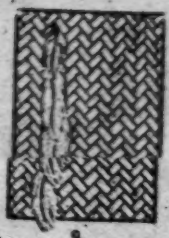
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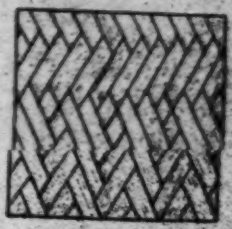
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[P.176]

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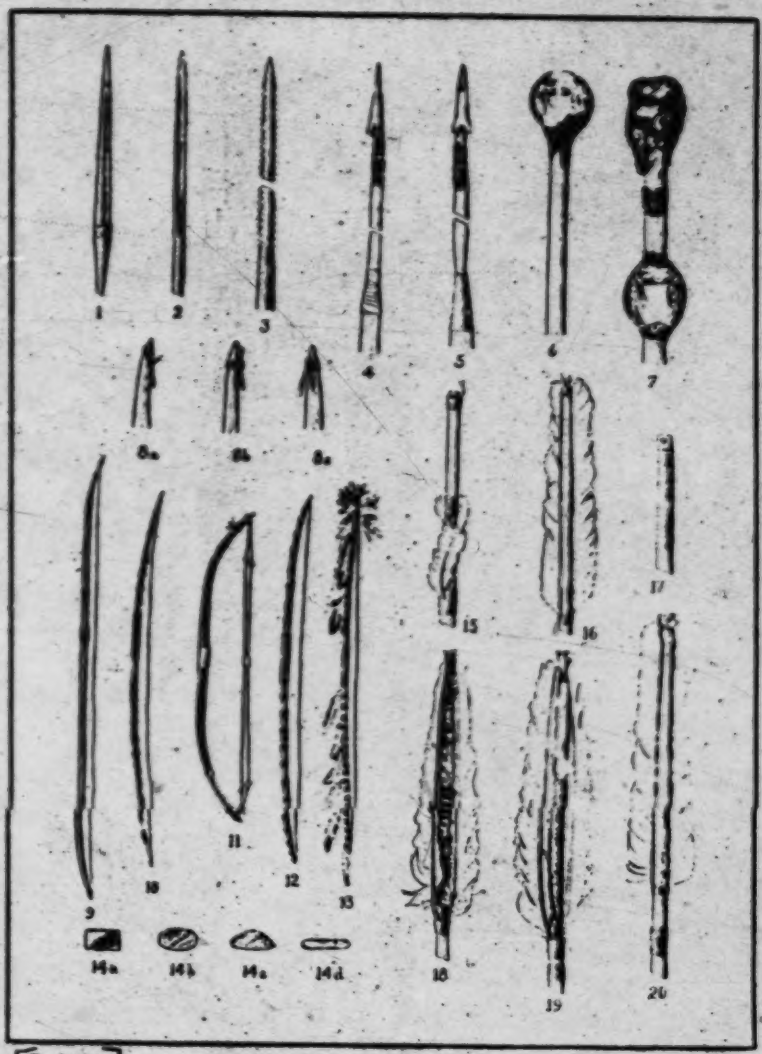
3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25
Wauna SP18

PLATE XXII



Y
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[411]

[P. 177]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp. 88-89]

3;Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

PLATE XXIII

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B
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531]

W
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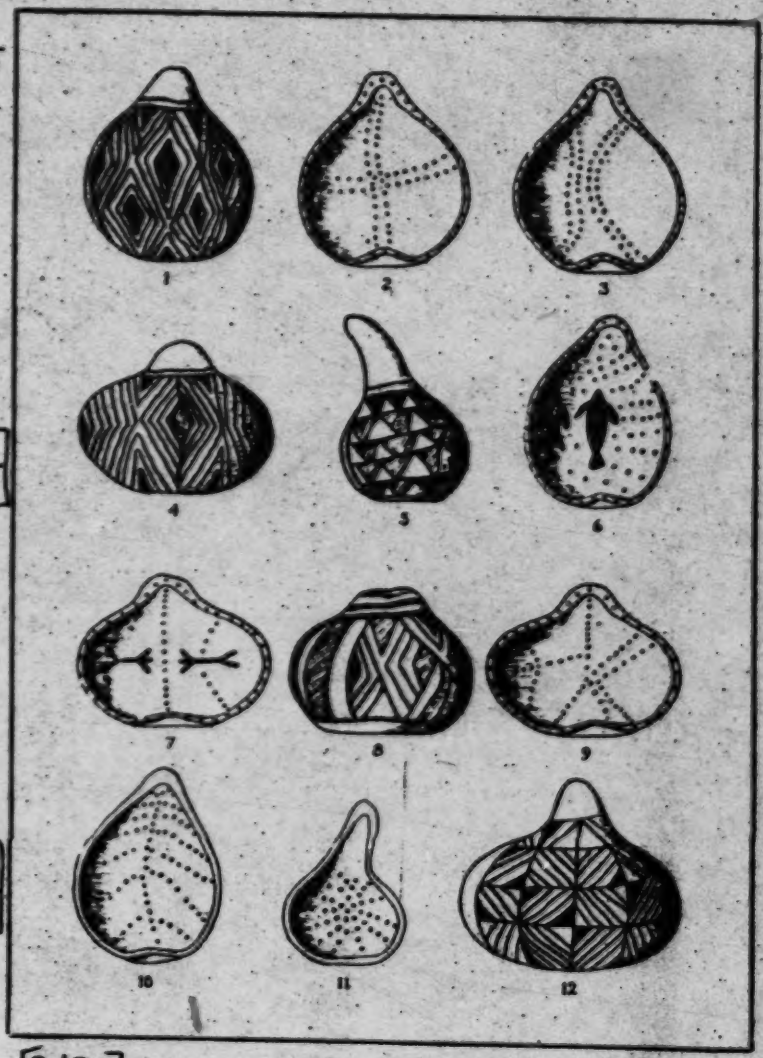
531]



[P. 178]

[For captions, see cat. 116, p. 89.]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo
Bacairi SP7
Waura SP18
Yaruma SP25

PLATE XXIV

V
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352
534
501
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292

B
[283]

W
[501]
[412]

[P. 179]
[P. 180 is blank] [for captions, see cat. 116, p. 89.]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7
Ba
Bo
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[Facing P. 180-A]

[Plate XXV-A]

Ba
Bo
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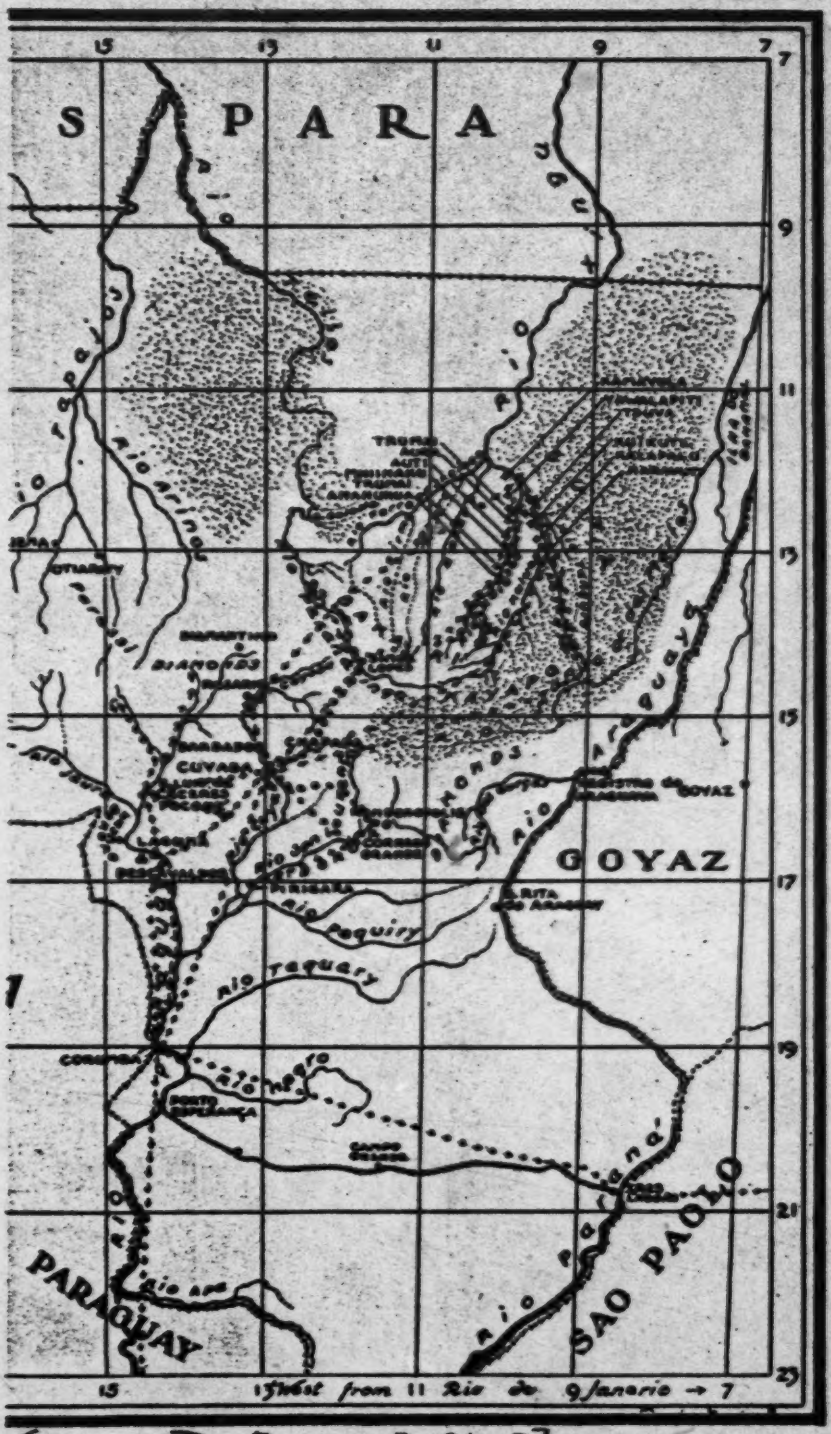
487



[Plate XXV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Kinship System and Social Structure of the Bororo of Pobojari

by

Zarko D. Levak

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Yale University in
Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1971

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

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[introductory p. i]

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

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000 LEVAK, Zarko David, 1934-
KINSHIP SYSTEM AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE
BORORO OF POBOJARI.

Yale University, Ph.D., 1971
Anthropology

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[introductory p. ii]

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4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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000 In the course of study and travel one accumulates many debts and many friends. I am grateful to these friends not only for their help but also because of the sense of responsibility I feel in trying to justify their trust. I give my thanks first to my adviser, Professor Floyd G. Lounsbury, whose influence will be quite obvious in the following pages. Equally important was a clear sense of direction and grasp of the meaning of ethnographic research, which I owe to Professor Harold Conklin. I am grateful to Professors Sidney Mintz and Leopold Pospisil for their friendship and encouragement, and to Professor Harold Scheffler for many useful comments made on the first draft of this thesis.

The warm welcome and assistance of Professor Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira made our first days in Brazil much easier. In Cuiabá the Summer Institute of Linguistics often gave us shelter. The Salesian missionaries, Padre Luiz and Padre

000 Giaccaria in Sangradouro, and Padre Cesar Albisetti in Campo Grande, always kept their doors open to us and went far beyond the traditional Christian hospitality toward tired travelers. We are grateful to Luiz Pereira da Silva and his family for their hammocks, horse, oranges, coffee, etc.

Our greatest debt and admiration goes to Helio Bucker, who made us part of his family, just as he did with so many indians and orphans, and to Padre Pedro Melesi, a man with such great faith that nothing seemed impossible to him; his serenity and optimism were contagious.

Finally, my thanks to Milena, who made two years of hardship at the same time years of happiness. Every idea in this thesis has been discussed with her, and at times I cannot distinguish which one is hers and which is mine.

The Bororo of Pobojari endured our intrusion and in time came to tolerate our peculiar ways. It seems strange to express my thanks to them for this work. They are the authors of this thesis; I was just a tool through which they expressed their culture.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8 Pobojari

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Pobojari

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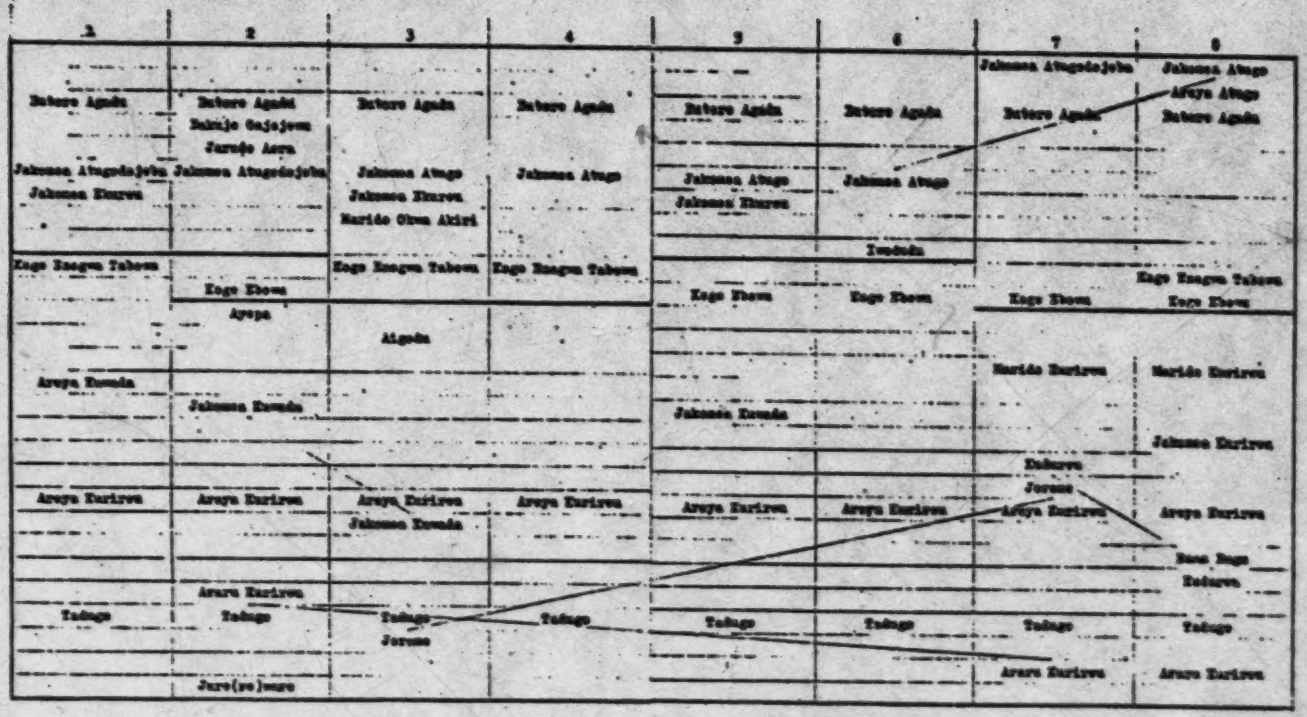
Table IX



4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[79] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

and ornaments or just chatting.

361 The village layout is a reflection of the Bororo social structure. The Bororo point around the village circle with their fingers to show the place of important social groups. It is not necessary that these social groups actually be present in a village; the ideal village plan is in Bororo minds.

The villages are always situated near rivers. In the part of Mato Grosso where the Bororo live, rivers flow from east to west, and the villages are oriented so that the east-
61 west axis divides them into two halves. The Echerae moiety occupies the southern half, the Tugarege moiety occupies the northern. Each moiety consists of four clans, each clan of two subclans, and each subclan of many lineages. A lineage consists of people who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor and carry the same family name, which is the ancestor's personal name. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said by the Bororo to be related as matrilineal descendants of
[553] brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, animals, and plants. Though the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within the moiety are treated as if their common ancestors had been broth-
62 ers. In a village it is desirable for the important lineages
61 to be represented so that the village can properly carry out

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[539] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[769] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[196] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
[622] the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
[554] connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
[611] eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
[613] the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
[539] songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
[533] rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
[788]
[552] Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
[121] missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform- 114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re- 178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot- 167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept 177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[129] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our year of residence there only three times did we hear loud laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

121 realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings
114 of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship
[58] system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with
[29] ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

128 mother and child, older brother and younger brother, and father and son, which are seen as the models for three kinds of relationships which pervade Bororo culture. The opposition between culture and nature provides yet another model used by the Bororo to order their universe. Finally, the three kinship-based relationships and the culture-nature opposition provide a basis for examining the processes of adaptation of Bororo society as a whole to newly arising circumstances and demographic changes, and for studying a single individual as he passes through different stages of his life.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter II

THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*601 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [846] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [553] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

*601 (iyogwa uviye aredu onaregedu), etc. Finally a completely different set of terms is used in lamentations (see page 68).

For the benefit of the reader, I will try to gradually introduce these complexities. This means that statements made in the course of the analysis, while correct in the context at hand may be subject to further specifications or may be put into a different perspective in subsequent pages.

Notational Conventions

Abbrevuatuibs ti be ysed areL

F father, or father's ...

M mother, or mother's ...

B brother, or brother's ...

S sister, or sister's ...

H husband, or husband's ...

W wife, or wife's ...

s son, or son's ...

d daughter, or daughter's ...

c child, or child's ...

P parent, or parent's ...

Sp spouse, or spouse's ...

♂ a man's ... (male Ego's ...)

♀ a woman's ... (female Ego's ...)

no sex prefix one's ... (male or female Ego's ...)

Note that there is one exception to the last abbreviation. The symbols H and W imply, in themselves, an appropriate prefix for sex of Ego. Consequently ♂W and ♀H will be always written simply as W and H without a sex prefix.

*601 Terms and their Ranges of Reference

Following are the Bororo assignments of their kinship terms to genealogically reckoned kin types. The terms are given in their first person singular forms.[1]

1. Iyedaga:

father's father (FF)

mother's father (MF)

father's father's brother (FFB)

mother's father's brother (MFB)

mother's mother's husband (MMH)

father's sister's husband (FSH)

wife's father (WF)

wife's older sister's husband (WSH)

husband's father (HF)

husband's brother (HB)

husband's mother's brother (HMB)

husband's sister's son (HSs)

husband's mother's sister's son (HMSs)

Also, as an alternative classification in certain appropriate circumstances (see page 41), the following:

---

[1] Three of the Bororo kin terms change their roots when inflected:

1st person singular: iyogwa, imuga, imarugo
3rd " " : uwo , uche , ucharugo

The other kin terms change only the pronominal prefix and in some cases the voicing of a stop consonant, for example:

1st person singular: iyedaga, inodowu, imana, etc.
3rd " " : uyedaga, otowu , umana, etc.

*601 mother's mother's brother (MMB)

mother's brother (MB)

2. Imarugo:

father's mother (FM)

mother's mother (MM)

father's mother's sister (FMS)

mother's father's sister (MFS)

father's father's sister (FFS)

father's sister (FS)

father's sister's daughter (FSd)

father's sister's daughter's daughter (FSdd)

wife's mother (WM)

wife's mother's sister (WMS)

wife's older sister (WS)

wife's sister's daughter (WSd) where WSd is older than W

wife's mother's sister's daughter (WMSd), where WMSd is older than W

husband's mother (HM)

husband's mother's sister (HMS)

husband's mother's sister's daughter (HMSd)

husband's sister (HS)

husband's sister's daughter (HSd)

3. Iyogwa:

father (F)

father's brother (FB)

father's mother's brother (FMB)

*601 father's sister's son (FSs)

father's sister's daughter's son (FSds)

mother's husband (MH), alternatively inodowu

4. inodowu:

mother's husband (MH), alternatively iyogwa

mother's sister's husband (MSH)

man's sister's husband (♂SH)

man's mother's sister's daughter's husband (♂MSdH)

man's sister's daughter's husband (♂SdH)

woman's older sister's husband (♀SH)

woman's mother's sister's daughter's husband (♀MSdH), where MSd is older than Ego

5. imuga:

mother (M)

6. imana:

in all the following cases Ego is male and the designated kinsmen are older than Ego.

brother (B)

mother's brother (MB)

mother's mother's brother (MMB)

father's brother's son (FBs)

mother's sister's son (MSs)

sister's son (Ss)

father's son (Fs)

mother's son (Ms)

*601 7. Ivuri:

in all the following cases Ego is female and the designated kinsmen are older than Ego.

brother (B)

mother's brother (MB)

mother's mother's brother (MMB)

father's brother's son (FBs)

mother's sister's son (MSs)

sister's son (Ss)

father's son (Fs)

mother's son (Ms)

8. Ituye:

in all the following cases the designated kinsmen are older than Ego.

sister (S)

mother's sister (MS)

mother's mother's sister (MMS)

mother's sister's daughter (MSd)

father's brother's daughter (FBd)

sister's daughter (Sd)

father's daughter (Fd)

mother's daughter (Md)

9. Iviye:

in all the following cases the designated kinsmen are younger than Ego.

brother (B)

sister (S)

*601 mother's brother (MB)

father's brother's son (FBs)

mother's sister's son (MSs)

mother's sister's daughter (MSd)

sister's son (Ss)

sister's daughter (Sd)

sister's daughter's son (Sds)

sister's daughter's daughter (Sdd)

father's son (Fs)

father's daughter (Fd)

mother's son (Ms)

mother's daughter (Md)

10. Itonaregedu:

son (s)

daughter (d)

man's brother's son (♂Bs)

man's brother's daughter (♂Bd)

man's mother's brother's son (♂MBs)

man's mother's brother's daughter (♂MBd)

man's mother's mother's brother's son (♂MMBs)

man's mother's mother's brother's daughter (♂MMBd)

man's sister's son's son (♂Sss)

man's sister's son's daughter (♂Ssd)

wife's son (Ws)

wife's daughter (Wd)

wife's brother (WB)

wife's mother's brother (WMB)

*601 wife's mother's sister's son (WMSs)

wife's mother's sister's daughter (WMSd), where WMSd is younger than W

wife's younger sister (WS)

wife's sister's son (WSs)

wife's sister's daughter (WSd)

11. Ivagedu:

son's son (ss)

daughter's son (ds)

brother's son's son (Bss)

brother's daughter's son (Bds)

woman's brother's son (♀Bs)

woman's mother's brother's son (♀MBs)

woman's mother's mother's brother's son (♀MMBs)

woman's sister's son's son (♀Sss)

daughter's husband (dH)

woman's younger sister's husband (♀SH)

woman's mother's sister's husband (♀MSH) where MS is younger than Ego

woman's mother's sister's daughter's husband (♀MSdH), where MSd is younger than Ego

woman's sister's daughter's husband (♀SdH)

wife's brother's son (WBs)

wife's younger sister's husband (WSH)

wife's daughter's son (Wds)

Also, as an alternative classification in certain appropriate circumstances (see page 41), the

*601 following:

man's sister's son (ðSs)

man's sister's daughter's son (ðSds)

12. Irago:

son's daughter (sd)

daughter's daughter (dd)

brother's son's daughter (Bsd)

brother's daughter's daughter (Bdd)

woman's brother's daughter (ǫBd)

woman's mother's brother's daughter (ǫMBd)

woman's mother's mother's brother's daughter (ǫMMBd)

woman's sister's son's daughter (ǫSsd)

son's wife (sW)

BROTHER"S WIFE (BW)

sister's son's wife (SsW)

mother's sister's son's wife (MSsW)

wife's brother's daughter (WBd)

wife's daughter's daughter (Wdd)

Also, as an alternative classification in certain appropriate circumstances (see page 41). the following:

man's sister's daughter (ðSd)

man's sister's daughter's daughter (ðSdd)

*601 13. itoredu:[1]

husband (H)

14. itoreduje:[2]

wife (W)

Nonrelatives:

father's wife (FW)

father's brother's wife (FBW)

husband's son (Hs)

husband's daughter (Hd)

husband's brother's son (HBs)

husband's brother's daughter (HBd)

The set of diagrams on Tables I, II, and III present the data on kinship vocabulary and the reference of the terms.

The representation of the structure formed by the data on reference is illustrated on Tables IV (diagram of Male Ego's uterine kin), V (diagram of Female Ego's uterine kin), and VI (father's uterine kin.)

---

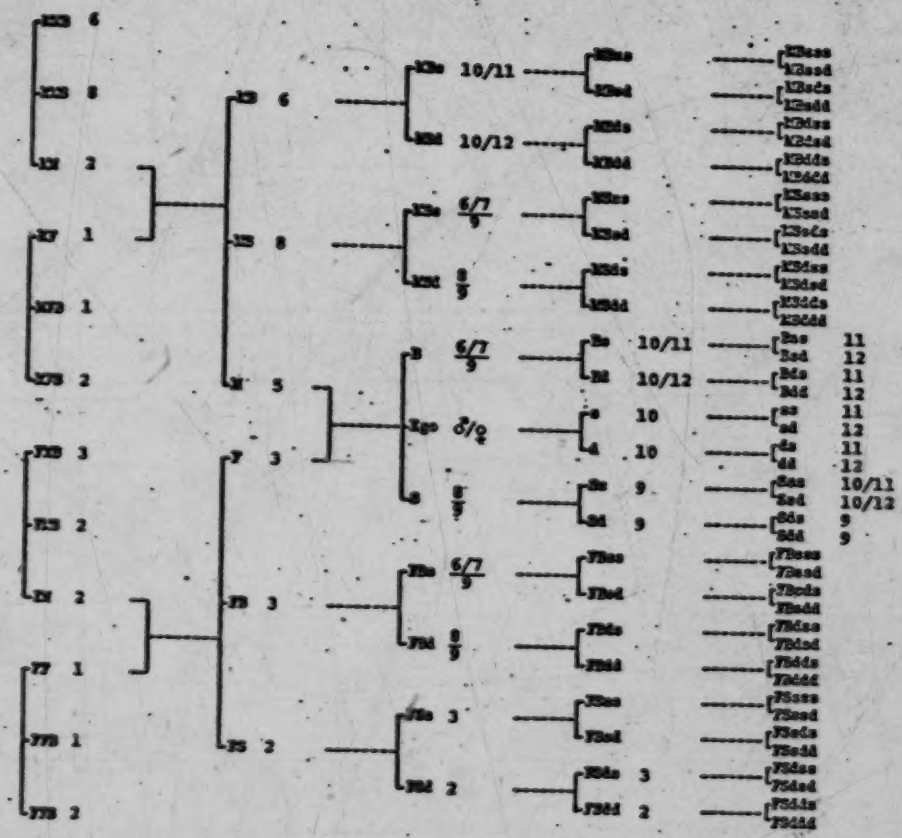
[1] Plural of itoredu is ikoge.

[2] Plural of itoreduje is ivire.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

*601

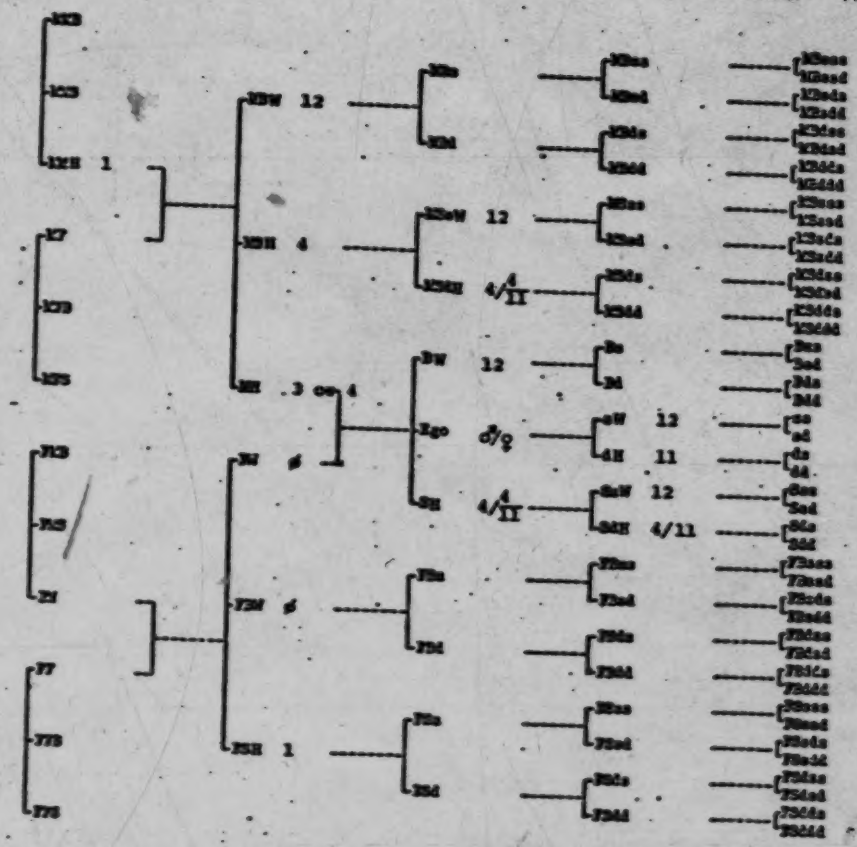
Table I



4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

*601

Table II



4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

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Table III

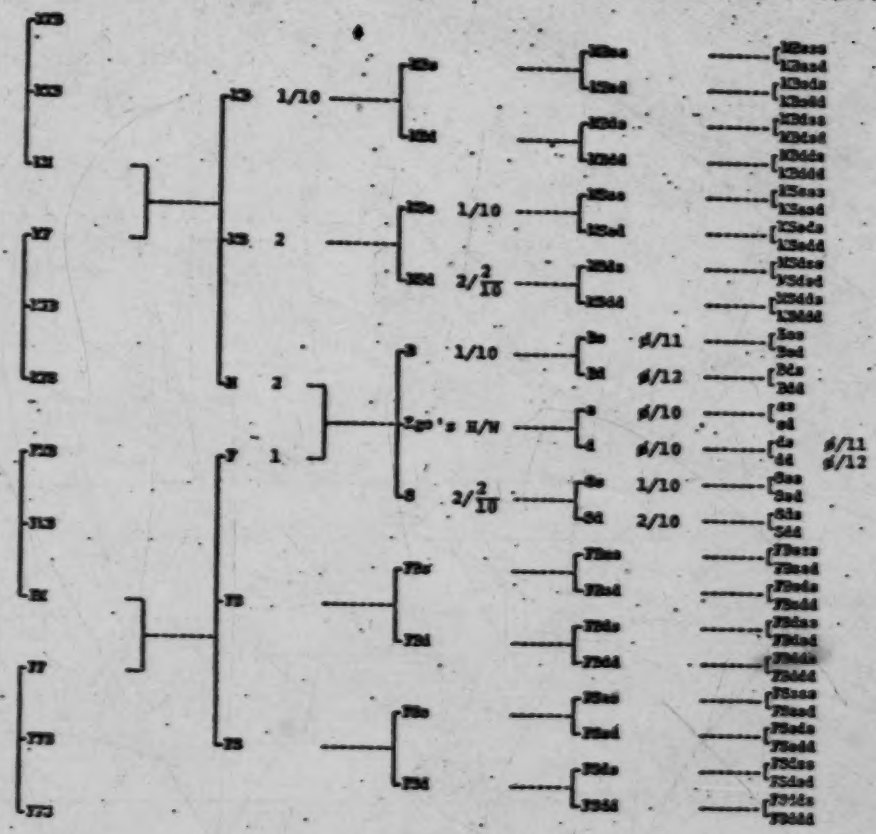
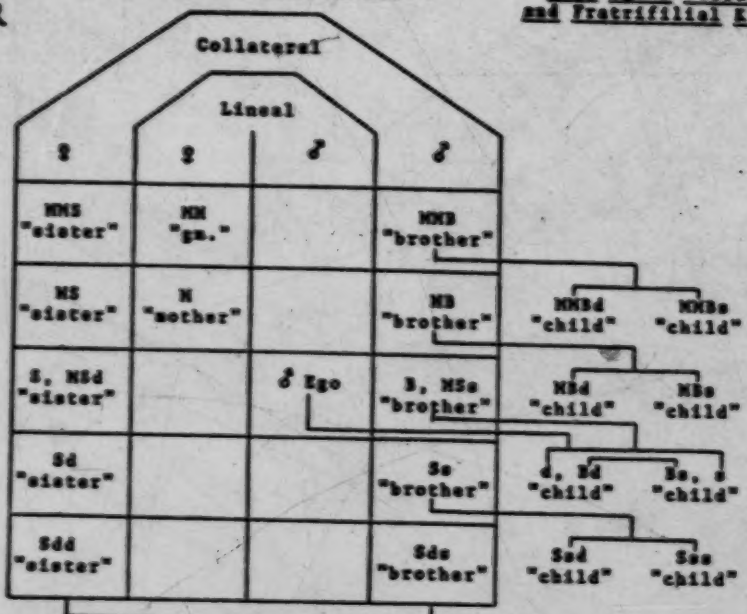


Table IV

*601
602

Male Ego's Uterine Kin:

Male Ego's Filial and Fratrifilial Kin:



All of these "sisters" are like mothers when Ego reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are his "brothers" and "sisters". [This covert equivalence is common to Crow-type systems, in relation to male Ego, except that it does not normally apply to MS and MMS, who are normally "mother" and "grandmother" rather than "sister", because the equivalence of parallel siblings (the merging rule) usually takes priority over the equivalence of sister to mother (the skewing rule).]

All of these "brothers" are like Alter Egos to male Ego when he reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are also his "children", and he is a "father" to them. [This is a usual equivalence in Crow-type systems of types II and IV.]

Table V

*601
602

Female Ego's Uterine Kin:

Female Ego's Fratrifilial Kin and Nonuterine grandchildren:

Collateral				
Lineal				
♀	♀	♂	♂	
MMS "sister"	MM "gm."		MMB "brother"	
MS "sister"	M "mother"		MB "brother"	MMBd "gd." / MMBs "gs."
♀, MSd "sister"	♀ Ego		B, MSs "brother"	MBd "gd." / MBs "gs."
Sd "sister"	d "child"	s "child"	Ss "brother"	Sd "gd." / Ss "gs."
Sdd "sister"	dd "gd."	ds "gs."	Sds "brother"	Sdd "gd." / Sds "gs."

All of these "sisters" are like mothers, even to female Ego, when Ego reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are her "brothers" and "sisters". [This equivalence is a rarity in Crow-type systems in relation to female Ego, because the equivalence of parallel siblings (the merging rule) usually takes priority over the equivalence of sister to mother (the skewing rule). The Bororo system reverses the priorities.]

All of these "brothers" are like sons to female Ego when she reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are her "grandchildren", and she is a "grandmother" to them. [This is the usual equivalence in Crow-type systems of types III and IV.]

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table VI

*601
602

Father's Uterine Kin:

♀	♂
FM, FMS "grandmother"	FMB "father"
FS "grandmother"	F, FB "father"
FSd "grandmother"	FSs "father"
FSdd "grandmother"	FSds "father"

Father's Filial and Fratrifilial Kin:

FMBd "sister"	FMBs "brother"
S, Fd, FBd "sister"	B, Fs, FBs "brother"
FSsd "sister"	FSss "brother"

These equivalences are all common to the stronger varieties of Crow-type systems (types III and IV).

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8 Pobojari

Chapter III

GENEALOGY AND CATEGORY

*601 What is the status of Bororo kinship categories: are they genealogically or categorically based? Are the categories prior, or are particular genealogical specifications prior? Which of these represent the fundamental meanings of the kinship terms? What is the essence of the notion of "kinship" for the Bororo? Are the categories primary, or are they derived by rules of extension from underlying genealogical foci?

At first glance, Bororo kinship terminology would seem to be a perfect case for the "social category" or "social group" theory of "kinship." Note the apparent "matrilineage" categories cutting across generations, for both males and females; and also the overwhelming importance of these categories in social life.

But yet there is evidence indicating a derivative status of the categories and primacy of genealogically specified foci within the categories.

1. Note the terminology for the lineal relations. These are mother (imuga), father (iyogwa), grandmother (imarugo), grandfather (iyedaga), child (itonaregedu), grandson (ivagedu), and granddaughter (irago), essentially like

*601 our own differentiations within this central domain of kinship.

2. Note especially the bilaterality of the "grandfather," "grandmother," "grandson," and "granddaughter" categories within this central domain. Both FF and MF are "grandfather"; both FM and MM are "grandmother"; ♂ss, ♂ds, ♀ss, ♀ds are all "grandson"; ♂sd, ♂dd, ♀sd, ♀dd are all "granddaughter." There is no matrilineal bias in this central domain, but rather a bilateral one.

The same bilaterality is expressed outside the central domain in the way the Bororo refer to their female ancestors. The Bororo occasionally use their kinship terms in referring to groups of people, especially in formal speeches. In this case the terms are in the plural and both male and female members of the group are mentioned in sequence:

imanamage - ituyemage when referring to the living people of Ego's own moiety

iyedagamage - imarugomage when referring to the ancestors of Ego's own moiety

iyogwamage - imarugomage when referring to both the living people and the ancestors of the opposite moiety.

As can be seen, the female ancestors of both moieties are called imarugomage. They are not terminologically distinguished. The term imugamage which we would expect as designation for females of one's own moiety, has exactly the opposite meaning: it is sometimes used by the men of

*601 one moiety for the women of the other moiety. imuga in the singular is a class with only one member, one's own mother. Any man, however, as the representative of a dead person from the other moiety, will acquire several "ceremonial mothers," all of them from the opposite moiety. It is to those "ceremonial mothers" that the term imugamage refers.

3. A further contribution to the evidence comes from considering the classificatory "sister" categories: ituye ("older sister") and iviye aredu ("younger female sibling"). These include all female collateral members of Ego's matrilineage. But they exclude lineal relatives of this matrilineage. The collateral vs. lineal distinction, however, is strictly a genealogically based concept. Therefore the definition of the "sister" categories inescapably includes a genealogical component, as do also those of "mother," "grandmother," "daughter," and "granddaughter."

4. A fourth line of evidence is the Bororo use of descriptive terminology in appropriate, although rare, contexts. The meanings of these expressions point to genealogical foci for the constituent terms. For example, iyoqwa umana ("my father's older brother") can refer to genealogical father's older brother, but cannot refer to father (Fig. a). This is possible only if iyoqwa has the genealogical kin-type father as its primary referent, rather than a category such as "male of an opposed, or allied, matrilineage," for under this latter hypothetical category definition every male of such a matrilineage would be Ego's "father" (iyoqwa)

*601 by equal right and title. Therefore, under this category hypothesis, any such male could be the referent of the first term in the expression iyogwa umana. Thus any classificatory "father" who is younger than Ego's genealogical father could equally well be the referent of that first term, iyogwa. Since Ego's genealogical father is that man's "older brother," the expression iyogwa umana should, under the social category hypothesis, be as applicable to Ego's genealogical father as it is to someone older than he, all depending on which one of Ego's "father's" happened, in the situational contexts of a given structure, to be the denotatum of the first term in the expression iyogwa umana (Fig. b). But this is not so. The expression is applicable only to an older brother, or older classificatory "brother," of Ego's own genealogical father.

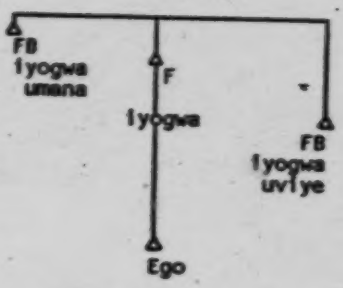


Fig. a

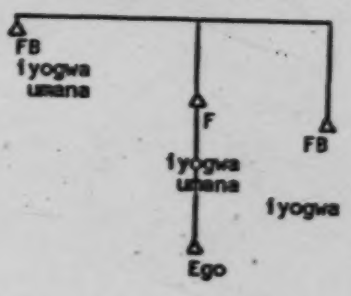


Fig. b

Descriptive terms can also be used in a broader sense. They can be applied to all persons with whom genealogical connections can be traced. The expression ("my eldest [or

*601 first born] sister's eldest [or first born] male child") is used to specify the party who should inherit Ego's names and lineage prerogatives (see page 85). The expression refers either to Ego's eldest own sister's eldest own son, these terms taken literally, or to a son of a collateral senior female of Ego's matrilineage. But all females of Ego's matrician and matrimoiety who are not related to him genealogically are also his classificatory "sisters," and if the category hypothesis rather than genealogical hypothesis about fundamental meaning of the "sister" terms were correct, then all such women would be Ego's "sisters" by equal title. If this were the case, then obviously Ego's "eldest" or first born "sister" would probably not be his own genealogical sister or a female of his matrilineage who by equivalence rules can be reduced to this focal type, but would be the oldest surviving female of his matrician or matrimoiety. And the denotatum of the expression ituye boetojiwudo onaregedu imedu boetojiwu ("my eldest sister's eldest son") would be that woman's oldest son. But this is not the case. Rather, the expression is taken in a genealogical sense by the Bororo, and only if such a person is not available, is the reference given more latitude to find a substitute.

5. The matters of obligation and choice in the use of kinship terms are also pertinent to this question. For all the kinsmen with whom genealogical links can be specified, the use of kinship terms is obligatory. All males of one's

*601 father's matrilineage are one's "fathers" and should be referred to as such. In a broader sense all males older than Ego in his father's matriclan or matrimoiety are also classified as "fathers," but in this case the relationship can be denied and a man may be referred to by his proper name rather than by the kinship term. Thus, where genealogical connections are known (within the father's matrilineage) the relationship must be acknowledged, but where such connections are not known (in his clan and moiety) the extended classificatory relationship need not be recognized.

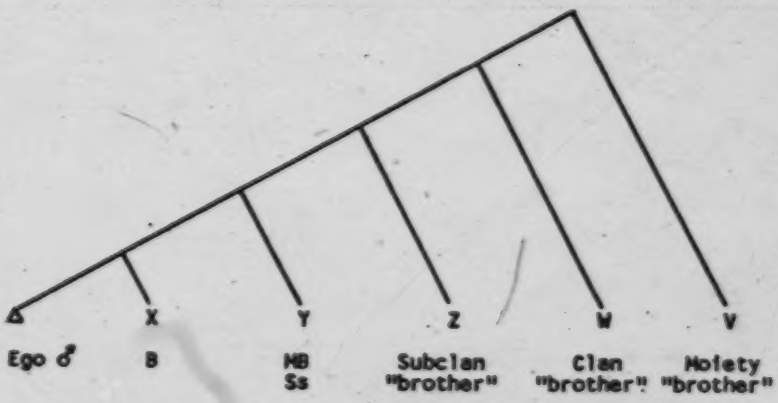
Similarly, a kinship tie can be denied to a member of one's own matriclan or matrimoiety, with whom genealogical connections cannot be established. An old chief used to call "my grandson" a man from his subclan who belonged to a lineage considered very close to his own. But, once, when he remembered how a few years before, that man had deceived him and made love to his wife, he angrily said that the man was not his "grandson" at all, indeed he was not even his relative (iwobe karega). He could not have said this if a genealogical connection had existed between them.

Criteria for extension

Granted that the kinship categories have genealogically defined foci, that the kinship terms in their primary senses refer to these, and that the categorical senses of the terms represent extensions from these, a question must be asked about the nature of the extensions. Do the extensions result from the recognition of social categories, or are they

*601 premised on covert equivalences between particular genealogical positions?--i.e., are the terms extended from their foci to their total extended ranges at one stroke, or are the categories the cumulative result of separate steps of extension? Both manners of extension are found. Relevant evidence on this question is found in the way in which the Bororo talk about the reasons for things and in the way they answer pertinent questions.

The following diagram illustrates the use of the term imana (older brother) from its genealogical focus to its broadest range of meaning.



Obligatory use of kinship terms. The categories are cumulative result of separate steps of extension.

Optional use of kinship terms. Terms are extended from their foci at one stroke.

X is classified as older brother (imana) because he and Ego share the same mother or the same father. The Bororo

*601 say: "the same mother gave us birth" (paje mitodu koyare pawodudo); or "the same father gave us birth" (pao mitodu koyare pawodudo). Ego's own genealogical true brother (or sister), though a focal kin-type, is already relative product of parent-child relationship.

Y, for example, if older than Ego, is classified as older brother (imana) because he is Ego's older sister's child: "he is my older sister's child, my true older brother" (ure ituye onaregedu, imana rogu remawu). And "my older sister" is, as we have already seen, a relative product of the parent-child relationship.

Similarly, the classification of FSs as "father" rests upon his being a "brother" of my father. This shows that the "father" class has a focus and that the "brother" term is used here in a categorical sense. But we have already seen that the "brother" category also has a focus, viz. brother. This means that the "father" class has a focus, father, and that the extension in turn has a subfocus, viz. father's brother, etc... It is legitimate to argue that I call him (father's sister's son) "my father" because he is my father's "brother," but he is my father's "brother" because he is his sister's son, etc.

An informant belonging to the Birimodo lineage will explain that he classifies Z, W, and V as imana because:

Z is Aroredu Choreu, i.e., he belongs to the same subclan as Birimodo.

W is Aroredu Kujagureu, i.e., he belongs to the same

*601 clan as Birimodo

V is ivagududogedu, i.e., he belongs to the same moiety as Birimodo.

Thus genealogically related persons are classified according to covert equivalences between particular genealogical positions, while the extension of kin terms to larger social groups is done by categorical extensions.

*601 602 It should be also pointed out that the degree of rights and duties changes as the meaning of the terms becomes broader. The obligation to feed someone, to care for him, or mourn his death becomes less and less binding as the term is extended to persons further removed from the genealogical focus.

*601 To the preceding discussion it should be added that the term imana (older brother) is also used in reference to senior male members of one's own lineage to whom genealogical connections cannot be traced because they have lived in some distant village. (I am aware that a more appropriate term for Bororo-type lineages would be sub-sub-clan, but the term is too clumsy.) The reason for calling them brothers, the Bororo say, is because they belong to the same lineage. This is the same explanation as that which was given for subclan, clan and moiety "brothers" (Z, W, V). But for lineage brothers kinship terms are obligatory as they are for genealogically related persons (X and Y).

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Chapter IV

FORMULATION OF THE PRIMARY DEFINITIONS AND THE RULES OF EQUIVALENCE

*601 Following the discussion in the preceding chapter we can specify the primary meaning and the focal kin types of the kinship terms:

1. iyedaga: "grandfather"—FF, MF
2. imarugo: "grandmother"—FM, MM
3. iyogwa: "father"—F
4. inodowu: "stepfather"—MH
5. imuga: "mother"—M
6. imana: "older brother of a man"—♂B (older than Ego)
7. ivuri: "older brother of a woman"—♀B (older than Ego)
8. ituye: "older sister"—S (older than Ego)
9. iviye: "younger sibling"—B, S (both younger than Egò)
10. itonaregedu: "Child"—s, d
11. ivagedu: "grandson"—ss, ds
12. irago: "granddaughter"—sd, dd
13. itoredu: "husband"—H
14. itoreduje: "wife"—W

593

Equivalence Rules

1. The Equivalence of a Woman's Brother and her Son. On Tables IV, V, and VI we have already made some preliminary notes on Bororo kin classification which shows equivalence of a woman's brother and her son in certain contexts. In consanguineal domain there is an equivalence between a person's mother's brother and his or her brother (imana or ivuri, and iviye) and between a woman's brother's child and her son's child (ivagedu and irago). In the affinal domain there is an equivalence between wife's brother and wife's son (itonaregedu) and between a woman's brother's wife and her son's wife (irago). The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals holds true, i.e., in the consanguineal domain there is an equivalence between a man's sister's children and his own siblings (iviye), and between a person's father's sister and his or her father's mother (imarugo). In the affinal domain there is an equivalence between a man's sister's husband and his mother's husband (inodowu), and between a woman's husband's sister and her husband's mother (imarugo). We see that only a woman's own brother is not classified as her "son." We have here an example of Lounsbury's Crow-type IV. This can be phrased as: with the exception of the case of female Ego's brother as a designated kinsman, any woman's brother is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to her son. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: with the exception of the case of male Ego's sister as a designated kinswoman, any man's sister is

583 to be regarded as structurally equivalent to his mother. Or in symbolic notation:

$$(\overline{♀B} \rightarrow \overline{♀S}) \equiv (\overline{♂S} \rightarrow \overline{♂M})$$

The new symbol that is here used, a bracket above a kin type, means that the concerned kin type is contextually restricted from one side or the other, and that the right-hand and left-hand context restrictions cannot be removed at the same time, although both may apply at the same time.

2. The Equivalence of Brothers. The Bororo data indicate that only consanguineal kin types and, among them, only brothers, are classified in conformity with a principle of equivalence of siblings of the same sex; i.e., a man's brother's children and his own children are in the same kin class (itonaregedu), but a man's brother's wife and his own wife are in different classes (irago and itoreduje respectively). Also a woman's sister's children (ivuri, ituye or iviye) and her own children (itonaregedu); are in different classes as well as a woman's sister's husband (inodowu or ivagedu) and her husband (itoredu). Thus the merging rule must be written accordingly, specifying the equivalence of brothers in consanguineal contexts, and excluding the equivalence of sisters, as well as of affinal contexts. The rule states that any man's brother's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that man's own child. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's father's brother is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's father. In symbolic notation, this rule and its

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593 converse can be expressed as:

$$(♂Bc \rightarrow ♂c) \equiv (FB \rightarrow F)$$

604 593 3. The Equivalence of Mother's Sister and Own Sister.

It remains to be seen how a woman's sister's children are classified. If we examine the data we see that they are in the same class as a woman's siblings and her mother's siblings: any woman's sister's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that woman's sibling. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's sister is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sister. In symbolic notation this parallel-collateral skewing rule and its converse can be expressed as:

$$(♀Sc \rightarrow ♀B/S) \equiv (MS \rightarrow S)$$

It can be readily seen that this rule, together with the Crow-type IV skewing rule in the consanguineal domain, expresses the equivalence of a child and his, or her, mother in certain contexts. We could even combine these two rules into a collateral skewing rule which would affect both parallel and cross collateral kin types, stating the equivalence of a person's mother's siblings, with a person's own siblings. This form would be quite convenient if we had set as our task to account only for consanguineal kinship terms. But, since in dealing with affinal kin types we would have to introduce again the Crow-type skewing rule, it seems better to write the rules separately as we have done. Furthermore, unless one is a total 'relativist,' then typology is a legitimate and meaningful concern; in which case one

604 wants to recognize that this is a Crow-type system, and one
593 wants to bring out what kind of a Crow-type it is. However it should be clear that the alternative is not between different solutions, but only between two ways of expressing the same thing.

593 4. The Equivalence of Half Siblings and Full Siblings. The Bororo data indicate that half siblings and full siblings are classified together, thus the rule expressing structural equivalence between half siblings and full siblings, does not present any restriction: any person's parent's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sibling. In symbolic notation:

$$Pc \rightarrow B/S$$

With the four rules derived so far, all the Bororo consanguineal kin types, except some alternative designations, can be reduced to their primary meanings.

5. The Equivalence of Stepfather and Father; the Non-equivalence of Stepmother and Mother. A man's stepchild and his own are terminologically equivalent (itonaregedu). In symbolic notation:

$$Wc \rightarrow c$$

i.e., any man's wife's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that man's own child. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's husband is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's father:

$$MH \rightarrow F$$

593 The corollary appears not to hold because father and stepfather belong to two different kin classes, iyogwa and inodowu respectively. There are several reasons for classifying these together into a single superclass "FATHER." One has already been mentioned: they have the same reciprocals. If iyogwa and inodowu were to be regarded as two separate classes, the commonly shared reciprocal class of "child" would also have to be subdivided in two classes: one of "consanguineal child" and the other of "stepchild." This, however, would be in disagreement with the data, and another rule would be necessary to merge these two classes again. Secondly, other kin types such as father's mother's husband and father's sister's husband (which by the Crow rule is reduced to father's mother's husband) would require the reintroduction of a step-kin rule in order to be reduced to 593 their corresponding focus, which is father's father. Final-
*601 ly, though stepfather is the focal point of the inodowu class, in practice the stepfather is always addressed by his stepchild as "father" (iyogwa), or by his name if the stepchild is an adult, And also in making reference to him (non-vocative), the stepchild will tend to use the term iyogwa or his proper name.

The term otowu (otowu is the third person singular of inodowu) which refers also to a man's sister's husband has become somewhat deprecative: it connotes the wife-receiver, the debtor, who cannot refuse to comply with his wife's brothers' wishes. Thus a child calls his stepfather who

583 provides and cares for him "father," a broader term which
*601 does not have this derogatory connotation.

All these considerations show that the equivalence rule is correct, and that the classes of "father" and "mother's husband" should be included in a hypothetical superclass "FATHER," which can in turn be broken down into the subclasses of "father" and "stepfather" by componential definitions.

The kin types "father's wife" and "father's brother's wife" are not in our list of kin terms. The Bororo do not consider them as relatives: one's stepmother is not regarded as a relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: a woman's stepchild is not regarded as a relative. In symbolic notation:

$$FW \rightarrow \emptyset \qquad\qquad Hc \rightarrow \emptyset$$

Thus far we have accounted for most consanguineal and step types. The Bororo kinship terminology does not have any separate "in-law" terms, therefore the next step is to see how the in-laws are merged with consanguineal categories.
[603] In addition an alternative classification of mother's brother and mother's mother's brother as "grandfather" (<u>iyedaga</u>) should be discussed.

582 6. <u>Naming Rule</u>. Bororo ideology places emphasis on the positive prescription to marry in the opposite moiety rather than on the negative proscription not to marry in the same moiety, i.e., on the alliance between moieties rather than on a prohibition of "incest." Marriage should ideally

582 be contracted with a woman who belongs to one of the lineages of the opposite moiety with which Ego's lineage, through exchange of cultural items and ceremonies, have established alliance in the mythical past. Theoretically one's father, one's wife, and one's son all belong to such a lineage.

613 In the light of the above prescription it is interesting to see the Bororo criteria for ascribing true lineage membership. In the Bororo view, in order to be a true member of a particular lineage a person should not only belong to that lineage, but should also be son of a man of an allied lineage. Allied lineages exchange ceremonial performances. The actors of such performances will preferentially be chosen among the "true" members of an allied lineage or, at least, among the "true" members of the opposite moiety, i.e., their mother and their father should be from different moieties.

553 Similarly, one of a child's older "brothers" (MB, MMB)
604 should be his namegiver. It is essential that, at least terminologically, the namegiver and the namereceiver are related both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. This is the case only if, at least in theory, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was upheld in every generation. In this case a person's mother's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father, and a person's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father's sister's son (see Table VII). The first kin type (FF) is al-

[Text Continued On Page 43]

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Table VII

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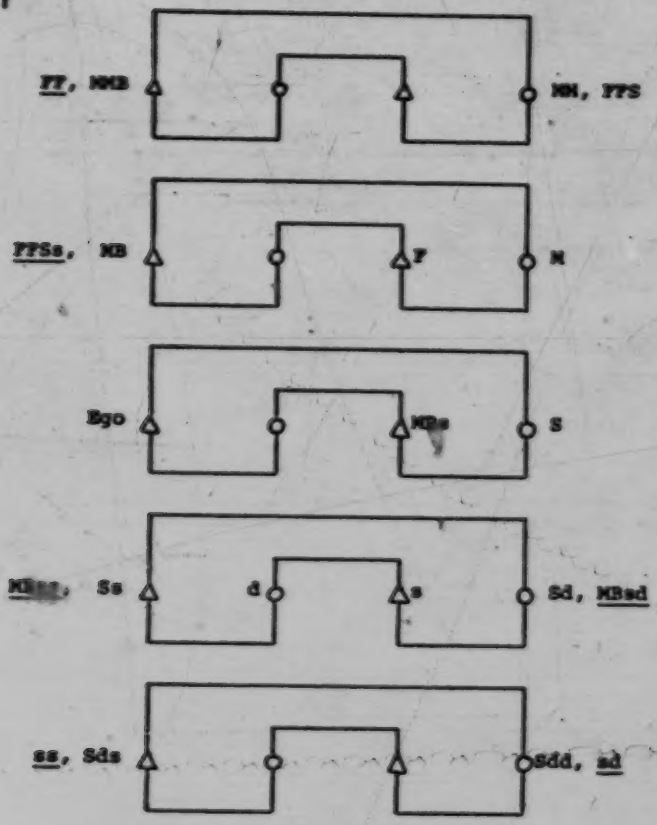
604



553 604 ready "grandfather" (iyedaga) by definition, while the second kin type (FFSs) is brought into the same class by equivalences already presented:

FFSs →	FFMs	(by the skewing rule)
→	FFB	(by the half sibling rule)
→	FF	(by the merging rule)
∴	iyedaga	(by definition)

Thus the naming rule should be written as: any senior matrilateral relative who is Ego's namegiver should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's senior patrilateral relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any junior sororifilial relative to whom Ego gave a name should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's junior fratrifilial relative.

304 604 553 604 The same rule applies also to the senior "brother" (MB, MMB) who pierces the ear lobe of Ego. The rule was written without specifying the sex of the namegiver. On some very rare occasions a child's "older sister" (MS, MMS) will propose the name for him (her). If her suggestion is accepted, the child will call her imarugo ("grandmother"). There is still another instance in which a person calls his "older sister" imarugo, and that is when this "sister" cuts the umbilical cord when the child is born, in absence of a woman belonging to the lineage or clan of the child's father, who normally have this prerogative. Reductions applied to her are:

*[601] *601 604 [846]

*601 604 MMS → FFS (by the naming rule)
→ FFM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imerugo (by definition)

MS → FFSd (by the naming rule)
→ FFMd (by the skewing rule)
→ FFS (by the half-sibling rule)
→ FFM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imerugo (by definition)

*601 [58] 7. The restricted equivalence of spouses and cross-cousins. In discussing the naming Rule we have shown the necessity of a bilateral prescriptive marriage rule to account for alternative classifications of MB, and MMB. We also said that there are no affinal terms for affinal relations; consanguineal terms are applied to them. A "marriage rule" or "prescription" would thus seem to be necessary. First let us see which one of the kin types have not yet been accounted for:

in the iyedaga ("grandfather") category: wife's father, husband's father, and husband's brother (WF, HF, HH)

in the imerugo ("grandmother") category: wife's mother, husband's mother, and wife's older sister: (WM, HM, WS^+)

in the inodowu ("step-father") category: a woman's older sister's husband: ($♀S^+H$)

in the itonaregedu ("child") category: wife's younger sister: (WS^-)

*601 in the ivagedu ("grandson") category: son's wife and a woman's younger sister's husband: (sW, ♀S⁻H)

in the irago ("granddaughter") category: daughter's husband and a man's brother's wife. (dH, ♂BW)

(It should be noted that some of these kin types represent not only these kin types themselves, but also others which are equivalent to them as a result of previous reductions. For example: husband's father's brother has been reduced to husband's father by the application of the rule stating the equivalence of brothers; husband's mother's brother has been reduced to husband's brother by the Crow skewing rule, etc.)

*601 583 While the terminology for affinal relatives suggests the necessity of a marriage prescription, in itself it does not lead to a unique specification, in genealogical terms, for such a prescription (although it may be noted that some, but not all, of the data would be consistent with a rule of bilateral (symmetrical) cross-cousin marriage).

*601 603 606 If, for the time being, we postpone consideration of parallel siblings' spouses and spouses' parallel siblings, we see that in the kin types wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father, and husband's mother, one's spouse's parents are terminologically equivalent to "grandparents," and also that in the kin types son's wife and daughter's husband, the spouses of one's children are terminologically equivalent to "grandchildren." Again, as it was the case in the discussion of naming, Ego's mother's brother whose

*601 daughter Ego marries should be, at least terminologically,
603 his "true lineage brother" i.e., related to him both matri-
606 laterally and patrilaterally. The Bororo say that they call
iyedaga ("grandfather") that particular imana ("older broth-
er") who gave them a name, and that particular imana whose
daughter they marry.

*601 The equivalence rule, with necessary restrictions to
604 in-laws from different generations and taking into account
606 the patrilaterality of MB can be written as follows:

$$(SpF| \rightarrow MB| \rightarrow FFSs|) \equiv (|dcSp \rightarrow |\sigma Sc \rightarrow |\sigma HBsc)$$

$$(SpM| \rightarrow FS|) \equiv (|\varsigma cSp \rightarrow |\varsigma Bc)$$

i.e.: Ego's spouse's parent is to be regarded as structural-
ly equivalent to Ego's cross-uncle and cross-aunt. The cor-
ollary pertaining to the reciprocalsis: Ego's child's
spouse is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's
cross-nephew and cross-niece. The straight vertical line
indicates a context restriction. When it is prefixed it
means "no preceding linkage," and when suffixed, "no fol-
lowing linkage" (Lounsbury 1965: 168).

*601 It should be noted that the "marriage rule" was posited
582 as a de facto state of affairs, regardless of whether or not
such a prescription was positively stated by the Bororo.
In fact, the Bororo do not say that a person should marry
his cross-cousins. They emphasize that a man should marry
*601 in an allied lineage. But the women of this allied lineage
are either his classificatory "grandmothers" (FS, FSd, etc.)
or his classificatory "daughters" (d, MBd, etc.). Moreover,

*601 though a man refers to his wife as itoreduje, and a woman refers to his husband as itoredu, they address each other by the terms they were using before marriage. A man addresses his wife either as "grandmother" (imarugo) or as "woman" (aredu - which is the vocative term for children and younger siblings), and reciprocally a woman addresses her husband as "grandchild" (ivagedu) or as "father" (iyogwa).[1]

On the other hand, we see that the classification of spouses of the same sex siblings is not consistent with this marriage prescription: if the brother is older than Ego we should expect the following derivation:

♂BW →	♂FSd	(by the marriage rule)
→	♂FMd	(by the skewing rule)
→	♂FS	(by the half-sibling rule)
—	♂FM	(by the skewing rule)
∴	imarugo	(by definition)

and if the brother is younger than Ego, we should expect the following:

♂BW →	♂MBd	(by the marriage rule)
→	♂Bd	(by the skewing rule)
→	♂d	(by the merging rule)
∴	itonaregedu	(by definition)

As we see, according to our assumptions so far, a man's older

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[1] The term "father" as used by a female takes on connotation of an affine, nevertheless a woman does not marry her own father.

*601 brother's wife should be called imarugo ("grandmother"), a man's younger brother's wife should be called itonaregedu ("child"). By similar derivations a woman's older sister's husband would be reduced to iyogwa ("father"), and a woman's *601 younger sister's husband to ivagedu ("grandson"). But only 607 one of these designations is correct: a woman refers to her younger sister's husband as ivagedu, while she refers to her older sister's husband as inodowu ("stepfather"). And a man refers to his brothers' wives as irago ("granddaughter"). It is obvious that in affinal domain, the same sex siblings are not equivalent. To bring them to their focal kintypes we need yet other rules.

*601 Expansion of Rule 1: the Equivalence of a Woman's Sister and her Mother. A woman's older sister's husband is classified as "stepfather." Her younger sister's husband as [593] "grandson." The rule necessary to account for this clas- [603] sification requires that a woman's older sister, in this context, be equivalent to that woman's mother, and that a woman's younger sister be equivalent to that woman's daughter. This rule and the rule of equivalence of mother's sister and own sister show fundamental similarities. They can be combined and written together, specifying the equivalence of a woman's sister and her mother.

$$(\overline{♀S} \rightarrow \overline{♀M}) = (\overline{♀S} \rightarrow \overline{♀d})$$

This rule and its corollary should not be applied to the same context. The applicability of the upward and downward equivalence should be restricted as follows: if "♀" is M,

*60 then the downward equivalence is the correct one:

MS → Md → S

This has the consequence for the reciprocal type:

♀Sc → ♀Mc → ♀8/S

If "♀" is Ego, and S is a link to H (rather than child), then both directions are appropriate, depending on the relative age of S with respect to Ego:

$♀S^{+}H$ → ♀MH

$♀S^{-}H$ → ♀dH

8. The Equivalence of a Man and his Mother, or Sister (or his Lineage) in One Affinal Relationship. The classification of a man's brother's wife as irago is the most unusual. It seemed so odd, that in the field I spent a month checking on this piece of data, but the Bororo were firm on this classification and finally I had to accept their explanation of
[60] this unusual occurrence. They repeatedly said that either the man classifies his brother's wife as if he were a woman or that the man classifies her as his mother does, i.e. that in his relation to her, he takes the place of his mother: (imuga mugatowu imireo). Thus we must determine what it is that his mother or his sister call the woman in question. To Ego's mother, this woman is sW. To Ego's sister, this same woman is BW; but ♀BW → ♀sW. Thus, both to Ego's mother and to Ego's sister, this woman (Ego's BW) is irago. This, then, is what according to Bororo testimony ♂ Ego must call her. She then must call him by the reciprocal term for a male, viz. iyedaga.

613 Each man identifies himself with the lineage he belongs
*601 to, and the core of the lineage are the women. A woman who
606 marries "son" of the lineage is a "daughter-in-law" of the lineage. In this usage irago is a group-centered rather than Ego-centered term. This is corroborated by the fact that any woman who marries in the lineage is referred to by all the members of that lineafe as "our daughter-in-law" (parago—1st person plural inclusive.)

*601 This rule though strange, is yet another variant of general equivalence of a mother and her child which was expressed in different ways in the Crow rule (which equated mother's brother with brother), in female parallel collateral skewing rule (which equated mother's sister with sister), and it will be apparent again in the vocative system (where one's mother's parents are equated with one's own parents).

*601 Here also I would like to make an exception and antici-
607 page the social meaning of the present equivalence rule. By
835 placing brother's wife in the category of irago, the Bororo removed her from the category of sexual partners to which she previously belonged (as imarugo or itonaregedu), and so through the terminology, they express the ideal and the necessity of solidarity among brothers.

*601 With this, the analysis of the Bororo referential system is concluded. All the kin types have been accounted for and reduced to their focal kin types. The boundaries of the sys-
*601 tem coincide closely with the list on pages 11-18. Occa-
609 sionally, if convenient, some Bororo may restrict or extend

these boundaries, but most of the time for genealogically more distant kin they will switch to extragenealogical extensions and apply criteria different from those used in referring to genealogically close kinsmen.

The test of the rules, i.e., the reduction of kin types to their class foci will be found in the Appendix.

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Chapter V

ADDITIONAL DATA CONCERNING KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Terms of Address

114 In my discussion of the Bororo referential terminology,
*601 I have not made any use of the literature available on the subject (Albisetti, 1948: 10-11; Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962: 452-475; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 51; Lévi-Strauss, 1936: 281; Oberg, 1953: 127). The published data present a great deal of inconsistency, due to the difficulty in distinguishing among the different terminological systems which, side by side and often cross-cutting each other, are used by the Bororo.

*601 The terms of address constitute one of these systems. I will not give a list of all the vocative kin terms, because most of them are identical with the referential kin terms. Only the differences between the two systems will be noted.

The descriptive term for son is itonaregedu imedu ("male child"), for daughter is itonaregedu aredu ("female child"), for younger brother iviye imedu ("male younger sibling"), for
*601 younger sister iviye aredu ("female younger sibling"). In
561 the referential system the distinction between sexes was
562 neutralized and both son and daughter were referred to as itonaregedu ("child") and both younger sister and younger

*601 brother were referred to as iviye ("younger sibling"). In
561 the system of address the distinction between generations is
562 neutralized and the sex differentiation stressed, so that both son and younger brother are called imedu ("man" or "male") and both daughter and younger sister are called aredu ("woman" or "female").

System of Reference		System of Address
"younger sibling" (iviye)		"man" or "male" (imedu)
"child" (itonaregedu)		"woman" or "female" (aredu)

*601 The terms for these new designations do not take the prefix for the first singular, i, it, in, which all of the reference terms have (i in imedu is part of the root), and they usually have postposed the adjectives "young" and "old" which will be discussed later.

Second, there is a merger of certain kin types from the grandparents' generation with those of the parents' generation:

$$(MP \rightarrow P) = (dc \rightarrow c)$$

i.e., Ego's mother's parents are addressed in the same way as Ego's own parents. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals also holds: Ego's daughter's child is addressed in the same way as Ego's own child.

We can immediately perceive the structural similarity of this rule with the Crow Type IV rule in the consanguineal domain and with the female parallel-collateral skewing rule. This is the third time that the structural equivalence of

This is
the third time that the structural equivalence of 54
*601 the child and his or her mother is required in accounting for
593 kin terms. Though the social correlates of the rules will be discussed in subsequent chapters, we may even now start to wonder about the nature and importance of the mother-child relation for the Bororo.

There are still some more kin types that remain to be discussed. The first is "father's child." By our step-kin rule, father's children, younger than Ego, are considered younger siblings and are classified appropriately as iviye, or vocatively as imedu and aredu. (An alternative designation for them is ikobo. This term is applied both referentially and vocatively, but only knowledgeable members of the society use it at all, and then only very rarely.) However, if the person's father's child is a member of the opposite moiety (i.e., if their common father had the child by a woman of his own moiety), he will not be addressed by any kinship
[576] term at all. The Bororo say that it is not polite to remind a brother that he is the child of an endogamous relation.
[835] Thus he will usually be addressed by his name. "...but," said one of my informants, "if my sister from the other moiety makes sexual advances to me, I should say to her 'Do not play with me, the same father caused our birth, so do not behave in this way, I am your brother (avuri).'"[1]

There are two other kin types that differ, in the system

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[1] "Awadu kaba, pao mitodu koyare pawodudo. Kodire aro modu kare ino. Avuri nure imi."

*601 of address, from their referential forms. These are "hus-
593 band" and "wife," whose referential forms are itoredu, itoreduje. A man will address his wife as imarugo (reciprocal: ivagedu) or aredu (reciprocal: iyogwa), depending on her belonging to his father's clan, or her being the daughter of his true or classificatory brother, or they will call each other by their names. It seems that even a descriptive form is considered very formal in reference to one's spouse, and is rarely, if ever, used in first person singular. A person speaking about the spouse will use his or her name. I heard the terms for wife and husband being used only with second and third person pronouns: "Where is your husband (akoredu)?", "Where is his wife (oreduje)?" The Bororo say that a wife will call her husband itoredu only if he acts in a good way to her brothers, i.e., all of his classificatory children; and it seems that these good stepfathers are very rare among contemporary Bororo.

The last kin type that remains to be discussed is "mother's husband." As previously mentioned, although this kin type is the focal kin type of the class indowu, this term is never used in addressing the true mother's husband. The small child will call his mother's husband iyogwa; grown-ups will call him by the terms they would use if he were not married to their mother.

Specific Terms

*601 The Bororo kinship terminology presented so far is defective with regard to the different shades of meaning possible within any particular kin class. These differences are communicated by the adjectives pega and rogu and their compound pega-rogu added to both referential and vocative terms. These adjectives are so much part of the common usage that even their absence is significant. In the Bororo language pega means "bad" or "old," and rogu means "small," but when suffixed to a kinship term they function as part of a special semantic domain. Some of these combinations of noun and adjectives are obligatory for particular kin types, while others are freely chosen by the speaker in order to convey the [593] desired feelings. For example, iyogwa without an adjective is the obligatory vocative term for one's own father, while iyogwa pega is the obligatory vocative term for one's moth- [603] er's father. However, women may address their mother's fa- [605] ther, if he is very, very old, as iyogwa pega-rogu. The use of adjectives with the term imarugo follows a similar pattern, the only difference being that the man is allowed to allude to possible intimacy with his father's sister's daughter. Therefore he calls her imarugo pega or imarugo *601 pega-rogu if she is still a child. A man will always ad- 606 dress his wife's mother formally, i.e., imarugo, but if she is so old that any possible involvement between the two is unthinkable, he may address her affectionately imarugo pega. An old woman from the opposite moiety who has many daughters

*601 with whom one may flirt, will be jokingly referred to as
606 pajarugo pega-rogu, meaning in this case "our poor little mother-in-law." Also the father of the girls will be called payedaga pega-rogu "our poor little father-in-law," while the women will use this same expression only for a very old man close to death. The term for the wife's true father, and for one's namegiver who is not very old, will remain iyedaga without an adjective.

Another good example of manipulation of the available contrastive set can be seen in the relation between a woman and her daughter-in-law. If a child marriage was contracted, the woman will call her small daughter-in-law irago rogu. When the girl grows up and gradually takes over her responsibilities toward her husband and his mother, she will call her daughter-in-law irago pega if the two women are on good terms and the mother-in-law is satisfied by the attentions paid to her. If, on the other hand, their relations are not so good, she may show her dissatisfaction by calling her only irago. Finally when the mother-in-law is called to assist a daughter-in-law in labor, she will express her affection and concern for the girl by calling her irago pega-rogu.

*601 Another final distinction expressed through the use of
593 adjectives is that made between true siblings and "siblings" arrived at by extragenealogical, social extensions. In the first case rogu will be added to the respective term, but will be omitted in the second instance. The following di-

The following di-
*601 agram presents the summary of semantic analysis of the ad-
602 jectives as they are suffixed to Ego's senior and junior kinsmen:

	Senior	Junior
ø	Formality Addressee relatively young	Formality Addressee relatively old
Pega	Old addressee (Affection)	Affection
Rogu	True kinsman	Young Addressee (True kinsman)
Pega-rogu	Very old addressee Compassion	Very young addressee Compassion

The Bororo, however, do not use the combinations illustrated in the diagram for all theoretically possible kin
[606] types. For example, HB, who may be a young child, will be
[593] always addressed formally, as will the class of <u>inodowu</u> ("stepfather"). The diagram on page 59 illustrates the matchings of kin terms with the different adjectives that
*601 are normally used. The diagram does not include some spe-
602 cial cases related to changes of kinship terms in connection
768 with death. For example, if the living representative of one's dead son is older than Ego, he may be addressed as
*601 <u>itonaregedu</u> <u>pega</u>. An ironic use of <u>imuga</u> <u>rogu</u> and <u>imarugo</u> <u>pega-rogu</u> will be taken up later in discussing kinship terminology used for joking.

*601
602

	"grand-father" and "mother"	"sibling"	"grand-mother" and "father"	"grand-child" and "child"	
pega rogu	+	+	+		
pega	+	+	+		
rogu		+			Senior
0	+	+	+	+	
0	+	+	+	+	
rogu		+	+	+	
pega			+	+	Junior
pega rogu			+	+	

[562] The two subclasses "man" or "male" (imedu) and "woman" or "female" (aredu) are not included in the diagram because the application of the adjective to them follows the same rules as for "younger siblings" and "children."

*601 The kinship terms can receive further specifications.
561 The most important among these are those used in connection with relative age or the birth order of siblings. Ego will describe his or her sibling born before him either as itododaiwu ("the one before me"), or pebutoijagiwu ("the one born before me"), or ikodurekodajiwu ("the one whom I follow"). He will describe his sibling born after him either as

*601 561 ipebutojagiwu ("the one born after me"), or koduirekodajiwu ("the one who follows me"). The first-born is designated boetojiwu ("the first one"), while the last-born is designated boigoduwu ("the last"). When there are three brothers, the oldest will be described as etumanareu ("their older brother"), the second as boyadadawu ("the one in the middle"), and the youngest one as etuviyereu ("their younger brother"). Further, any young sibling also can be ad-
*601 304 dressed as imedregedu. Finally there is a special term for a man's first born son, ikenojiwu ("the one on my nose," which alludes to the custom of piercing a man's nasal septum on the same occasion when his first-born son is given a name).

*601 There are still a few more alternative terms that should be mentioned here. These are mostly those related to actual
607 differences in relationships among kinsmen. If a man quar-
*601 rels with his sister's husband, he will call the latter otogududogedu ("the one to whom pity was shown," meaning that the brothers gave their sister as wife to him out of pity). He will be called in return by his proper name instead of imedu. Two men married to sisters, if on good terms, may choose to call each other reciprocally either ito inowu ("the one like me") or imeduya ("my companion") instead of iyedaga and ivagedu. Similarly two women married to the same man, will call each other reciprocally either itoydo ("the one
*601 like me") or imedago ("my companion"). There are also some
593 conventional expressions used when two people speak about a third person to whom both of them are related. For example,

*601 593 one parent speaking to the other about their child will say akonaregedu ("your child"), while a woman speaking to another about their common husband will say akoredu (your husband). A mother speaking to her sons about their father will say tameduya (your companion), while a father speaking to his daughter about their mother will say tamedago (your com-
*601 576 panion). Finally, in some cases it is considered more polite to refer to kinsmen descriptively instead of mentioning the class to which they belong. Thus if a man is looking for his sister-in-law and he is a polite person he will ask, "Where is my brother's wife (imana oreduje pa, or kaiba imana oreduje kodure)?"

Choice among Alternative Designations

*601 611 As a general rule it may be said that: 1. When a person is doubly related to Ego, both matrilaterally and patrilaterally, the relationship traced through the mother takes precedence over the one traced through the father. In case FSs is also MBc then itonaregedu (MBc) takes precedence over
*601 593 imarugo (FSd) and iyogwa (FSs). 2. The term traced through marriage of a person or one of his kinsmen takes precedence over the one traced through parents: in case that MBs is also SH, inodowu (SH) takes precedence over itonaregedu (MBs).

*601 607 In the case of sister exchange and marriage, where two men are at the same time "wife's brother" and "sister's husband" to each other they will call each other either inodowu or itonaregedu. I did not have the opportunity to personally observe this kind of relation.

*601 The rules mentioned above are not valid if the choice
602 is between a close and a more distant genealogical relation, or between a genealogically extended and a categorically extended kinship term. In this case precedence is given to the term traced through the closest genealogical link. Thus, for example, if Ego's true father's sister's daughter is married to his clan "brother" or moiety "brother," Ego will continue to call her imarugo. If the link in both positions are Ego's kinsmen only by social extensions, the choice of the term is arbitrary and left to the will of the parties involved.

*601 Another conflict may arise between a kin term and the
603 actual role that somebody plays towards a kinsman. The most frequent case is that of the father's mother or father's sister who is called imuga, "mother," instead of imarugo, "grandmother," by a child. This usually happens when the child's true mother dies and there is no other woman of her lineage who can take care of the child, or when the mother is living but the child feels more at home with his paternal relatives. In both cases the child is raised by his father's mother or by his father's sister, and he addresses them and refers to them and their husbands in accordance with the actual role they sustained with him. However, the use of the terms is regarded as a nice fiction. The child never becomes a clan or moiety member of his acquired mother and his actual genealogical connections are never obscured.

Extragenealogical Extensions of Kinship Terms

*601 613 On the most basic level of contrast, relatives from the same lineage, e.g., mother and siblings, are designated as "iwobe." The other kinsmen are not covered by any common term. One of my informants explained it to me in this way: "my mother is iwobe, my 'older brother' is iwobe, my 'older sister' is iwobe; all my 'younger siblings' are iwobe, but my 'father' is my 'father,' my 'grandfather' is my 'grandfather,' etc. Only my 'older brother' who gave me the name is the 'grandfather' who is my iwobe."

When contrasted on a higher level, all the lineages of a subclan can be considered iwobe in contrast to another subclan. For example, a man of the subclan ivagududoge Choreu, the "Black ivagududoge," will consider only the people who are ivagududoge Choreu as iwobe, while he will consider as imedage, "companions," or "people like myself," those belonging to the other subclan ivagududoge Kujagureu, the "Red *601 ivagududoge." But when the contrast is made between two different clans (rather than subclans), the same man would, for 614 example, recognize as iwobe all the ivagududoge, "Black" and "Red" alike, in opposition to the clan of Aroroe.

*601 The merging can be carried further including into iwobe 616 the people of one's own moiety in opposition to those of the other moiety. The latter will be called cheyorubodarege, or *601 cheyadumage (first person plural exclusive). The meaning of 613 iyorubodare (fem. iyorubodaredu), on the basic level of contrast, is approximately "a person from the lineage with which

*601 my lineage is traditionally bound in reciprocal exchange of
613 spouses and ceremonial duties." I will translate yorubodare as "allié," and the relationship between yorubodare as "alliance." Members of the opposite sex of an allied lineage, e.g., potential or actual spouses, are also alternatively designated as ikoge ("my husbands") and ivire ("my wives"). Even if a person does not marry into an allied lineage he will continue to call its members by these terms. Also, one's "initiator" ideally should be chosen from such an allied lineage, but he will still be designated as yorubodare even if he was chosen from some other nonallied lineage. The definition of yadu, of which yadumage is the plural, is more
*601 controversial. When somebody dies his relatives from the
613 same lineage call the person chosen to represent the dead,
616 yadu. But, when speaking of yadumage as a group, the Bororo
768 have discordant opinions whether or not this term should be applied to: (a) all the people from the other moiety, part of whom are more specifically considered yorubodarege; (b) the members of the lineages which are not yorubodarege (in this case the moiety is conceived as being divided into yorubodarege and yadumage); (c) some specific lineages with which one's own lineage stands in a relationship of traditional exchange of representatives of the dead;[1] or (d) actual representatives of the dead, who preferentially should be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages.

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[1] this is a theoretical supposition, since no Bororo can give any concrete example of this kind.

101 be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages. But whatever the correct interpretation is, if in fact there is one, the people of one's own moiety and those from the other one will all be merged in the term paobe (first person plural inclusive) when contrasting the Bororo to civilized people or some other Indian tribe.

*601 In addition to genealogically specified kin-types, any
561 Bororo, if necessary, may be designated by a kinship term:
562

imana ("a man's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

ivuri ("a woman's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iyedaga ("grandfather"): Any imana or ivuri who is knowledgeable or quite old.

ituye ("older sister"): Any woman of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iviye ("younger sister"): Any person of the same moiety who is younger than Ego.

iyoqwa ("father"): Any man of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any man, regardless of his age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

imarugo ("grandmother"): Any woman of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any woman, regardless of her age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

itonaregedu ("child"): Any person of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego and does not belong

*601 to Ego's father's clan.

561 562 ivagedu ("grandson"): Any man of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego iyedaga. Any man of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

irago ("granddaughter"): Any woman of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego iyedaga. Any woman of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

*601 82 A further extragenealogical extension of kinship terms includes all the world. All plants, animals, rivers, mountains, stars, and even spirits are conceived as connected to a particular clan or subclan. How these connections became established differs from case to case. Some animals were already part of a certain clan in mythical times when there was not yet a difference between animals and people. Some other items were seen for the first time by a member of a specific clan. For many others the Bororo do not know to whom they belong. However they have no doubt that everything belongs to somebody, and if they do not know it, it is because today the knowledge of the people is limited. Any such item, if connected with one's own clan, or, by extension, with any clan of one's moiety, will be considered the person's grandfather or grandmother. If it is connected with one's father's clan, or, by extension, with any clan of the opposite moiety,

*601 it will be considered the person's father or grandmother.
82 If a Bororo killed a bird and brought it into the village, it is quite common to hear another Bororo jokingly tell the hunter: "Alas! You killed my poor little grandfather" (Aru! Ichare are iyedaga pega-rogu bitto).

*601 Change of Kinship Terms on the Occasion of Death
768 Another important transfer of terms is connected with
616 funeral ceremonies. On this occasion, the terms that are normally used only for people of one's own moiety are extended to the people of the other moiety. Every person who dies must have a living mother who will continue to take care of him, cooking for him the food for the festive "meal of the spirits" which takes place in the plaza of the village.
[765] If the true mother is already dead, some other woman of her lineage will take her place and the new mother will be called "mother" by all the people who slash themselves to express their sorrow, without regard to whether they are from one or the other moiety. The husband of this woman will be called "father." Thus somebody may acquire a "mother" of the other moiety and a "father" who was a "brother" before that. The new terms are used both referentially and vocatively and the previous designations are dropped. Every person who dies should also have his living representative chosen from the male members of the opposite moiety. This man will take the place of the dead person within the lineage, and he will be addressed by the kinsmen of the dead person by the same term they used for the dead. Necessary adjustments are made for

*601 768 616 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.

Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 533 765 195 A different set of terms, which are considered more poetic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:

* 601	ikimamomo	is substituted for		iyedaga
533	ikimado	"	"	" imarugo
765	itare	"	"	" iyogwa and itoredu
195	itaredo	"	"	" imuga and itoreduje
	imana aredu	"	"	" ituye
	inokori	"	"	" iyiye imedu
	inokorodo	"	"	" iyiye aredu
	ikiwainogo	"	"	" iyagedu
	ikiwainogorodo	"	"	" irago

iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore (all in plural) are substituted for any or all dead relatives as a group.

We see again, as was the case in the preceding paragraph, that husband and father and wife and mother are classified together. The terms iyuri and imana remain unchanged when used in songs or crying, while there is confusion on how itonaregedu should be called. Some informants (women) say that they should be called in the same way younger siblings are (inokori or inokorodo), but others (also women) maintain that they should be called as older siblings are (iyuri, imana, imana aredu). Both of these assertions are denied by male informants who maintain that one's children should be classified under the general terms used for any dead person (iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore.)

Use of Kin Terms in Joking

*601 522 One of the most frequent ways of joking among the Bororo is to use kin terms for unrelated persons, pretending that they are related. Most of the time in doing so the speaker implies that between him and the addressee there exists the kind of social relationship that is usually connoted by the [601] relevant kinship term. For example, inodowu, one's sister's husband, is not supposed to refuse any request of his brothers'in-law. Therefore, sometimes a Bororo asking for an object will say, "inodowu, give me that ...." The other, most of the times will answer, "I am not your sister's husband (akodowu). You do not have either an older sister (atuye), nor a younger one (aviye) that I could marry." But if the man who made the request is a powerful man things can go differently. There is a story about a strong man who went from one village to another calling everybody on his way inodowu. However, nobody objected to being called in this way because nobody dared--they were much too afraid of him.

At some other times the Bororo use kinship terms in an ironical or mocking sense. Parents will call a man flirting with their daughter ivagedu ("son-in-law"). A woman will address her brother's sweetheart as irago ("daughter-in-law"), and a man will address his sister's suitor as inodowu ("brother-in-law"). The women, speaking among themselves, will refer to the most successful lover of the village as chedoredu --our husband.

*601 To a man who is making love to a woman in mourning his
522 companions will say: "Stay away from her, she is our "little
[765] mother," our "poor-little mother." After the hunt, it is a
[224] duty of the "ceremonial father" to carry the game to his wife ("the mother") who has to cook it for the "meal of the spirits." If, for some reason, the "father" did not join the hunt, this will provoke many jokes and comments from the other hunters. They will say, "Our father did not come, but we have here another 'our father' who will carry the meat," alluding to the sexual relations between this other man and "the mother." If the woman had many affairs in the past, which is quite usual among the Bororo, each man in his turn will deny being the most qualified "father" pointing to somebody else as the one who should carry the meat.

Conclusion

*601 When one arrives in the field he is immediately con-
114 fronted both with a complicated set of relations and with different systems crosscutting each other. At this point all ideas about an ordered conceptual universe appear to be nonsense. It seemed to me that the Bororo were also confused, but ignored the contradictions and pretended that things were clear and simple. I tried to construct full genealogies but
551 did not succeed. For one the Bororo avoid uttering the names of dead people, and if persuaded to produce them, another difficulty arises. Everyone at birth receives several names and during his life he acquires many new ones. A good hunter about forty-five years old had fifty different names. Some

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

*601 114 124 same term that she used for them, all those traced through father were divided in two groups according to sex. The informant again overgeneralized some particular rules. Mother and child had different terms for mother's father (iyogwa and iyedaga respectively) except in the system of address where he was called iyogwa by both. Female Ego and her mother will call mother's brother's daughter and son by the same terms (irago and iyagedu), but male Ego will call them itonaregedu. Of the terms traced through father, father's father and father's father's brother did not fit into my informant's theory, they were called iyedaga instead of iyogwa.

Another informant used to construct sets of terms based on relative age, and to attribute these sets to various genealogical positions. The longest set he proposed was the following:

mother's sister younger than Ego:	iviye
mother's sister younger than mother:	ituye
mother's sister older than mother:	imuga
mother's sister much older than mother:	imarugo

This set also does not predict classification without error. ituye in addition to being younger than mother should also be older than Ego. Only the mother's sister who assumes all the mother's responsibilities in relation to Ego will be called imuga. She can be older or younger than Ego's own mother. Finally, the only mother's sister who will be called imarugo is the one who proposed Ego's name, regardless of her age.

The Bororo made all these errors in theoretically dis-

*601 cussing how some kin-types should be designated, or the pro-
114 cedure of finding out how to designate it. In practice they
124 made no mistakes, and they would explain any unusual appli-
cations of terms by some other system connected with death,
naming, and so on. The native theories about how the system
works have been of great help in the analysis of the Bororo
referential system presented above, but I cannot say that the
analysis is "psychologically valid."

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter VI

BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121 In discussing the sociology of kinship, a major problem is to determine the order in which the material should be presented. Relations within the family, the developmental cycle, the different social groups, marriage, residence--all of these, and still other subjects, can be meaningfully understood only in the light they throw on each other. To achieve this it would be necessary to make some kind of simultaneous total presentation. The requirements imposed by narrative preclude this. One is forced to choose, and to proceed through one door when many are open, always with doubt and a feeling that another way might have been more profitable. One tries to be as little repetitive as possible, yet one has to go back to the starting point over and over again in an effort to preserve some quality of unity.
128 One is confronted with still another pair of choices: whether to start with the general conceptual system and then pass to its realizations, or whether to start with particular social facts and to slowly construct out of them a picture of the whole. I will attempt to proceed in the latter manner, not because I think it is in any way better than the other, but I hope it will convey some of the processes that the ethnographer goes through in trying to make sense out of data.

The first matter to be discussed is the Bororo point of

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[272] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
[553] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Birth

842 A child may have many fathers. Any man who has had sexual relations with the child's mother before or during pregnancy is considered one of the genitors, and is designated a "father" of the child. Both father (or fathers) and mother are equally responsible for the physical and mental characteristics of the child. Often the Bororo make comments about children saying that they are pretty or ugly, good or bad, some taking after their father, some after their mother. Different characteristics may have been taken from different fathers. As the chief of the village where I worked once told me: "I had two fathers, from the first I received my stature, and that is why I am so short. From my second father I received my heart." His second father had been a big chief and a knowledgeable man from whom he had learned the traditions and songs of the tribe. For the Bororo there is no such thing as a fatherless child. Everyone has a father, and the more fathers one has the better it [115] is for him. The knowledge of my informant was great because, as the Bororo explained to me, he was the son of the village wanton. Therefore all his fathers, all the men from the opposite moiety, taught him songs and stories. It is the duty 59B *60 of the child's mother to inform the boy or the girl when grown up enough to understand who his biological fathers are, and to teach him the kinship terms he should use for them and for their brothers, mothers and sisters.

000 Even now the ideal marriage is one contracted between a

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[841 846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224 duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
261] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
276
515] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
593 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
827 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
846 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility.

After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[826 only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291 white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
292]

593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
[854] this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
[856] speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of conti-
[307] nence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
* [601] attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother
842 is terminologically expressed by the category imuga ("moth-
* 601 er"), of which the only member is one's own mother.

Marriage

582 Ideally, marriage should be contracted with some of the lineages from the opposite moiety which are in yorubodare
[178] relationship ("alliance") to one's own lineage. Though, because of depopulation, this is rarely the case today, the Bororo are still proud when they can say: I mugu paga karegure, itoreduje apore imugure, ikoge, ivire, tadare imugure which can be translated, "I do not live in this place (his wife's house) just by chance. I stay with my wife, I
104 stay among my spouses." It is difficult to render into English the Bororo paga which I translated "by chance." (The Brazilians have the adverb "a toa" that renders it better. This adverb is used very much by the Bororo when they speak Portuguese.) The sentence means that the man is married ac-
582 cording to tradition. In saying "I stay with my wife," the Bororo means to say, "I stay with a woman who, by prescription, should be my wife." Every story which describes the establishment of special relationship between two clans by virtue of some gift has the same conclusion "... and so he made them his yorubodare ("allié"), his husbands, and his wives" (Oinore ure uyorubodaredo, ukogedo, uviredo apo).

585 A marriage ceremony is very simple. The mother of the girl brings food to the house of the boy, and, if he accepts the offer, he will eat the food (Colbacchini and Albisetti

585 1942: 39). If a child marriage is to be contracted, the
[304] girl's family will ask her future husband, instead of her
[224] brother, to pierce her ear lobes. A more elaborate ceremony is performed when the girl is given as a wife to the hunter who has killed a jaguar for some of her dead brothers. In this case, however, she is only one of the gifts that are given to him in exchange for the jaguar skin. The other gifts, bow and arrows and poari (a musical instrument) are obligatory. Of particular interest for us is the speech that one of the girl's brothers makes when he delivers her to the hunter. He says:

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> "This is your wife, stay with her. This is the place for your bow, for your arrow. Here is the place for you to eat nokodu, noa, noidoya, the place for you to eat motore and honey. Here your ruwobo, your aria, your pori (different kinds of containers) are waiting for your fish, for your game. Here you will eat nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu. You should look after this girl, take care of her, so that she will make kodo as your mat, beto as your blanket. She will make the basket where your arrows will stay. She will wash you and give you to drink. She will go to meet you when you come back from fishing or from the hunt, when you come back from the woods or the hills. You do not have a mother, older sister, or younger sister anymore. This girl will be your mother, your older sister, your younger sister. You should treat her with care. Do not scare her when she goes to get water, when she goes to get firewood. Do not scare her when she is eating fish or when she is eating meat. You should defend her from other bad women, from the things she is afraid of. Do not scare her. You will be her mother, her father, her brother, and she will love you with all her heart."[1]

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[1] Akoredujereo, awudo apore amugure, atugo pare, awoiga pare, ake nokodu, noa, noidoya jetareo, ake motore jetareo, ake miyawoe gigodugedu jetareo. Woere aruwobo, akaria, apori jeture ako karo togi, ako barogo togi. Woere a mode nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu kowuje, woe. Awudojire aeture

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand
593 against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
[835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
[522] tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
[578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
593 affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
[539] uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her moth-
[614] er's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is consid-ered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

593 837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
836 602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though
587 606 the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him
[585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but
[43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage,
582 593 there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by
591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[596] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent; where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equivalence rule, which were required to account for the kinship system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fraternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers" are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and their wives.

their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on marriage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual relations with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father. It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
862 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished an- [533] cestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

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[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names—the names of the clans—and clanic names—personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

[553] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
[302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
[301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
[535] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
[534] child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
[302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
[301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
[237] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him
[533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
[301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
[302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
[533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
[304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] [2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [533] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [201] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere- [723] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi roqu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

553 this statement, but if we look at the lineage structure and ideology, things become clearer. For example: Kaigu was the founder of one lineage in the clan of Bokodori Echerae. He had many names, but the one used most often was Kaigu. Theoretically he should have transmitted five or six of his clanic names to his nephew, the first born son of his eldest sister (utuye boetojiwudo onaregedu imedu boetojiwu: lit., "his older sister/ the first born one/ her child/ the first born one"). When Kaigu became old he left it to his nephew to perform most of the ceremonial duties, and when he died his nephew became the head of the lineage. He inherited all the rights, the duties, the place of the house in the village, and the names of the dead Kaigu. Then he is Kaigu,
827 he has a nephew, and the story repeats itself. Any living Bororo is considered to be not only the descendant of a long line of ancestors but also identical to all of them. When I wondered about some contradictory deeds ascribed to the great chief Baitogogo in the myths, my informant explained to me that there were many Baitogogo: one did this, the other did that. On another day, when I did not understand the name of a particular hero mentioned in the myth, he pointed at a man passing by and said, "He did it!" For the passerby had the same name as the hero. Thus conceptually the Bororo consider themselves equivalent to their matrilineal ancestors.

553 Today, as the Bororo population is dying out, occasion-
178 ally a child does not have any classificatory brother from

553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other
[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to
* [601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called iyedaga, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That
613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father
582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

582 among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a per-
613 son might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's
881 yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen
[827] from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

881 While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of
[585] mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full anal-
[114] ysis cannot be given here. A good description of the cere-
mony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I,
[178] pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the vil-
lages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned
[563] it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[776] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

881 reciprocal, he will be called iyorubodare by them. The only
+601 exception occurs if the initiator is a brother of the boy's true father; then the boy will call his father's mother imarugo, grandmother.

881 When delivering the boy to the initiator, the boy's
539 brother says, "This is your wife (akoreduje); together with him you will cut marido; together with him you will go to get the palm leaves in the forest; with him you will clean the village plaza and Aije muga; you will make a road for mano; with him you will open a path through the bushes, in front of the others carrying their bows and nets; with him
824 you will kill game and fish."[1] (Marido is the plant the Bororo use in making a big wheel, also called marido, with which they dance during a ceremony of the same name. The palm leaves mentioned are those which the Bororo men use to make a fence around the dancing ground during certain cere-
796 monies forbidden to women. Aije muga is the place where the Aije, the bull-roarers, are hidden, where many of the cere-monies have their starting point, and where the actors in these ceremonies are adorned and furnished with the necessary
824 paraphernalia. Mano is another wheel of palm leaves that the Bororo carry in a race on a long road leading to the village.

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[1] "Akoredujereo, awu apore are mano kora ta, awu apore are keo kora ta, awu apore ature bai kae, awu apore ature kaidaga kae, awu apore are bororo akudo, awu apore Aije muga akudo. Awu apore are mano koda to, awu apore are awure jodo ipo, iwora paru keje, tuge, boiga, buke, boari otodai."

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 men is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226
264 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will of the others.)

881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
593 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

881 complete the boy's education. They will be together all the
868 time, and the boy, through observation and instruction, will learn the tasks required of an adult Bororo man.

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their un-
[881] married children. After initiation the sons move into the
[422] men's house, but all their belongings remain in their moth-
[264] er's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their
[582] natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their
[591] mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind,
596 in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman
[264] cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared.
596 They also help each other care for the children. If a woman
855 is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

596 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and
855 even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family, he can move his family to another village. This movement of the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people but does not affect the structure of the new group, which will be very much like the one left behind. The man will live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will de-
591 pend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's
596 mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom occur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women, the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing. The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that her children will be looked after when she goes into the woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she received from her mother.

593 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the
461 fields to do some work together that would be difficult for a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the extraction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a
593 couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man,
484 his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

593 success from the economic point of view, but what is more
484 important seems to be the pleasure that the couple derive from being alone, away from their families, and free from continuous observation of the rules of public conduct.

593 There are advantages in having brothers and sisters:
[578] the brothers will be a support during quarrels, and the sis-
[431] ters will send their siblings gifts of food, part of what they collect in the woods, or pieces of the game their hus-
[607] bands kill. A man will receive food from his brother's wife if he does not have any closer relative. On the other hand, a man finds some disadvantages in having many brothers: the competition in asserting oneself in ceremonies is much stronger, especially if the knowledge and ability of the brothers is comparable. There will be a lot of tension and envy among ambitious brothers in competing for the honor of being called on as a performer by the yorubodare lineage
593 from the other moiety. A wife who has many brothers can
607 also be a handicap. One will have to hunt and fish not only for the wife's mother and father, but he will have to send part of the food to her brothers too. They may frequently come to ask for ornaments and artifacts, for hunting and fishing tools, all of which the husband is supposed to give to his brothers-in-law without showing any sign of dissatisfaction. He cannot even ask for recompence, mori, as he would do with anybody else, because, as the Bororo say, "he is living with his compensation" (mori tabo rugaduye tumugure oino kodi)—with the sister that they have given him in marriage.

855 Bororo fathers and mothers are very affectionate and
868 patient with their children. Both parents teach the child how to talk, and when the child grows up and starts asking questions, they try to explain everything they are asked.
603 The method of education is by advice and persuasion. In
868 the village where I worked, a three-year-old girl once was crying and screaming loudly at her grandmother. The women seemed not to pay too much attention to her behavior and kept talking gently to her, saying that she should not be angry with her grandparents because they were not maltreat- her; they were teaching her so she would know how to do things and would behave correctly; that when she grew up she would go to collect ako (one kind of nut) and pick ari, boko, and jatugo (fruits of the forest); that for these
855 reasons they were talking to her. Sometimes, however, the
861 Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals, owls or wolves, will come and eat their sexual organs. Very seldom is a child beaten; when it happens, it is only for special transgressions. Only once did I see a mother strike her daughter with a stick. She had found the child eating clay, and the child had been previously warned several times not to do it. The children are never forced to do something they do not want to do. A mother can ask her young daughter to go to the spring to get some water, but if the girl says itaidu kare--"I do not want to do it"--the mother will take the container and go to the spring herself.

868 At three or four years of age a girl will start to play
562 with small baskets, straw trays, and fans that her mother

868 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with
562 small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as
868 adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is
[622] his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

868 If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he
829 is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be
593 like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will will die but you will be here in his place, you will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With this in mind he instructed you in all these things.

But suppose you do not listen to your father's

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words. He wants to teach you but you do not care and as a consequence you remain ignorant. The people will say, "It may be that his father was ignorant, and because of this he does not know anything." I know things and thus the people do not gossip about my father. People say about me, "With him is his father's knowledge and reason."

Another example. The people do not quarrel with your father or with your mother, nor do they quarrel with you; they will say, "Yes, he is the true child of his parents, he is just like they are." But if you fight and quarrel with people, they will say: "He is not the child of his parents; they are different."

However, if your father does not know things, you will kill some animal, you will catch some fish, and you will give them to someone who knows things, and he will teach you. The people will then say, "The father is no good, and yet his son speaks so well. He is not stingy with meat and fish and feathers. He is knowledgeable, because he is not stingy. So after having been an orphan, he is not an orphan anymore."[1]

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1 Ao yoruduwa rakã-guragare, boe eimejerare aoche. Jorudu iwa rakã-guragare toro. Du tabore ichare ure awodudo. Kodire aidure awo nono turyeore. Aerudu iwawo tuyorudu iwa rakã-guraga du uryeore. Rudumi tu vi mode ma aki akagurure tumugato kodi. Akiwo boe eimejerare aki tumugato. Kodire ure aerudu iwado tumearudae jamẽdu boeji. Oino.

Mare aki amearu toru kare ao boe eimejera bataruji. Aidure aerudu iwado, mare amearu toru kare bataruji. Kodire ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Kodire boe egore: 'ao rabora yoruduwa bokware kodiba ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Oino. Imire paga karega iyorudu iware oino. Kodire boe emago kare toro iyogwaji. Boe egore apore uwo jorudae, mearudae meture. Iya pugeje. Boe kori kare aoji, acheji. Du boe kori kare ai, arugodu kare, ako ki kare. Du boe ego mode: 'u, onaregedu rugadu rabode. Kodire ichare ure nono tuje, tuwo uryeore. Iya keje ao pega kare, ache pega kare, akire ichare apegare. Boe kori barikare ai, arugodu kigodure, ako ki kigodure boei. Ao, ache onaregedu karega ure aki kodi. Aore tuginoi.

Mare ao yorudu iwa bokwa iya boeji, mare nonore ure. Kodire a mode iya karo, iya barogo a mode bito. Du a mode iya rogu maku t jorudu iwarewu mearudu iwarewu ai. Du tabore ichare u mode aerudu iwado. Du tabore boe ego mode: 'Uwo pega, jorudu iwa bokwa kodi karega, akore oino. Mare jetori kare t iya ture bitowu karo, barogo, nabure kuido ikodo aro

597 When a child loses his parents, he is not left alone. Usually one of his mother's true or classificatory sisters or his father's true mother or sister will take care of him.
737 Old or disabled persons also can count on a large range of
736 relatives for some help and food. In Pobojari there was a blind man living in the men's house. When the "meal of the spirits" was held, his pots and pans were filled up so that he would have enough food for the next day. Normally eight women of the village saw to it that he was not without food. The man was a classificatory brother to three of the women. He was the mother's brother (a "brother") to an unmarried girl who was also an orphan and was living with her father's sister. She did not have food of her own, but she made a fire for the blind man when it was cold, and occasionally she washed his dishes. To another of the three women he was "father's son" (uwo onaregedu), and to the third he was "father's brother's son" (uwo umana onaregedu). Two other women addressed him as "grandfather" (iyedaga): he was "husband's brother" (oredu umana) to one and "husband's father's son" (Oredu uwo onaregedu) to the other. Still another called him "father" (iyogwa). He was "father's brother" (uwo uviye) to her. Finally there were two women who considered themselves his "mother." Each had taken the role of mother for different dead belonging to the same

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[869] bu keje, kodire ichare jorudu iware oino, jetori bokware kodi.
[829] Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje.
[593] Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"

73/ clan, Paiwoe, of the blind man. This role is usually filled by the mother of the deceased or, if she is already dead, by the sister of the deceased. But there were no Paiwoe women left. Two women had to become "mothers" of a clan other than their own, and they consequently acquired responsibilities for the children of that clan.

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member 614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of broth- [604] ers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) [613] and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, 616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had 621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the 613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

613 lineages have in contemporary Bororo rituals, and it is expressed in terms of seniority. Ki Bakororo is said to be the [796] older brother, the two others the younger brothers. Each of lineages (brothers) has to perform different functions in certain ceremonies, and the ancestral brothers have their own distinct personalities in the myths. However, the Bororo affirm that the three terms are only three different names of the same person: Ki Bakororo. He also has many other names, but these three are his most important ones. There is a way of reconciling these seemingly contradictory statements. Table VIII diagrams relationships which accommodate both of the above interpretations.

613 553 Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari are hierarchically ordered fraternal lineages. By the act of naming, every man and his mother's brother are equivalent: Ki Bakororo is equivalent to his mother's brother Ki Bakororo; Badajeba Kudoro is equivalent to his mother's brother Badajeba Kudoro; and Jakorari to his mother's brother Jakorari. 613 If we go far enough, we arrive at their common mother's 553 brother, who, by the naming act, is equivalent to all three 173 lineages: to Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. Thus the Bororo can logically say that the three names are only different names of the same person. The principal name of this person was Ki Bakororo, and this was the name that his eldest sister's son inherited from him. The name then continued to be used as the name of the principal lineage within the subclan by Ki Bakororo's matrilineal descendants.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

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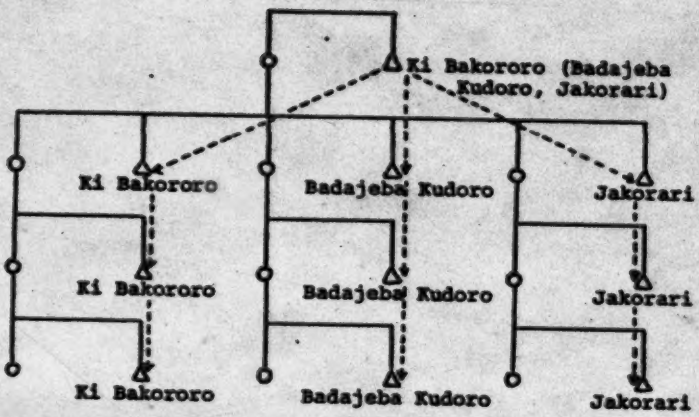
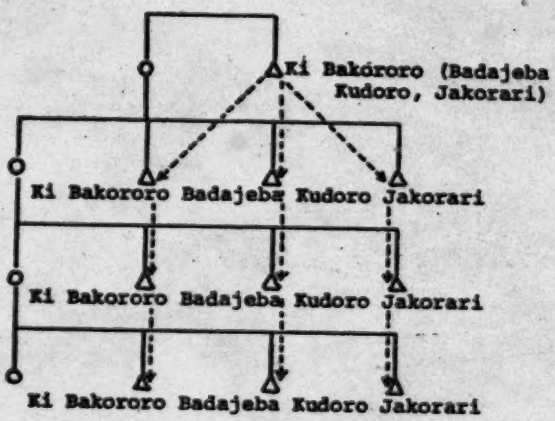
Table VIII





The broken lines represent name-giving relationships and the arrows indicate the direction from name-giver to name-receiver

613 It is not known if the other two names, Badajeba Kudoro and
553 Jakorari, were actually used by the original Ki Bakororo, but
173 this is not important. It may have happened that ten generations after the original Ki Bakororo, two of his descendants with the nicknames of Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari made themselves famous and established their own separate lineages. But the relationship of equivalence is not directional, so the names Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are retroactive, and the Bororo can say that Ki Bakororo is Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari.

181 Western anthropologists may consider themselves structuralists, but they still sometimes need historical explanations to understand better the structure of a system. The Bororo do not have this historical bias; their view of the world is entirely structural. We have already seen evidence of this world view in the symmetry of relationships between father and son and husband and wife and in the relationship of equivalence between a man and his name-giver; now it is evident in the hierarchical relationship among brothers who are "really the same person."

000 Ki Bakororo could be considered the unmarked term of this set, while Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are marked. In this specific example, Badajeba Kudoro is also considered the unmarked member in opposition to Jakorari, because Badajeba Kudoro is his older brother, and the relationship is transitive.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

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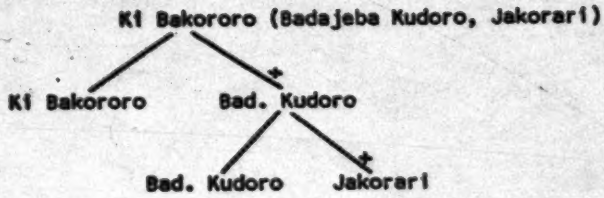

Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

593 However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be
593 substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to
597 have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who
553 named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (ere mitotuje, "they are just one"; e kare tuginoi, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

593 like to stress that <u>they</u> <u>are</u> <u>not</u> <u>really</u> the same person:
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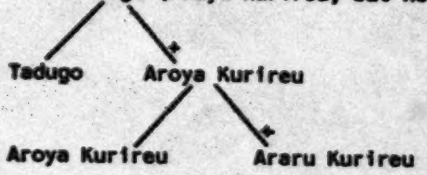

613 The Bororo also express the relation between two lin-
829 eages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother—younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:

Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation—employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense—gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

551 613 personal names, but some personal names may have never been used as lineage names; and, finally, new names also can be made up by combining elements already existing. For example, marido is the buriti palm. It is also a big wheel used in the ceremony of the same name, and is made of cut pieces of an aquatic plant. It belongs to the clan Ivagududoge. The Bororo say: "Marido is the grandfather, the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Marido is their name, they sing about it in their clan songs and in the opening songs of their ceremonies." (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare, eparuyare oino maridoche.) Now, there are a great number of names which are made by adding some specification to the word marido:

1. Marido Aya
2. " Akadu
3. " Akiri
4. " Atugo
5. " Bororo
6. " Ekureu
7. " Jiwu
8. " Kaworu
9. " Kujaka
10. " Kurireu
11. " Mugu
12. " Okwa akiri
13. " Okwoda

551 14. Marido Paradu
613 15. " Ukiga

Of these fifteen personal names, eight (1,2,3,4,7,10, 12,13) have been recorded on several occasions as lineage names. Some of them (8,9,10) belong only to the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge (Older Brothers); others (2,4,5,6,7, 11,12,14,15) belong only to the subclan of the Red Ivagudu-doge (Younger Brothers); and alternative classification was recorded for 1,3, and 13.

614 Another item belonging to the clan Ivagududoge is the
551 spirit Jakomea. Twenty-two different specifications have been recorded for the name Jakomea. Nine of them were the same as those used for Marido: akadu, akiri, atugo, ekureu, jiwu, kaworu, kurireu, mugu, okwoda. We see that the Bororo can form a large number of names by adding various specifications to the name of an item which belongs to one clan. Some of these specifications are always connected with the more important subclan (Black, Older Brothers): kurireu, choreu, kaworu, are. Others are connected with the less important subclan (Red, Younger Brothers): ekureu, enawu, kuguri, oro, kujagureu, akadu. Still others, akiri, atugo, okwoda, may be used by either of the subclans, or, on some occasions, by only one of them. Which subclan will use the names cannot be predicted because some items could have been seen first by the Blacks, others by the Reds.

As we have seen, most of the names are formed in this way: Jakomea Akadu, Jakomea Akiri, Jakomea Atugo, etc., and Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc.

613 Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc. But there are
551 other names more specifically connected with particular lineages. For example, Tadugo, the name of one of the lineages of the Black Ivagududoge, cannot be provided with specifications and cannot be given to members of another lineage. Another name reserved to the members of the Tadugo lineage is Tore Ebowu, "the one who went with his sons" (in the name is an allusion to a very important Bororo myth). Other important lineages have long lists of exclusive names. For example, Mamuyawuge Echeba, a lineage of the clan Badajebage Chobugiwuge, is the owner of the following names: Bakugu Kuri, Echera Baru, Eigawa Are, Eigawa Enawureu, Ekoe Choreu, Ekoe Ekudu, Enogureu, Ka Iwara, Mamori Ekureu, Mamori Kurireu, Mamori Ore, Okoge Paiwareu, Paiwareu, Pariko Ekureu, Turugudu Pijiwu, and perhaps many others. Some names are exclusive to a particular lineage only when formed with a particular specification. For example, the name Aroya Kurireu is exclusive to one lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge, while the names Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo, and Aroya Ekureu can belong to a member of a lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge or to a member of the subclan Red Ivagududoge.

613 The list actually recorded for the clan Ivagududoge in-
614 cludes about 250 names. Adding up all the names reported by other authors (Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 441-446; Cruz, 1939: 1941; Horta Barbosa in Rondon, 1948: 8-10) and excluding all repetitions results in a total of 191 names. To this number should be added 60

613 more names which I recorded. The number of actual lineages
614 is much smaller. Horta Barbosa reports 37 lineages, while three of my informants for the same clan of Ivagududoge have specified 77, 32, and 24 lineages respectively.

613 However, the number of lineages considered important (e.g., lineages which are essential to the continuity of ceremonial life) by any one of my informants is much smaller. In Table IX are reported the names of the Ivagududoge lineages as I recorded them on eight different occasions from seven different informants. Columns 3 and 4 were given by the same man on two different occasions. Column 3 was supplied upon request. The names listed in column 4 were mentioned as part of a myth in which the lineages of the clan Ivagududoge are reestablished after a big flood which left only one Bororo alive. The places assigned to the two lineages and their similar forms show that the Bororo consider Jakomea Atugo and Jakomea Atugodojeba as one lineage, or at least as two lineages so close to each other that it is not necessary to mention both of them at the same time. The same thing happens with Koge Ebowu and Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The table shows that each person mentioned between five and twelve lineages as the important ones. In all, twenty-four lineages were mentioned, but only five of them were reported by every person. There are very few differences in the order of placement of these five important lineages. The two informants (No. 7 and 8) who put Jakomea Atugo before Butore Agadu were brothers, and since both of them included in the

[Text Continued On Page 120]

613 list some names that nobody else did, we must suppose that their family tradition was a little different from the rest of the community. The placement of Koge (Enogwa) Tabowu is very interesting. Some included it among the Red Ivagududoge, others among the Black, and one said that it was neither Red nor Black, it was in between: boyadadawu. Thus, the members of this lineage can choose their ornaments and songs from either of the subclans.

I did the same kind of analysis for the other clans, and the result was the following list (Table X) of the most im-
[124] portant Bororo lineages. It should be noted that no informant would give the same list, but the majority of them would include all of the lineages mentioned in the list.[1]

[128] [622] The order given to the lineages around the village circle (see table XI) follows the Bororo usage; and I started with Badajebage Chebegiwuge because this is the order followed by the chief in calling out clan members for the evening meeting on the village plaza. But when they talk about lineages or when they sing clan songs, the Bororo may start with whatever lineage or clan they prefer and then proceed either clockwise or counterclockwise until they have

[Text Continued On Page 123]

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[1] When I concluded my analysis and made the list, I asked
[115] [128] my wife, whose primary interest in the field had not been Bororo social organization, to tell me the names of the lineages she considered to be most important. She mentioned 24 of them, all included in the list, leaving out Kurugugwari Pijiwu and Aturua. This shows how much these important lineages are part of the Bororo daily talk.

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Table X

Lineage:	Subclan:	Clan:	Moiety:
1. Arua	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Echerae
2. Bahorokudu			
3. Ocha Endurou	Echerae		
4. Badajeba Eudoro	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Kiye	
5. Ki Bahororo			
6. Jakorari			
7. Kuruguwari Pijiwu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge		
8. Inokuri	Chebegiwuge	Bokodori Echerae	
9. Kaigu	Chobugiwuge		
10. Mamuyawuge Echeba	Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
11. Bokwareho			
12. Akaruyo Bokodori			
13. Jerigi Otojiwu	O-Boro Echerae		
14. Aturua	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Paiwoe	Tugarege
15. Baiporo	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
16. Apuye Echeba	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Apiborege	
17. Kuruguwa			
18. Boroge	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
19. Baitogoço	Chobugiwuge, Choreuge	Aroroe	
20. Birimodo			
21. Butore Agadu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Ivagudodoge	
22. Jakomea Atugodojeba			
23. Koge Enogwa Tabovu			
24. Aroya Kurirou	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
25. Tadugo			
26. Mano Kurirou	Chebegiwuge, Kujagureuge	Aroroe	

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
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Table XI

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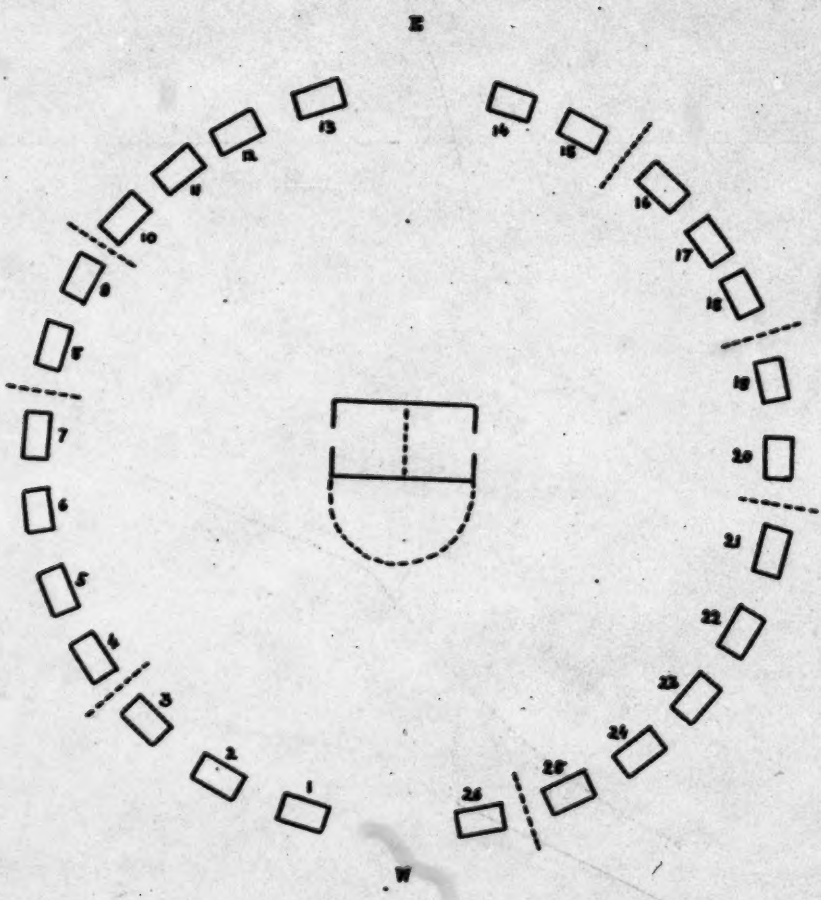

613 made a complete circle. I did not find that one direction was preferred over the other. But whatever their starting point was, and whichever direction they took, they would complete the circle rather than make two opposite semicircles.

Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu may be considered separated lineages of closely related brothers. But, while most of the informants in the similar case of Ki Bakororo, Jakorari, and Badajeba Kudoro would enumerate all three of them, the informants in the case of Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu would say only one of the names, the one they preferred. And if asked about the other two names, they would say that those too are the same lineage as the first one. Following this usage, I put all of those names under one lineage.

Clan and Moiety

000 We now approach one of the most interesting and most discussed aspects of Bororo social organization, that is, the village plan and the division into moieties, clans, and sub-
616 clans. Two exogamous moieties are divided by an east-west axis. On the northern side are the Tugarege, on the southern the Echerae, Because of the lay of the land which the Bororo inhabit, east is at the same time upstream, and west
614 is downstream. In each moiety there are four clans arranged in a circle. As can be seen from the list on page 121, I did not find each clan to be divided into three subclans: upper, middle, and lower, as has been reported by others (Albisetti & Venturelli, 1962: 437; Crocker, 1969: 45). In my diagram

614 each clan is divided into two subclans, and the terms used
[823] for the subclans are not the same in each case. Some subclans are termed chobugiwu (upstream), some chebegiwu (downstream). And, at the same time, some of them are called choreu (black), or kujagureu (red). One lineage (Koge Enogwa Tabowu) belongs to both the red and black subclans, and four subclans are designated by special terms. These inconsistencies in the designation of subclans reproduce the way in which the Bororo talk about their subclans.

614 The relationship between the subclans within a clan is
829 regarded as being that between older and younger brothers. One of the subclans is called Etumanamage (Older Brothers); the alternative names for Older Brothers are Choreu (Black) and Kurireu (Big). The other subclan is called Etuviyemage (Younger Brothers), with Kujagureu (Red) or Kugurireu (Small) being alternative names for Younger Brothers.

614 This division does not correspond to the division of
823 the two subclans in chobugiwuge (upstream) and chebegiwuge
829 (downstream), which is solely related to the position of each subclan toward the flow of the river. The choreuge can be downstream and the kujagureuge upstream, as among the Kiye, Paiwoe, Apiborege, and Ivagududoge; but their position can be the reverse, as among the Aroroe. Being downstream or upstream in itself does not say anything about the importance of the subclan. Besides, the terms chobugiwuge and chebegiwuge can be used to indicate the relative position of units in other contexts. Within each subclan one

614 lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage,
823 which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one.
829 The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

613 The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied
614 similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu
613 within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned—and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important—they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[1] A few informants would object to this statement. They
[775] say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

613 There is still another context in which the Bororo use
571 the term boyadadawu, and in this case the term is used interchangeably with akuge. Akuge is another Bororo word which is difficult to render in English. The closest translation would be the Portuguese "criaçao dêles," their domestic animals, their pets, their foster children. In the present context an appropriate translation would be "their clients." The designation boyadadawu may be applied when a lineage within a clan is of so little importance that the Bororo are reluctant to call it either Black or Red. In this instance the term boyadadawu does not indicate the spatial position of the lineage between the two subclans, but rather it indicates that the lineage is attached to other lineages which can legitimately be considered Black or Red. An exception, however, is the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu, which was designated by one informant as boyadadawu. This lineage can be considered "in the middle" in two ways. It is in the middle between the Black and the Red Ivagududoge, and at the same time it is considered to be geographically the middle of the Tugarege moiety. A comparable lineage in the Echerae moiety is supposed to be a lineage situated between the two subclans of the Bokodori Echerae clan, but the informants do not agree on its name.

614 I will now discuss some clans that present certain pe-
613 culiarities in their subdivision.

The clan Bokodori Echerae is not divided into Blacks and Reds. The Bororo avoid making this division when talking

614 about this clan. In order to understand why, I will first
613 give one of the more complete listings of the lineages within the clan:

Kaigu Magurereu Arigao Kocha Kiogo Birigedo Porireu Imorio Bokodori Akiri Bokodori Baru Barogo Bororo	Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge
Barame Chibae Edugo Koge Edugo Koge Ekureu Koiwo Kuri Echerae Etuviye Inokuri	Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge

Inokuri, the last in the list, is considered to be closely related to Kaigu, Magurereu, and Arigao Kocha, the first three of the list. In relation to them, he is their "younger brother while in relation to the other lineages within his own subclan, he is considered their "older brother" and included together with Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu among the "Older Brothers" (Etumanamage) or the
614 "Big" (Kurireuge). On the other hand, the division of Blacks
613 and Reds is based mainly on the presumed colors of the an-
822 cestors of each subclan and on the color of feathers and paint used for their ornaments in ceremonies. Inokuri and all his akuge ("clients"), Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge, use red feathers and red paint, while the Bokodori Echerae

614 Chebugiwuge use black feathers and black paint.[1] However,
613 it would be quite improper to call Inokuri Red because, as
822 we have already seen, the Reds are identified with Younger Brothers and Small People, and Inokuri is neither of them.
614 Thus, the Bororo evade the problem by applying to the
613 Bokodori Echerae only the topographical designation, and they talk only about upstream and downstream subclans. One of my informants did use the color division, but, when asked for clarification, he said: "The Bororo do not say in this way, but I do" (Boe ego kare ino, mare imire inagore).

Many variations exist in the denominations of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan. These variations are not arbitrary; they occur as alternative designations in different contexts (see Table XII).

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[1] It will be shown later that the color division is relative. When black and red are opposed, black is the color of the older brother and red that of the younger. When red and yellow are in opposition, red is the color of older brother, and yellow that of the younger.

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Table XII

	Set A	Set B	Set C	Set D
Clan "Badajebage Chobugiwuge" or "Bakoro Echerae"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae
Subclan II	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae Enogujeba Echerae
Clan "Badajebage Chebegiwuge"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge	Echerae	Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Subclan II	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
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Set A

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Lineages	Subclans	Clans
Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba) →	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge Badajebage Chobugiwuge ↗	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Bakorokudu (Badajeba) →	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge Badajebage Chebegiwuge ↗	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

The lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and Bakorokudu are considered the badajebage ("formal chiefs") of a Bororo village. Their title, badajeba, is extended to their subclans and to their clans. The division in upstream (chobugi) and downstream (chebegi) distinguishes these subclans and clans from each other. The two remaining subclans have their names derived from their common ancestors o (a variety of heron) and boro (a variety of snail)/ they too are divided into upstream and downstream.

Set B

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Lineages	Subclans	Clans
Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)	O-Boro Echerae Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
	Echerae Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

Set B is the most frequently used in informal references to these two clans and their subclans. In this instance the clans keep the names which designate them as the clans of the "formal chiefs." One of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan, the one to which Akaruyo Bokodori belongs, is called Bakoro Echerae, an alternative name for the Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The Bakorokudu lineage does not have any alternative name, so its subclan continues to be called Badajebage. However, its specification chebegiwuge (downstream) is dropped because it is not needed to distinguish this subclan from its upstream counterpart, which has now a different name. The subclans O-Boro Echerae are distinguished by calling the one upstream by its full name, and the one downstream just Echerae.[1]

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[1] Whether the term Echerae in a particular case designates the whole moiety or just the subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan becomes clear only from the context in which the term is used. It must be stressed that the Bororo do not regard the Echerae subclan as being the Echerae par excellence.

613 Set B is the only one in which there are no polysemic
614 designations. Every term is different. For this reason the Bororo prefer to use terms from this set whenever referring to a particular clan or subclan in isolation.

Set C

Subclans	Clans
Badajebage Chobugiwuge Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge or Bakoro Echerae
Echerae Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

In Set C the name Badajebage Chobugiwuge is implicitly applied to the upstream clan and its subclans. However, to distinguish one subclan from the other, the more important subclan is called Bakoro Echerae from the alternative name for Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The less important subclan, formerly called O-Boro Echerae, keeps the more generalized name Badajebage Chobugiwuge. The name Bakoro Echerae may also be used to designate the clan. The downstream clan and its subclans maintain the names they had in Set B.

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Set D

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Lineages	Subclans	Clans
	O-Boro Echerae	
		Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Akaruyo Bokodori →	Bakoro Echerae	
Hamuyawuge Echeba →	Enogujeba Echerae	
	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
		Badajebage Chebegiwuge
	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	

It should be noted that the Bororo limit the usage of set D to a special occasion, perhaps to avoid any possibility of confusion between the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and that subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan which is also [796] called here Badajebage Chobugiwuge. On the evening before a ceremony the chief formally invites all the clans to participate in the following order:

Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Kiye Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae[1]

Enogujeba Echerae, Bakoro Echerae, O-Boro Echerae

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[1] Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae is alternative name for the Bokodori Echerae clan.

613 Paiwoe, Apiborege[1]
614 Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge
[796] Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge
[361] The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echerae (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Enogujeba Echerae (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

613 The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugi-
614 wuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Che-
571 begiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

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[1] The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
[224] Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
[226] side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
[701] kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
[796] performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
[533] cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

613 and Ocha Kudureu (a lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge
614 clan) was older than Bakorokudu, but the younger brothers
571 outgrew their older brothers, and the Bororo made them chiefs. Because of this, he said, the Bororo do not talk about the subclans of these two clans in the framework of older-younger brother relationship but give them special
183 names. It is my opinion that the function of this disagree-
571 ment is to avoid valuing one kind of activity more than the other. And if both kinds of activity are of equal importance, then the brothers who preside over them also have to be of equal importance.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
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Chapter X

CHARACTERISTIC KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS

114 In a chapter of Tristes Tropiques (1970: 183-231) and
121 in two articles reprinted in Structural Anthropology (1969,
772 "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" pp. 132-163; "Social Structures of Central and Eastern Brazil" pp. 120-131), Lévi-Strauss discusses the dual organization of the Bororo, having found that there are, in fact, two kinds of dual organization, one concentric, the other diametric, and in addition, a triadic structure.

Christopher Crocker saw Bororo society as regulated by two organizational principles: "opposition between members of the same clan, or kinsmen, but solidarity between members of different moieties, or affines" (1969: 44). He continued:

> As I mentioned above, the Bororo consider each clan to possess a distinctive character and to be totally unlike any other clan. Since a single principle of comparison cannot be applied to all the clans, they are non-comparable and cannot be ranked. Monkeys and armadillos are two completely different creatures which contrast in all respects, and it is impossible to speak of one or the other, or of the clans they represent, as 'better,' 'smaller' or uglier.' But one may discuss older and younger monkeys, bigger and smaller armadillows, handsomer and uglier tapirs, and consequently the lineages may be compared and ordered through a hierarchy, or the sub-class be ranked as superior and inferior. The Bororo universe, which includes nature as well as society, expresses two principles of organisation: the inequality of like items related asymmetrically and the equality of unlike items related symmetrically. Such structures, as Bateson pointed out some

114 time ago (1936: 178-97), imply that the units in-
121 volved in the first case exchange dissimilar ob-
772 jects or acts (e.g. obedience for leadership) while those in the second case relate through the exchange of similar or equivalent things (women for women). To establish the validity of this deduction for the Bororo and to relate it to the contradiction mentioned above requires the exposition of another dimension of Bororo normative order, that found in the two origin myths" (1969: 50).

121 There are, however, two other logically possible "prin-
772 ciples of organization:" First, like items could be equal: one monkey could be just as good as another; second, unlike items could be unequal. Although Crocker says that monkeys and armadillos are non-comparable, he then proceeds to compare them by saying that they are equal. If they are comparable then they could also be unequal: tapirs could be better, bigger, or handsomer than monkeys. Thus, there exist four logically possible kinds of relationships:

	inequality ignored	inequality recognized
like items	A	B
unlike items	C	D

772 It is my belief that the structure of the Bororo society
18 rests upon the first three "principles of organization:"

772 181 A. Equality of like items, or the relationships of equivalence,[1]

B. Inequality of like items, or the relationships of proper inequality,

C. Equality of unlike items, or the relationships of symmetrical reciprocity.

I did not find the fourth possibility expressed in the Bororo social structure: inequality of unlike items; though the work of other researchers indicates that certain forms of hierarchical relationships may exist even between moieties (see page 186).

[61] All three kinds of relationships are expressed most clearly through the idiom of kinship, and all three are necessary to understand the Bororo social and cosmological universe. In previous chapters we have already had the opportunity to see some of these relationships at work. In this chapter I will present the case in greater detail.

A. Relationships of Equivalence

593 The first kind of relationship originates in that between a woman and her child, and by successive extensions includes the relationships between sister and brother (≈ child), sis-

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[1] Equality should be distinguished from equivalence. I consider two items to be equal if they have the same value in respect to some attribute (here it is social status). Equivalent items, in addition to having the same value in regard to the relevant attribute, are also like each other and substitutable for each other.

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvegedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 [421] It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the ivagududoge, but the ivagududoge 614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the ivagu- 825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a 827 fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

614 goatsucker), kochaga (rail), okiwareu (mouse), arigaodoge
825 choreuge and kujaqureuge (black and red dogs), Aroya (a
827 spirit), Jakomea (a spirit), butore (a rattle made with peccary hooves), tugo (arrow), Kuyade Tugojiriye (a spirit), maridogwarege (a bird), korao (parrot), kuje (curassow), piodudu (hummingbird), ivagudu (blue crow), and perhaps bokwaru (fog) and pobo (water). Certain lineages of the Ivagududoge are more closely related to particular items:

613 "People say: Mano Kurireu is on the point of kitariga and
825 konorigi" (Boe egore: Mano kurireu emare jeture kitariga
827 otoji, konorigi otoji). That is, Mano Kurireu originated from kitariga (a variety of grasshopper) and konorigi (cicada). Similarly other lineages originated from other species:

"People say that:

Aroya Kurireu	originated	from	itubore mogodoge[1]
Tadugo	"	"	maridogwarege (a bird)
Araru Kurireu	"	"	beto kigadu maerewu (sprout of buriti palm)
Jakomea Kuwada	"	"	kowagije (an insect that lives on the water)
Koge Ebowu	"	"	bapore (a bird)
Jakomea Attugo	"	"	ruye (frog)."

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[1] My informant was not sure about the meaning of itubore mogodoge; he thought that maybe they meant marido (buriti palm) in poetic language.

613 The Bororo are very reluctant to talk about the ances-
827 tors of certain lineages because they are not proud to be the descendants of those ancestors. They are mentioned only in
124 quarrels as an insult. I was able to collect some of these
613 examples only by provoking one of my informants. He was from
827 the Kurugugwa lineage of the Apiborege clan, and I told him that there was a rumor that the true Kurugugwa had died long ago and the present members of the Kurugugwa lineage were just impostors. Furthermore, I said, the Bororo were saying that the Apiborege could not take care of one of their younger brothers, so the Ivagududoge (in which clan I was named) had had mercy upon him and accepted him as one of their own. My informant gave me his theory about what had really happened in this case and then went on to say that my own clan had a lot of things to hide. An example:

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> "Meri defecated on some stones. His feces changed into a goatsucker (mokureabo), nay, a true Ivagududoge. Therefore their (Ivagududoge's) mouths are big, and their heads are big. And the[1] people say that their village lies on the rocks."

As we see from this example, alleged characteristics of people in the different clans are explained by relating them to traits of their animal ancestors. Another example:

[825]

> "People say that the Kiye originated from the monkeys; therefore their arms and legs are skinny; therefore their skin is black; their

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[1] "Awu meri pegodure pariri keje. Ure nowu pore mokureabodo pudumi. Boe kimorema iya Ivagududoge rabode. Duwugere eya kurichigore, etaya boa kurichigore. Duwugere boe egore 'ewororo paduye pariri keje'."

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[825] faces are black."[2]

613 At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in
827 which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is de-
578 scribed: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena pijiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

614 Most names of the clans are also derived from some of
827 the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

[825] "Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.

"When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido). But then the Bororo made their name prettier."[2]

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1 "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekera, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

2 "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyedo Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

614 The story goes similarly for every clan: the Aroroe Chobugi-
827 wuge originated from aroro imedu (male butterfly larva), the
825 Aroroe Chebegiwuge from aroro aredu (female butterfly larva).
The ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge was keao-keao aredu (female crow), the ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge was keao-keao imedu (male crow), but the true name of
614 keao-keao is ivagudu. Badajebage is the only clan name
827 which is not supposed to be derived from an ancestral item.

> "The Badajebage traveled with the Bororo. Thus, the people (the Bororo) called them 'ba dodu epage' (masters of the camp: the Badajebage as chiefs of the village decide when and where camp should be made during the trips). But then the Bororo improved their name and called them Badajebage."[1]

614 The ancestor of the Bokodori Echerae was bokodori (giant
827 armadillo). Kiye Kurireuge originated from ki choreu (black
825 tapir), the Kiye Kugurireuge from ki bu kujagureu (tapir with red fur).

616 The names of the moieties are explained a little differently. A name which originally belonged to the Ivagududoge was extended to include all the Tugarege:

> "These Tugarege, all of the Tugarege are called Tugarege by the Bororo. The Ivagududoge were first to come across the arrow (tugo). Then they cut the string of the bundle of arrows for their companions (they divided the arrows among

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ure chaje. Apido Arege oinore eyere kodi karega. Ichare boere pemegado."

[1] "Badajebagere eture boebo. Du kodire boe egore 'ba dodu epage' oino ei. Ma ichare boere ichare enogwa pemegaguragare eyeji. Kodire ichare boe egore Badajebage ino ei."

616 their companions), for their companions Aroroe, their companions Paiwoe, their companions Apiborege. Thus the name of all these people is Tugarege."[1]

Tugo (arrow) is the ancestor par excellence of the Ivagududoge, but by dividing the arrows among their moiety "brothers," the Ivagududoge shared their ancestor with the other clans of their moiety.

The name of the other moiety, Echerae, is not derived from any ancestral item. Meri (the sun) is supposed to have given the name to the Echerae in one song. My informants said that the word did not have other denotations. "Owners of the songs," the meaning given in the Enciclopédia Bororo (p. 438), also has to do with singing, and this fits well with the general characteristics of the Echerae moiety, as will be shown later.

827 The equivalence of ancestors and descendants explains the old controversy about whether or not the Bororo believe they are macaws (Von den Steinen, 1894: 512; Levy-Bruhl, 1966: 62; Vygotski, 1962: 71-72; Geertz, 1966: 37-38; Barnes, 1969:
614 98). Red macaws (nabure), with which, according to Von den
616 Steinen, the Bororo claim identity, are the ancestors of the
827 Aroroe. On the other hand, one myth tells how the Bokodori Echerae threw themselves into the fire and became red macaws

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1 Awu Tugarege, Tugarege eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Awu Ivagududoge emegere etogeadure tugoji chaje. Eigoyare ichare ere tugo kogu kado tumedagei, tumeduya Aroroei, tumeduya Paiwoei, tumeduya Apiboregei. Du kodire ichare eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Oino."

614 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red
616 macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the
827 Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after
561 the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger
[192] brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo lan-
[773] guage. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger.
844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever be-
[773] ing born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have al-
571 ready been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963:
114 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

181 sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities,
571 participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The
[114] patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

614 The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into sub-
561 clans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and sub-
562 clans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In re-
822 porting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ances-
827 tors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers.

614 The division is not restricted only to animals; many other
562 beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differen-
822 tiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu
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(black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an equatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea); ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodare (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

A, [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

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302 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors represent-
614 ing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented
822 with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white.
[825] For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

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[796] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally
[825] displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong
[827] to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Para-
[614] bara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also
614 finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the
827 differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
[825] is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
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614 796 Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge, the female tapir is played by Baitogogo, a lineage of the Black Aroroe, and the baby tapir by Aroya Kurireu, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. This is a very interesting case which seems to differ from the normal pattern. Baitogogo, one of the most important if not the most important of the lineages of the Bororo tribe, impersonates the female tapir, while Butore Agadu, the least prominent of the three lineages, impersonates the male tapir. This is not an isolated incident. There are a few other cases in which important items are impersonated by less important clan members. But in each of these cases the Bororo can give a reasonable explanation for the exception. In this example, at the time when Ki Bakororo and Jakorari were distributing the representations of the tapirs among their yorubodare (alliés), Butore Agadu was having an affair with Baitogogo's wife, who herself belonged to the Kiye clan. In giving the representation of the male tapir to Butore Agadu, Ki Bakororo acknowledged him as a true male and at the same time shamed Baitogogo, who could not take proper care of his wife, Ki Bakororo's sister. The yorubodare relationship between Baitogogo and Ki Bakororo was not spoiled by this act. They exchanged many other items and representations. It was just one of Ki Bakororo's many jokes, for which he is quite famous.

A good example of things going according to the rules is the ceremonial performance of okoge (a fish similar to salmon). Kaigu, a lineage of the subclan of the older broth-

614 796 ers of the Bokodori Echerae, owns all okoge kurireuge (big okoge). Kaigu gives the representation of one okoge eimejera (one chief of okoge) to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge; the representation of the other okoge eimejera is given to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge; the representation of okoge aredu (female okoge) is given to Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The lineage of Koge Enogwa Tabowu, as we know, was alternately classified as belonging to the subclans of the Black, the Red, and the "in the middle" Ivagududoge. The younger brothers Bokodori Echerae own the rest of okoge, all okoge kugurireuge (small okoge), and give their representation to all less important lineages of the Ivagududoge.

614 301 [56] Differences between the subclans of older and younger brothers are also expressed through the medium of ornaments. The Bororo love to talk about ornaments, and examples of subclan differences are numerous. I will mention only few of them.

The Ivagududoge own a labret called ararureu. It is a string of regularly cut pieces of shell. The ararureu of the Black Ivagududoge is long and is made with large pieces of shell, while the ararureu of the Red Ivagududoge is short and the pieces of shell are small.

The festive bow of the Apiborege, called ikuye ika, is ornamented with painted rings made of leaves of babassu palm. The rings on the bow of the Big Apiborege are broad and widely spaced, the rings on the bow of the Small Apiborege

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

614 choreu - kujagureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kawoureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kuruguqwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kuruguqwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities are differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (Boroge rore ino jamedu). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujagureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

796 613 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Jakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

[561] [562]

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujaqureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

616 beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane
823 belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

534 Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for [562] rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed 533 to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. ika 534 is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is [829 831] also significant. ika is elongated and narrow, often with one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka— 668 the curves of a narrow waist. ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and repre-
616 sentatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

571 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije
613 Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the
539 head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also baku-
773 gumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumpe, a kind
616 of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo iwararege eimejera (the chief of the iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."[1]

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[1] "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

- imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
- uku ika (a musical instrument)
- pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
- baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
- okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)
- biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
- enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

- imo irogodu (body painting)
- imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
- imo pariko (a headdress)

773 Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:
616 imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)
571 imo irogodu (body painting)
[292] Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)
[302] Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo
[534] gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.
[769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it
[115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

773 616 571 But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'Itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'Itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'Itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'Itubore.'[1]

Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many sub-
[825] clans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the adugodoge
[776] (jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aije (water spirits represented by the bull-roarers) be-
[774] longing to the Aroroe. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aije, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

Bakororo gave:

Aije choreu (black Aije) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Aije kujaqureu (red Aije) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Aije baru-baru (Aije of the horizon) to Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Aije akirireu (down Aije) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

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1 "A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu [illegible] maku akai. Kodire i [illegible] maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare itubore ema pugeje."

773 Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or
616 Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)
571 Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badaje-
[776] bage Chebegiwuge).

[776] Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a bar in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

[776] Kano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[614] The Aroroe entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 As a second example I list the lineages with which the
616 clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships
614 (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in
613 each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

571 changed:
616
614
613

Tadugo's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

Aroya Kurireu's yorubodare are:

Kuje Barujeba (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Boyari Pijiwu (Kiye Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge).

Butore Agadu's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Bokodori Baru (Bokodori Echerae Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

Yorubodare of the Small Ivagududoge are:

Small Bokodori Echerae

Small Kiye.

571 We see that there is a tendency for the most important
616 lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most
613 important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less important lineages to contract these relationships with lesser lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships existing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other relationship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu, and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro. Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororo at least one representation to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits
[582] Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lin-
[881] eages to intermarry and exchange initiators among themselves, though they are from the same moiety.

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [57] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

835 but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for
[829] their actions. I could not detect any great concern over
[773] what had happened.

773 Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical
183 past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man
835 will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If
[616] he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with
[614] his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when
[614] he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

773 The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it
183 was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae
835 were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells
616 of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*601 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

In a society where the majority
553 of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the func-
828 tion of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of
829
[181] the possibility of reciprocity and equality.

553 Another instance of reciprocal address results from the
881 initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same
time are given a common name, which they later use in address-
*[601] ing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past
or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In
Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held
there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways,
they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was
the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other
names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge,
[561] Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the ex-
istence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of
this group of boys bound together by the common experience
of becoming full members of adult society at the same time,
and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor
of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age
groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in
view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo
and the other Gê tribes.

Chapter XI

CULTURE AND NATURE: AROE AND BOPE

593 Many of the relationships between older and younger
772 brothers show the older brother associated with culture and the younger brother associated with nature. Since older and younger brothers are hierarchically related as superior and inferior, we would expect culture and nature to stand in similar hierarchical relationship. Instead, as will be shown in this chapter, culture and nature are not valued as superior and inferior. Their characteristics can be compared, their features can be contrasted, but in most cases culture and nature are not directly related and do not interact with each other.

772 The opposition between culture and nature does not af-
616 fect the relationship of reciprocity between yorubodare, i.e., between moieties. Neither of the two moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature. As we shall see in greater detail later, both moieties can claim some cultural characteristics, and both moieties can claim some natural characteristics.

772 Finally, culture and nature, though not in hierarchical relationship, remain in sharp opposition; and yet from another perspective they could be regarded as equivalent: they

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[772] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[224] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[775] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
772 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village.
[773] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
831 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
775 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
776
[301]
[237]

722 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831
775 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
776 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
[302] a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-
like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and
later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the
society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and
plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the
first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names.
Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge,
for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins
themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.
773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[616] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
[614] lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kurugugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:
773
[539]

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together--they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
754

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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu boturo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe boturo jamedu."

776 just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are
[761] enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to
[759] spy on the Bororo. These are makao, tuiwo torogo, churugu-
[825] churugu, kadogwareu (different kinds of birds), and ruke (flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human flesh. Aroe's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and
[788] juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness or kill people, Aroe punish infractions of cultural rules--they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed, that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

776 Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death
761 is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the
825 Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of Bope: adugo, aigo, aipobureu, aimeareu (varieties of felines), ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), okwa, riye, moribo (varieties of canines), kugu, tagogo (varieties of owls), makao (a variety of hawk), and bakure (a carnivorous monkey). The Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. a. They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and
[821] by the people through their offerings. b. They are night animals and the night is Bope's time. c. Nobody ever sees these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and they do not die, except when they are killed by people for compensation (mori).

776 5. Human vs. non-human; mortal vs. eternal

Bope is not part of the human race. "He does not get sick, he does not get old, he does not die. He does not have a human mother. He does not have a mother, a father, a companion."[1] He is eternal.

775 Aroe, on the other hand, have their human mothers; they are the souls of the dead; they are the ancestors of the Bororo, i.e., the things first seen and named. In the after-life they have to go through different tests, and it may happen that they vanish completely over the precipice of Akarubo; they are mortal.

82 6. Conscious vs. unconscious; multiplicity vs. unity

775 The Badajebage were the first to see the plaza, but they
776 did not become aware of it. To see something is not enough; it should be consciously perceived and named. Anything seen and named for the first time is Aroe. To see something and to give it a name is to isolate it from the continuity of amorphous, undifferentiated unconscious matter (Bope). It is a cultural process by which the universe is taken apart so that it can be comprehended. There are many names, there are many Aroe, but Bope is just one. Bope is one, yet he has a wife; and he and his wife are still conceived of as one. And he has children; and he and his wife and children

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[1] "Kogodu kare, pega kare, bi kare. Paje kare ji. Uche kare, uwo kare, metuya kare."

82 are still one. The sun is Bope, his younger brother the
775 moon is Bope, Burekoibo is Bope, jaguar, puma, ocelot are
776 Bope, but all of these are just different names for one Bope.

When recounting the deeds of the sun (Meri) and the moon (Ari), my informant said: "The sun did this, not the moon. But I think that they are not separated. What one does, the other does it too. They are just one."[1]

7. Earth vs. sky; meaningful speech vs. animal cry; singing vs. barking

Bope and Aroe occupy the same space. Aroe are everywhere; Bope too is everywhere: "Bope is in everything. There is not one thing in which Bope is not present."[2] On the other hand both Bope and Aroe have their more particular places. Bope lives in the sky, the Aroe are on the earth. Like the sun and the moon with which he is identified, Bope lives in the sky; the Aroe inhabit the villages of Bakororo (west) and Itubore (east). Coming from the sky to the earth in three steps, as he does in the preceding myth, the macaw is spatially making transition from nature to culture, from Bope to Aroe.

The same transition is made in the macaw's speech. First

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1 "Meri rore oino, Ari ema karega. Mare imearudae mitodure Meri ro rema. Ekare tuginoi ma ero padure pu me keje. Kode pu ro mitodure erore ema. Oino."

2 Awu Bope meture boe jamedu boe tada. Kodire iya metu kare t tada jiboe bokware."

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773

	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

[825] First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equipment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the animal traits of the first beings found their strongest expression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for their father, who had a special predilection for penes, vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae, a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived [103] in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first orna- [825] ments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lineages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one Tugarege man, Tadugo. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Nugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
[341] Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the <u>Enciclopedia Bororo</u> show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

4: Levak E-S (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

775 201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7;
776 Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the
646 description of the Marido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by
361 Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter
776 the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echerae door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here,
613 allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase in population and consequent clustering of the members of the same lineage within a single village can motivate the less important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other places where they will be more appreciated and will have the chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies.
[362] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage
[591] sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can become more independent, but there is always the risk that she and her children will in time be classified as younger brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names
[361] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 With the decrease in population that has been going on
178 from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization,
361 the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-
613

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[551] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the village of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e.,

613 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only
626 man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted
178 to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (♀) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was
[52] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 Another possibility open to a man without descendants
614 (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

772 Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture

561 The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

899 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society 787 is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

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[764] denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into
[787] the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the
[772] meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature;
[533] it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It
is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially
[302] the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child
[237] is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries.
[673] She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of
[152] them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is
[634] also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the
[775] arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the
Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo
[304] can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are
[593] done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given
[614] to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child be-
comes a member of the human race, but particularly a member
of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society.
[787] After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams
[533] were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to
[764] put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

553 Hugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
[534] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[162] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[839] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[891] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
794 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
616 moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their <u>poari</u>, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into <u>nabure</u>, <u>kuido</u>, <u>kudoro</u> [varieties of macaws] <u>kurugugwa</u> [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into <u>tubore</u> [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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[1] "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe—the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8 Pobojari

APPENDIX

TEST OF THE RULES

(REDUCTION OF KIN TYPES TO CLASS FOCI)

128 *601 In this chapter all of the kin types listed in Chapter II are reduced to their class foci. As the rules are not ordered any applicable equivalence rule is repeatedly applied until a focal type is reached. For sake of brevity I will label the equivalence rules as follows:

1. the skewing rule;
2. the merging rule;
3. the female parallel collateral rule;
4. the half-sibling rule;
5. the step rule;
6. the naming rule;
7. the marriage rule;
8. the neutralization rule.

*601

1. Iyedaga

FF: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ Iyedaga (by definition).

MF: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ Iyedaga (by definition).

FFB: → FF (by the merging rule);
∴ Iyedaga (by definition).

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
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*60 MFB:	→	MF	(by the merging rule);
	∴	<u>iyedaga</u>	(by definition).
MMH:	→	MF	(by the step rule);
	∴	<u>iyedaga</u>	(by definition).
FSH:	→	FMH	(by the skewing rule),
	→	FF	(by the step rule);
	∴	<u>iyedaga</u>	(by definition).
WF:	→	FFSs	(by the marriage rule),
	→	FFMs	(by the skewing rule),
	→	FFB	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	FF	(by the merging rule);
	∴	<u>iyedaga</u>	(by definition).
WS*H:	→	WMH	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	WF	(by the step rule),
	→	FFSs	(by the marriage rule),
	→	FFMs	(by the skewing rule),
	→	FFB	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	FF	(by the merging rule);
	∴	<u>iyedaga</u>	(by definition).
HF:	→	FFSs	(by the marriage rule),
	→	FFMs	(by the skewing rule),
	→	FFB	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	FF	(by the merging rule);
	∴	<u>iyedaga</u>	(by definition).
HB	→	<u>iyedaga</u>	(by the neutralization rule).

*60) HMB: → HMs (by the skewing rule),
→ HB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ <u>iyedaga</u> (by the neutralization rule).

HSs: → HMs (by the skewing rule),
→ HB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ <u>iyedaga</u> (by the neutralization rule).

HMSs: → HMds (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ HMs (by the skewing rule),
→ HB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ <u>iyedaga</u> (by the neutralization rule).

HMB (alternatively):
→ FF (by the naming rule);
∴ <u>iyedaga</u> (by definition).

HB (alternatively):
→ FFSs (by the naming rule),
→ FFMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FFB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ FF (by the merging rule);
∴ <u>iyedaga</u> (by definition).

2. <u>imarugo</u>

FM: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ <u>imarugo</u> (by definition).

MM: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ <u>imarugo</u> (by definition).

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*601 FMS:	→	FMd	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	VM	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	imarugo	(by definition).
MFS:	→	MFM	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	imarugo	(by definition).
FFS:	→	FFM	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	imarugo	(by definition).
FS:	→	FM	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	imarugo	(by definition).
FSd:	→	FMd	(by the skewing rule),
	→	FS	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	FM	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	imarugo	(by definition).
FSdd:	→	FMdd	(by the skewing rule),
	→	FSd	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	FMd	(by the skewing rule),
	→	FS	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	FM	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	imarugo	(by definition).
WM:	→	FS	(by the marriage rule),
	→	FM	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	imarugo	(by definition).

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*601 WMS: → WMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ WS (by the half-sibling rule),

→ WM (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ FS (by the marriage rule),

→ FM (by the skewing rule);

∴ imerugo (by definition).

WS* → WM (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ FS (by the marriage rule),

→ FM (by the skewing rule);

∴ imerugo (by definition).

WSd, where WSd is older than W:

→ WMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ WS (by the half-sibling rule),

→ WM (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ FS (by the marriage rule),

→ FM (by the skewing rule);

∴ imerugo (by definition).

*601 WHSd, where WHSd is older than W:

→ WHdd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ WSd (by the half-sibling rule),

→ WHd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ WS (by the half-sibling rule),

→ WM (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ FS (by the marriage rule),

→ FM (by the skewing rule);

∴ imarugo (by definition).

HM: → FS (by the marriage rule),

→ FM (by the skewing rule);

∴ imarugo (by definition).

HMS: → HMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ HS (by the half-sibling rule),

→ HM (by the skewing rule),

→ FS (by the marriage rule),

→ FM (by the skewing rule);

∴ imarugo (by definition).

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*601 HMSd: → HMdd (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ HSd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ HMd (by the skewing rule),
→ HS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ HM (by the skewing rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

HS: → HM (by the skewing rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

HSd: → HMd (by the skewing rule),
→ HS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ HM (by the skewing rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

3. iyogwa

F: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ iyogwa (by definition).

FB: → F (by the merging rule);
∴ iyogwa (by definition).

*601 FMB: → FMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ F (by the merging rule);
∴ <u>iyoqwa</u> (by definition).

FSs: → FMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ F (by the merging rule);
∴ <u>iyoqwa</u> (by definition).

FSds: → FMds (by the skewing rule),
→ FSs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ FMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ F (by the merging rule);
∴ <u>iyoqwa</u> (by definition).

MH (alternatively):
→ F (by the step rule);
∴ <u>iyoqwa</u> (by definition).

4. <u>inodowu</u>

MH (alternatively):
invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ <u>inodowu</u> (by definition).

MSH: → MdH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ SH (by the half-sibling rule),
→ MH (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀ Ego);

*601 ∴ <u>inodowu</u> (by definition).

♂SH: → ♂MH (by the skewing rule);

∴ <u>inodowu</u> (by definition).

♂MSdH: → ♂MMdH (by the skewing rule),

→ ♂MSH (by the half-sibling rule),

→ ♂MdH (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ ♂SH (by the half-sibling rule),

→ ♂MH (by the skewing rule);

∴ <u>inodowu</u> (by definition).

♂SdH → ♂MdH (by the skewing rule),

→ ♂SH (by the half-sibling rule),

→ ♂MH (by the skewing rule);

∴ <u>inodowu</u> (by definition).

♀S⁺H: → ♀MH (by the female parallel collateral rule);

∴ <u>inodowu</u> (by definition).

♀MSdH, where MSd is older than Ego:

→ ♀MddH (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ ♀SdH (by the half-sibling rule)

→ ♀MdH by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ ♀SH (by the half-sibling rule),

→ ♀MH (by the parallel collateral rule);

∴ <u>inodowu</u> (by definition).

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*601

5. imuga

M: invariant to the reduction rules;

∴ imuga (by definition).

6. imana 7. ivuri 9. iviye (imedu)

B: invariant to the reduction rules;

∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition).

MB: → Ms (by the skewing rule)

→ B (by the half-sibling rule);

∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition

MMB: → MMs (by the skewing rule),

→ MB (by the half-sibling rule),

→ Ms (by the skewing rule),

→ B (by the half sibling rule);

∴ imana, ivuri (by definition).

FBs: → Fs (by the merging rule)

→ B (by the half-sibling rule);

∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition)

MSs: → Mds (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ Ss (by the half-sibling rule),

→ Ms (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego.),

→ B (by the half-sibling rule),

∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition).

*601 Ss: → Ms (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),

→ B (by the half-sibling rule);

∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition).

Sds: → Mds (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),

→ Ss (by the half-sibling rule),

→ Ms (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),

→ B (by the half-sibling rule)

∴ iviye (by definition)

Fs: → B (by the half-sibling rule);

∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition).

Ms: → B (by the half-sibling rule);

∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition).

8. ituye and 9. iviye (aredu)

A: Invariant to the reduction rules;

∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).

MS: → Md (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ S (by the half-sibling rule);

∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).

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*601 MMS: → MMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ MS (by the half-sibling rule),

→ Md (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ S (by the half-sibling rule);

∴ ituye (by definition).

MSd: → Mdd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ Sd (by the half-sibling rule),

→ Md (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego, by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),

→ S (by the half-sibling rule);

∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).

FBd: → Fd (by the merging rule),

→ S (by the half-sibling rule);

∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).

Sd: → Md (by the skewing rule for o Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),

→ S (by the half-sibling rule);

∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).

*601 Sdd: → Mdd (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),
→ Sd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ Md (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),
→ S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ iviye (by definition).

Fd: → S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).

Md: → S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).

10. itonaregedu

s: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

d: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

♂ Bs: → ♂s (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

♂ Bd: → ♂ d (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

♂ MBs: → ♂ Mss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ Bs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ s (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

4: Levak E-S (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8 Pobojari

*601 ♂MBd: → ♂Msd (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂Bd (by the half-sibling rule),
— ♂d (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

♂MMBs: → ♂MMss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂MBs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂Mss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂Bs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂s (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

♂MMBd: → ♂MMsd (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂MBd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂Msd (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂Bd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂d (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

♂Sss: → ♂Mss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂Bs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂s (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

*601 ♂ Ssd:	→	♂ Hsd	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♂ Bd	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♂ d	(by the merging rule);
	∴	itonaregedu	(by definition).
Ws:	→	s	(by the step rule);
	∴	itonaregedu	(by definition).
Wd:	→	d	(by the step rule);
	∴	itonaregedu	(by definition).
WB:	→	Ws	(by the skewing rule),
	→	s	(by the step rule);
	∴	itonaregedu	(by definition).
WMB:	→	WMs	(by the skewing rule),
	→	WB	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	Ws	(by the skewing rule),
	→	s	(by the step rule);
	∴	itonaregedu	(by definition).
WMSs:	→	WMds	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	WSs	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	WMs	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	WB	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	Ws	(by the skewing rule),
	→	s	(by the step rule);
	∴	itonaregedu	(by definition).

*601 WMSd, where WMSd is younger than W:

→ WMdd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ WSd (by the half-sibling rule),

→ WMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ WS (by the half-sibling rule),

→ Wd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ d (by the step rule);

∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

WS⁻: → Wd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ d (by the step rule);

∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

WSs: → WMs (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ WB (by the half-sibling rule),

→ Ws (by the skewing rule),

→ s (by the step rule);

∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

WSd: → WMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ WS (by the half-sibling rule),

→ Wd (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ d (by the step rule)

∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

*601

11. <u>ivagedu</u>

ss:		Invariant to the reduction rules;	
	∴	<u>ivagedu</u>	(by definition).
ds:		Invariant to the reduction rules;	
	∴	<u>ivagedu</u>	(by definition).
Bss:	→	♂ ss	(by the merging rule);
	∴	<u>ivagedu</u>	(by definition).
	→	♀sss	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	<u>ivagedu</u>	(by definition).
Bds:	→	♂ ds	(by the merging rule);
	∴	<u>ivagedu</u>	(by definition).
	→	♀sds	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	<u>ivagedu</u>	(by definition).
♀Bs:	→	♀ss	(by the skewing rule),
	∴	<u>ivagedu</u>	(by definition).
♀MBs:	→	♀Hss	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♀Bs	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀ss	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	<u>ivagedu</u>	(by definition).
♀MMBs:	→	♀MHss	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♀MBs	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀Hss	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♀Bs	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀ss	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	<u>ivagedu</u>	(by definition).

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*601 ♀Sss: → ♀Mss (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀Bs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♂ dH: → ♂ MBss (by the marriage rule),
→ ♂ Msss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ Bss (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ ss (by the merging rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♀dH: → ♀Bs (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♀S⁻H: → ♀sH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀Bs (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♀HSH, where HS is younger than Ego:
→ ♀HdH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀SH (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀dH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀Bs (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

*601 ♀MSdH, where MSd is younger than Ego:

→ ♀MddH (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ ♀SdH (by the half-sibling rule),

→ ♀MdH (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ ♀SH (by the half-sibling rule),

→ ♀dH (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ ♀Bs (by the marriage rule),

→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);

∴ <u>ivagedu</u> (by definition).

♀Sd: → ♀MdH (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ ♀SH (by the half-sibling rule),

→ ♀dH (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ ♀Bs (by the marriage rule),

→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);

∴ <u>ivagedu</u> (by definition).

WBs: → Wss (by the skewing rule),

→ ss (by the step rule);

∴ <u>ivagedu</u> (by definition).

*601 WS⁻H: → WdH (by the female parallel collateral rule),

→ ♂dH (by the step rule),

→ ♂MBss (by the marriage rule),

→ ♂Msss (by the skewing rule),

→ ♂Bss (by the half-sibling rule),

→ ♂ss (by the merging rule);

∴ ivagedu (by definition).

Wds: → ds (by the step rule);

∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♂Ss (alternatively):

→ ♂MBss (by the naming rule),

→ ♂Msss (by the skewing rule),

→ ♂Bss (by the half-sibling rule),

→ ♂ss (by the merging rule);

∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♂Sds (alternatively):

→ ♂ss (by the naming rule);

∴ ivagedu (by definition).

12. irago

sd: invariant to the reduction rules;

∴ irago (by definition).

dd: invariant to the reduction rules;

∴ irago (by definition).

*601 Bsd:	→	♂ sd	(by the merging rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
	→	♀ssd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
Bdd:	→	♂ dd	(by the merging rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
	→	♀sdd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
♀Bd:	→	♀sd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
♀MBd:	→	♀Msd	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♀Bd	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀sd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
♀MMBd:	→	♀MMsd	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♀MBd	(by the half-sibling rule).
	→	♀Msd	(by the skewing rule).
	→	♀Bd	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀sd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
♀Ssd:	→	♀Msd	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	♀Bd	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀sd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).

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*601 ♂ sW: → ♂ MBsd (by the marriage rule),
→ ♂ Mssd (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ Bsd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ sd (by the merging rule);
∴ irago (by definition).

♀sW: → ♀Bd (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀sd (by the skewing rule);
∴ irago (by definition).

♂ BW: → irago (by the neutralization rule).

♀BW: → ♀sW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀Bd (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀sd (by the skewing rule),
∴ irago (by definition).

♂ MBW: → ♂ MsW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ BW (by the half-sibling rule);
→ irago (by the neutralization rule).

♀MBW: → ♀MsW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀BW (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀sW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀Bd (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀sd (by the skewing rule);
∴ irago (by definition).

♂ SsW: → ♂ MsW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ BW (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ irago (by the neutralization rule).

*601 ♀SsW:	→	♀HsW	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	♀BW	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀sW	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♀Bd	(by the marriage rule),
	→	♀sd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
♂ MSsW:	→	♂ MHsW	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	♂ MBW	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♂ HsW	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♂ BW	(by the half-sibling rule);
	∴	irago	(by the neutralization rule).
♀MSsW:	→	♀MHsW	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	♀MBW	(by the half sibling rule),
	→	♀HsW	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♀BW	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀sW	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♀Bd	(by the marriage rule),
	→	♀sd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
WBd:	→	Wsd	(by the skewing rule),
	→	sd	(by the step rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).

*60 Mdd: → dd (by the step rule);

∴ irago (by definition).

♂ Sd (alternatively):

→ ♂ MBsd (by the naming rule),

→ ♂ Mssd (by the skewing rule),

→ ♂ Bsd (by the half-sibling rule),

→ ♂ sd (by the merging rule);

∴ irago (by definition).

♂ Sdd → ♂ sd (by the naming rule);

∴ irago (by definition).

13. itoredu

H: invariant to the reduction rules;

∴ itoredu (by definition).

14. itoreduje

W: invariant to the reduction rules;

∴ itoreduje (by definition).

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The Social Position of the Woman Among the Eastern Bororo

[A posição social da mulher entre os Bororo orientais]

Herbert Baldus

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[Title page]

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of
175 these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and
[648] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up
[181] to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering
22 people. They spent only three months of the year, more or
[24] less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is
167 reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.
797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than
131 thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924, as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in /114/ January of 1926, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of 1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26, 37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
291 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane, vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
162 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
[16] only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri, that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44 children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
[13] which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
[797] of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
657 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
131 latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is
[162] another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
621 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
162 and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[131] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named
[103] Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[131] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
177 Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our
[189] civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oanassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/117 cont./

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Each clan has its special ornaments. The Bororo Mario Bokodori Kudde, in Sangradouro, described to me, for example, the ornaments illustrated by Padre Colbacchini in his book I Bororos Orientali, pp. 48 and 49, as belonging to the following clans: 1 -- akario bokodori baaddageba; 2 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and manna; 3 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and vie; 5 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae tchebegiugue; 6 -- kie; 7 -- bakorokuddu baaddageba; 1' -- paiwe kujaguréugue; 2 -- apiburegue; 3' -- aorore kujaguréugue; 4' -- iwaguddudogue kujaguréugue; 6' -- aorore tchoréugue. Each one of these ornaments belongs to the following clans designated by the numbers above:

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Colbacchini, p. 48:        7  1  1
                        6  3  5  2  1
                                 1
                     1  1  1  1  7  1  6'  2'  4'  6'
Colbacchini, p. 49:        6  6  6                  6
                        2        6
                        2     2     2              1
                  7  6  7  7  1  2  2
                                                    7
                     1'  7  7
                                                 3' and 6'
                     1 and 7
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114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
482 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier, /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

562 It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary
121 for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it
847 male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous im-
pediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epi-
demics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Bororós, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/121 cont./

842 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions
757 and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (o.c., p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of
163 births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of
[177 Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the
797] influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. A v after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

/123 cont./

163 If the children are from a previous marriage of the husband, the number for them is put in parenthesis; being from a previous marriage of the woman, the number is between brackets.

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	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
1	Alexio 50	Alvina 55	2			1
2	Antonio 55 v	Assumpção 65 v	(1) [1]	[1]	(3) [1]	[1]
3	Attilho 23	Frederica 17			1	
4	Braz 50	Josefina 38	2	4	1	3
5	Benedito 65	Loiduvina 55	1	1		
6	Bentino 20	Dosithea 20				
7	Baptista 26	Erminia 21	1		1	
8	Claudio 22	Ismaelita 19		1		
9	Domingo 50	Natalia 52		1	1	
10	Elias 21	Conceição 18	2			
11	Estanisilão 45	Angelina 45		1		1
12	Eugenio 18	Cecilia 16		1		
13	João 38	Regina 19				
14	João Cagliero 50	Judith 50	1	4	2	2
15	João Baptista 50 v	Lucina 20	(2)	(1) 1	(4)	
16	Modesto 35	Anita 26	2	2		
17	Sebastião 55 v	Aida 40 v	(2) [1]		(1) [1]	
18	Thiago 35	Maria Luisa 35	1	1		2

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	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
19	Ugo 27	Claudia 22		2		
20	Vito 45	Angelina ?	3	2		
21	Rafael 60 v	Catarina 32	(1)	(3)		
22	Manoel 32	Jacinta 45 v	[1] 1	4		
23	José Maria 27	Theresa 26		1		1
24	Justino 39	Clotilde 35	2	1	1	3
25	Joaquim 70	Irene 50		(2)	(1)	(1)
26	Cirilo 35	Maria 42 v	[1]	[1] 2		
27	Luiz 50	Florisbela 55	1	1	2	1
28	Gabriel Pilar 34 (abandoned his wife)		2	1		1
		Total:	31	39	20	17
	orphan brothers		1	2		
	" "		1	2		
	orphan boy		1			
	orphan girl			1		
	3 bachelors					
	1 widower					
	1 widow					

/124 cont./

846 In different ways people have tried to explain the couvade,
121 the so-called post partum of the man, this very widespread custom, especially in South America, according which the father is obliged to lie down for whole days, not doing heavy work, and to abstain from many important foods. "Some authors consider the custom of the couvade, which is found among many primitive peoples, an intermediary degree between the matriarchal and the patriarchal family. This custom is regarded as an act /125/ symbolic of the public recognition of the paternity of the newborn child, although probably something religious co-operates in it too." (Illustrierte Völkerkunde, herausgegeben von Georg Buschan, /Illustrated Ethnology, edited by Georg Buschan/, 3. Auflage /3rd ed./, Stuttgart, 1922, t. I, p. 8.)

The results of more modern research indubitably show that the purpose of this custom is to protect from harm the child, who, in its early stages of life, is imagined to be in direct connection with the father, that is to say, as part of him. Today well-known ethnologists understand that the couvade signifies a precedence of the man, because the fact that certain customs are exclusively related to one sex proves, so they say, that this sex, by means of these customs, is placed above the other one.

846 Among the Bororo, father and mother fast for some days after the child's birth, not rarely, however, also up to two months, but both continue with their work. Consequently a true couvade did not exist among them. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 61) writes, concerning the fast: "For three or four days the mother abstains from meat, being content with some broths made with maize or roots and wild fruits, sweetened with wild honey, or sugar, if they are able to get it. It is customary for the husband to follow the diet of the woman in abstaining from meat; one can even say that his diet is stricter than that of the wife. He proceeds thus in order that the neonatus will grow strong and healthy and will be able to resist hunger and thirst without suffering."

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846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P.W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Toglũ, Meriri cooá̃a. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
859 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

/129 cont./

584 Colbacchini (o.c., pp. 55 and 56) writes about the Bororo: "In general and in the majority of cases it is the woman who precedes the man in the marriage proposal. The young woman who feels led to esteem a young man and who wishes to be joined to him consults in particular the mother, if she is still alive, or the older sister. If such a proposal is well received by the mother, the latter will then take an active part in satisfying the daughter's wishes. She will then try to find out, among her friends and the lad's relatives, whether the daughter would be readily accepted as a wife. In the affirmative care, the mother and the daughter prepare some dishes which they judge or know will be to the taste of the young man, and the mother of the pretendant, or in her absence the older sister, knowing that the lad /130/ is home, goes at noon to look for him, taking the prepared delicacies, in a wicker basket, in order at the same time to make to him the proposal and official request. Upon entering the house, she will address the young man, who will be sitting near the fire working on the arrows; and she will say to him: -- A wogae i roino -- (I came looking for you) -- and she will make him the proposal. If the young man wishes to accept it, he will say nothing, but will stretch out his hand to receive the gift sent, which he will place at his side. And with this gesture the request is granted. The agreement concluded, jubilant with joy, she will immediately take the [591] good news to her daughter. Both the mother and the relatives of the bride then set about preparing the house, because it is [513] the custom that the man goes to live in the wife's house. They will prepare the fire, the straw mat for sleeping, the receptacle 584 for water; afterwards they will cook something and wait. At 585 nightfall, the lad will retire to the bride's house and, without saying anything, will enter and place himself beside the one who from this moment on is his wife. The mother or the sister will go to the house of the bridegroom to get what belongs

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
wife, who will receive and will place everything in order,
[60] while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With
this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment
on they will live together, they will call each other by the
names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in
certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the
pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern
Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's
descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the
woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage
in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two
[304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl
are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the
father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry
her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related"
to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing
women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the
men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
831 "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during
[302] the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in
part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how
the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters
fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from
a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle,
wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and
taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/131 cont./

562 the following morning, Maria, rich in experience, in whose
831 resistance there could not have been very serious intentions. Did you not want to get married yesterday? I asked. -- Now I am already married, she answered calmly. She was lying down in all /132/ comfort under a red blanket beside her favorite man, and both were cracking nuts from a palm tree. One day we say Moguyokuri encouraging the young men to decorate Maria, who appeared so brave in the struggle and was so submissive now. Immediately six young men threw themselves upon her, painting her."

The fact, however, that the girl taken to the men's house did not figure there in any manner as a slave without a will of her own is evident and thanks to the following observation by Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 489): "While the women, ordinarily, remained away from the men's house, there was rarely missing there a couple of lovers who frolicked lying under a common red blanket. Nobody was concerned about it, except a few friends tormented by a little jealousy, who actually had been refused by the common sweetheart and had to be satisfied with sitting beside the couple, talking to them."

562 Such customs in the men's house do not seem to have
831 existed among the Bororo with whom the Salesian missionaries
184 spent their life. At least Colbacchini never mentions anything similar. I did not see any women in the men's house in Toriparu either.

000 It has been affirmed that the custom according to which one sex is much older than the other one in marriage indicates a predominance of the first (Vaerting, o.c., p. 22 and seq.), quoting examples from Egypt, America, and India. From South American Indians, for example, from the hunting and gathering people of the Chamacoco in the Chaco /133/ (Baldus: Indianerstudien /Indian Studies/, Leipzig, 1931, p. 58),

/133 cont./

000 and from the Mojo, agriculturalists already Christianized by the Jesuits on the Rio Mamoré in Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland /To the Gateway of the Sun through old Indian country/, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), there became known the so-called matrimonial school, an institution according to which adolescent boys marry older women, and older men young girls, the older ones representing, in a way, an educational role. We did not learn of similar
582 rules among the Bororo. Concerning the age ratios in the marriages observed in 1934 in the mission of Meruri, the list reproduced above is to be seen. According to this list, for 4 couples, both spouses were of the same age, for 16 the husband was older, and for 6 the woman was older. For 7, the husband was up to five years older; for 3, he was from five to ten years older; for 6, he was more than ten years older. For 3, the wife was up to five years older; for 2, she was from five to ten years older; for one, she was more than ten years older.

616 One must consider as a harmful consequence of the exogamy
589 practiced among the Bororo the fact that bachelors and the widowed of both sexes often have to remain, without being able to marry for a long time, or even forever, for lack of a corresponding consort from the other "half"; this was observed also by Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50).

616 One can judge the severity with which the separation of the
562 exogamic "halves" is observed, even after marriage, by the following observations by Colbacchini (o.c., /134/ pp. 49 and 50): "By their totemism, it is absolutely forbidden for the men of one dynasty to talk, to smile at, or merely to notice or to look at the women of another dynasty. This is observed meticulously and scrupulously. The men of any age, meeting by chance on the road or any place one or more women, not only will keep from being stopped, they will not look at them,

/134 cont./

616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional
precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall
into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since
any look or smile between persons of different sex and
diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen
eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty,
and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of
these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man
talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that
they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even
between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in
public, even though not so scrupulously; it will, however,
be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his
own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to
be together, except when they leave the house and both go
to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest;
this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this
severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the
men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and
matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not
the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of
both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her
consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to
the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the
man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after
marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal),
while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of
her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has
to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

/135 cont./

573 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' [512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not [354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the [603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother [855] nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are 836 evident from the following indications of the same explorer 431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls [411] in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love [602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the [421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

224 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over 602 "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal 114 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

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614 A consequence of the matrilineal organization, which, at the same time, characterizes the preponderant social importance of the woman, is the fact that a clan is destined to become extinct as soon as the women are missing. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50) also refers to that.

595 In general the Bororo are monogamous. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 57) observes in this respect: "The few sporadic cases of polygamy that are found are disapproved by all. The case of latent polygamy takes place, ordinarily, when a man marries a woman who has /137/ a young daughter, or when he marries a young girl whose mother, a widow or without a husband, is still young. In this case polygamy is easy, even though hidden, because officially the man will be the husband of the mother or of the daughter and never of the daughter and mother."

The Bororo spoke to me of such cases of bigamy, which is confirmed by the following observation by Karl von den Steinen [622] (o.c., p. 501): "In Thereza Christina, apparently only Moguyokuri (the chief) lived in polygamy. His wives were a woman of a certain age and a daughter of her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and when the mother became ugly and the daughter became pretty, he "married" the daughter also."

Von den Steinen (ibidem) adds, however: "But, in the aldeias, polygamy of the elders is generally the rule." This author seems to assume this, basing himself only on the report by Waehneldt about the Bororo on the Jaurú (mentioned on the same page), because he did not visit the aldeias personally. If we were inclined to establish a connections between the fact that in general monogamy exists among the Bororo and only in rare cases bigamy with mother and daughter, and the institution according to which the daughter lives with the mother all her life, the husband goes to live in her house

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

[121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliny are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliny is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiago Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely, been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with
121 matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has
582 fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and
591 patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted
[586] in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children
586 remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the wife.

121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does the heavier and economically more valuable work has a position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier
462 or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them,
222 "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought by the women has greater importance because it is obtained with more regularity and in abundance. The women look for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the 'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/ and of the piquí. /Caryocar brasiliense/, etc."

462 The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians, hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the
[224] house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow; in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in
462 many she also helps in the construction of the house. But,
141 considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps, be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

[171] 3. In contrast let there be indicated the following tribes described by Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, Rondonia, 3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): "Tembés -- Male stature, in general, shorter than the female. Women tall and thin; men short and fat. Mundurucús -- They are muscular. Men shorter than the

/140 cont./

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141

women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being
462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi-
482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads
[434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

462 It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians
22 the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat.
[241] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in
[171] the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[28] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and
[171] weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

In the following list I demonstrate the division of
462 labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I
128 visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

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How much the sexual life is related to the social
833 position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to
562 me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in
123 Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

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DIVISION OF LABOR

	MAN								WOMAN							
	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kalungang	Kaskihá	Terena	Kerejá	Tapirapé	Guayaki	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kalungang	Kaskihá	Terena	Kerejá	Tapirapé	Guayaki
build the house	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
cut wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
look for wood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
cut or incise the trees for the extraction of honey	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
cut palm trees to get the fruits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gather wild plant food	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gather small animals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gather honey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
fish with net	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
fish with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
fish by poisoning the water	+	–	–	–	?	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	?	+	+	–
cook	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
smoke small animals and fish in the embers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
smoke large animals on the grill	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
bring in water	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the load on marches	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
carry the small children	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the older children on marches	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
paint the face	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
paint the body	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
tattoo	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
pierce the boy's lower lip	+	?	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	?	–	–	–	–	+	–
pierce the boy's ear lobe	+	+	–	?	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	?	+	+	–	–
pierce the girl's ear lobe	+	–	–	?	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	?	+	+	–	–
fabrication of the penis case	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
fabrication of the woman's garb	–	–	–	?	?	–	–	–	+	+	–	?	?	+	–	–
fabrication of the cord made of hair	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
fabrication of thick cords	+	+	–	+	?	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	?	+	+	+
fabrication of fine cords	+	+	–	–	?	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	+	+	+
fabrication of knotted work	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
plait (baskets, etc.)	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
plait the hunting bag from a palm leaf	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
spin and weave or make crochet work	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
fabrication of the implements for spinning and weaving	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
elaboration of wood	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	?	–	–	–
cultivation of gourds	?	+	–	+	?	+	+	–	?	–	–	–	?	–	–	–
elaboration of gourds	+	+	–	+	?	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	?	–	–	–
elaboration of bones, claws, teeth, shellfish, stones, or metals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
fabrication of feather ornaments	+	–	–	?	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	?	+	–	+	–
fabrication of clay vessels	–	–	?	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+

/143 cont./

833 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day:
562 "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down
123 one beside the other, because one day they will die and then
775 they are reunited."

864 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from
115 Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 From Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the
171 following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

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000 goddess of the earth, had in common seven rings. "When they met at night, they would decorate themselves with these rings, that is, the one who was lying on top always wore the first four rings, and the one who was lying underneath wore the remaining three rings" (Leo Frobenius: Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes, /From the Cultural Realm of the Continent/, Berlin, 1923, p. 112). According to an ancient Syrio-Judaic tale, Adam and Eve argued in paradise about which of the two, during coitus, had to lie underneath and which one on top (Frobenius, ibidem).

/145/ To what point the socially inferior position of the woman in our civilization is manifested also with respect to the sexual life is shown by the following expressions: "to possess" or "to use" or "to dishonor" a woman. Our collective morality does not tolerate the woman's using such expressions also with respect to the man. She cannot "possess him," but must "belong to him," she cannot "use him," but she must "surrender herself," and she can never "dishonor him," because she must seduce him in such a way that he considers himself the seducer.

Among our Indians, we shall look in vain for a mentality 562 that establishes similar violent differences between the sexes. This is not contradicted by what Koslowsky (o.c. p. 384) relates about the western Bororo /The following quotation has been translated from the Spanish/: "When they get 562 ready for hunting (the ounce [H.B.]) they begin by 224 observing certain ceremonies, which consist principally of [411] not sleeping with one's wife for four days before leaving to hunt the feline: in this interval he starts by painting his face with urucú, he prepares his arrows at the heat of the fire in order to harden the fibers of the tacuara /bamboo/. Under no circumstance is the woman allowed to touch the point of the arrows, since the Indian believes that with her contact they would lose their power of penetration and that it would [833] attract misfortunes to him." -- When the man avoids relations

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562 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically
224 and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his
833 sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the
173 past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but
[224] today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much; for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is
832 the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to
833 which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the
173 pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

They say that the only form of sexual caress known by
832 the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the
838 Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes
839 visited by me.
171

77 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
59 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
dugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should
not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of
this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation
of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already
found out "that any look or smile between persons of different
sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral."
Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom
and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
562 (Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c.,
p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner:
"When the contention within the hut reached the culminating
point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running
out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one.
Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three
women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One
of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to
meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce
fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center
of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned
in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass
/148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing,
the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure,
the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries
held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the
hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines
of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the
front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and
try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or
521 when they themselves get furious because of some gossip. Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to
152 be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
593 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

/149 cont./

562 the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this
114 opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced
797 of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man,
a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy
[593] of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same
state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles
in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have
now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the
Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in
the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever
by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the
individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity
of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his
natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already
born with him, a composition by which only the individual
is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes
himself from all the other individuals. Although the social
position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way,
seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it
seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the
relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage
is given its own and true configuration, or, said better,
its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals
who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very
pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in
the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the
boundary between the social and the individual being. How
many men are there among us who would like to be dominated
by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and
master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer
with his individuality the influence of the conventions created
by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/150 cont./

171 The differences in character of the individuals are no
562 fewer in an Indian aldeia than in one of our aldeias; and there, too, the very pronounced characters open the road, in marriage, through the /151/ social rules. Among the Guató, whom Couto de Magalhães (O selvagem /the Savage/, 3rd. edition, São Paulo, 1935, p. 148) calls "an exaggerated type of the man's rights over the woman," Julio Koslowsky ("Tres semanas entre los indios Guatos /Three weeks among the Guato Indians/. Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895, p. 232) found a man about whom, after having praised his extraordinary intelligence, he mentions /the following quotation has been translated from the Spanish/: "The only thing that I had to disapprove was the complete submission that he demonstrated toward his wife."

Such examples are found in every tribe of Indians. Among the Tapirapé I saw men who ordered and mistreated the woman, and others who fled from the hut with his plumes when the enraged wife threatened to throw these ornaments in the fire. Among the Karajá there are men who, in a moment of anger, thrashed the woman terribly, and who, in spite of that, in all the important matters, submits to her unconditionally. Karl von den Steinen says, although generalizing, of the Indians of the Xingú region (o.c., p. 332): "The man let the woman carry a heavier load than he did, he ordered her to remain far from the house of the flutes in which the men consulted, smoked, held festivities, and where the men were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and did what she wanted."

562 One day an old lay brother in Sangradouro, who had spent all his life with the Bororo, explained to me, in an ingenuous way, the behavior of this tribe in such situations: "Generally it is the man who commands; but /152/ when one of them is very good to the woman, it is

/152 cont./
562 she who commands."

If we want to investigate the importance of the
121 adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask
562 first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with
[237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex.
[304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the
[856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

/152 cont./ They say that this metal
301 was gold, news not very hard to accept
[135] because the Bororo occupied regions in
[306] which gold appears frequently even today. Nowadays, the earrings reproduced here in natural size are made of the metal from cartridges. They are called meriri-kiga-réu and are made firm by means of an annular brass wire in the

[613]

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

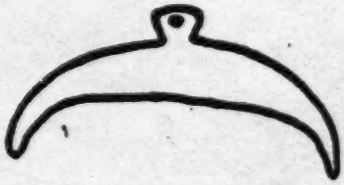

FIG. 3

/152 cont./

301 hole pierced in both ear lobes, so that the individual wears a pair of these
301 earrings. The one represented in
613 Figure 1, which has a tooth above and one below, is peculiar to the clan of the Aroia; it was worn by Mario Bokodori Kudde, pictured in Plate 21, even though this man does not belong to said clan. /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ But he had killed an ounce and had given the cadaver to the Aroia, delivering with this, a recently deceased member of that clan from being
[431] incarnated in this beast. He then received, as it is the custom in such a case, gifts of honor from the Aroia, especially the bow splendidly decorated with plumes, and permission to make and to wear "without fear and shame" all the ornaments with which their clan distinguishes itself from the others. One can obtain this permission from any clan as soon as a dead ounce is handed over to it, delivering in this way one of their dead from incarnation in this feline. I still wish to observe that the wife of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Plates 19 and 20) was an Aroia and, therefore, owned earrings like those which the
[178] husband wore. The same man told me that in the past these earrings were worn the opposite way, that is with the points turned upward.

/152 cont./

301 The earring without a tooth, represented in Figure 2, belongs to the clan of the Paí-we; the one with a tooth, in Figure 3, is from the clan of the Dyakome(r)-koadda.

[237] It is probable that the shape of these earrings might have been taken from the chest ornament made with the claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/ (Priodontes giganteus) called bokodori inoge (bokodori: tatú canastra; inoge: claw), and represented various times by Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 50) and by Karl von den Steinen (o.c.).

[306] I saw a Bororo in Sangradouro also make a chest ornament in the shape and with the size of the bokodori inoge, but out of a sheet of tin plate.
I was not able to find out whether this shape has any connection with the moon.

/153/ We may consider as "individual adorning" among the Bororo the use of transverse cords on the chest and of the narrow woven ribbons on the arms. Both sexes, /154/ adults and children, are in the habit of wearing them occasionally in order to, as I was assured, be protected from illnesses.

[562] [751]

It seems that the chest ornament made out of animals' teeth serves for the same purpose. Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 479) wrote about this ornament: "Only very rarely does it happen that women also receive these ornaments, which probably results from the change by the colonization, because it is said that among the other Bororo it is common

[237] [751] [562]

/154 cont./

301 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this
562 decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care.
[23] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment"
[836] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of
[593] the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both
[171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first
[171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting
[613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/156 cont./

301 562 other sex or to his own or shows him superior to the other sex or to his own can only be answered in facing this or that particular case. Thus, this answer has only individual-psychological value, and not general value, concerning the significance of the adornment for the position of the sexes.

562 201 Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 497) writes that among the Indians "it is proper for the woman to cry and 'to tremble' always, when animals, enemies, or merely cataracts threaten, and always to need protection."

I confirmed in my experiences that this is true in general; and when it is observed that the woman, in anger and in fear, utters sharp cries or moans, while the man almost always tries in any case to preserve a more tranquil dignity, we are inclined to see in this behavior a superiority of the man. And even if the cause for the woman's behavior is only her intention "to win by means of weakness" in the relations between the sexes, that seems to us an indication of social inferiority.

000 In the majority of the native tribes the men even want the women to show fear, and certain dances are performed for this purpose. According to Wilhelm Koppers (Unter Feuerlandindianern /Among Fuegian Indians/, Stuttgart, 1924), the Indians in Tierra del Fuego narrate that in ancient times they were completely dominated by the woman, because the latter had joined together in secret leagues and performed rites thanks to which they kept the men in /157/ permanent fear. But one day the men discovered this stratagem and then did the same with the woman; and since that time the latter have been intimidated [171] by means of practices of sorcery and dances. In the dances of the Ināpēsē of the Chamacoco in the Chaco (Baldus, Indianerstudien, p. 94), what the men want, by means of their mysterious and frightening tricks, is to protest against the power of the women.

/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII,
[562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
796 intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the
[534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular
[761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's
house, completely closed, and consumed there by
those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead
one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere
Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however,
what really happens there, although they pretend not to
know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
562 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men
and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine
obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
603 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower
[309] (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his
arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated
blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn
destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better,
the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut
as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived
with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment
besides the black rope around his body, which he had
spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks
were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping
were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows,
presenting them to him."

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 [797] 533 [776] The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.

[778] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
[171] pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
misfortunes.

114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

/162 cont./

773 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

5: Baldus--46 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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9: Eastern Bororo: houses of Indians of Meruri

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10: Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Diretor /Director Priest/ in Meruri.

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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177
302

11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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5: Baldus--48 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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13. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu (Meruri)

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14. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu returning from hunting (Meruri)

5: Baldus--49 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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302

16. Eastern Bororo: old hunter (Meruri)

17. Eastern Bororo: lads in Meruri

5: Baldus--50 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

18. Eastern Bororo: mother admiring her son (Sangradouro)

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19. Eastem Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde, one of the bravest hunters of ounces; Alaysa Aroia Chereudda, girl 17 years old, of lively and critical spirit, who knows how to read and write perfectly; and the son of the married couple (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--51 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

20. Eastern Bororo: Alaysa Aroia Chereudda with her son (Sangradouro)

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21. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde with the metal earring of the clan of the Aroia in his ear lobe (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--52 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

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23. Eastern Bororo: A smile by Mario Bokodori Kudde (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--53 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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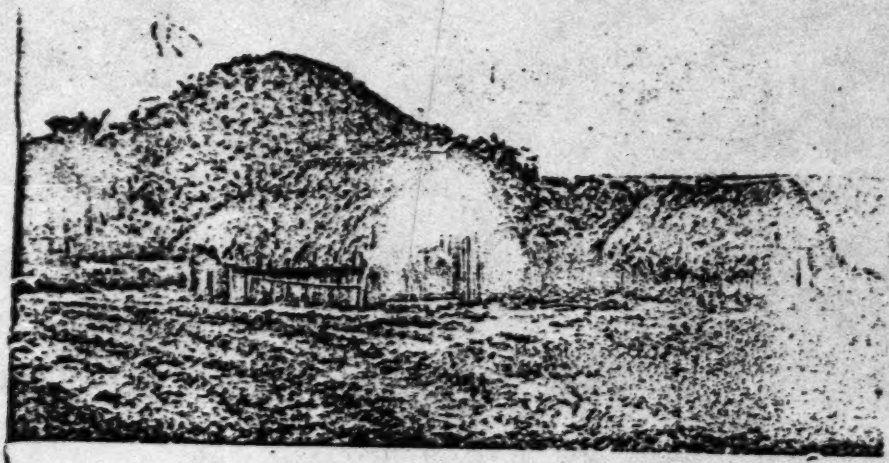
24: Eastern Bororo: Roberto Ipureu, my interpreter in Tori-paru, and a little boy from the same aldeia.



9. Bororo orientais: casas de índios de Meruri

End Plates Plate 1-8 not processed

10.
Bororo orientais: pequena família com o Padre Diretor em Meruri

11.
Bororo orientais: pequena família com o Padre Diretor em Meruri

12.
Bororo orientais: casal voltando da caça (Meruri)

13.
Bororo orientais: Tiago Marques Aipoburéu (Meruri)

14.
Bororo orientais: Tiago Marques Aipoburéu voltando da caça (Meruri)

Text does not contain plate 15.

16.
Bororo orientais: velho caçador (Meruri)

17.
Bororo orientais: rapazes em Meruri

18.
Bororo orientais: mãe contemplando o filho (Sangradouro)

19.
Bororo orientais: Mario Bokodori Kudde, um dos mais valentes caçadores de onças: Alaysa Aroia Chereudda, moça de 17 anos, de espirito vivo e critico, que sabe perfeitamente ler e escrever; e o filho do casal (Sangradouro)

20.
Bororo orientais: Alayus Aroia Cheredde com o filho (Sangradouro)

21.
Bororo orientais: Mario Bokodori Kudde com o brinco de metal do clan dos Aroia no lóbulo da orelha (Sangradouro)

22.
Bororo orientais: Outro ar do Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori é nome do seu clan e significa "tatu canastra"; Kudde significa "grito" (Sangradouro)

23.
Bororo orientais: Um sorriso do Mario Bokodori Kudde (Sangradouro)

24. Bororo orientais: Roberto Ipureu, meu intérprete em Tori-paru, e um menino da mesma aldeia

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 830

5: Baldus SP8 Bororo

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A POSIÇÃO SOCIAL DA MULHER ENTRE OS BORORO ORIENTAIS

Os Bororo orientais já foram tão minuciosamente descritos por Karl von den Steinen e pelo padre Antonio Colbacchini que só alguns pormenores restavam ainda por pesquizar, especialmente no que toca aos problemas da vida individual e social e da mudança de cultura.

No meado do seculo passado, o territorio de caça destes indios estendeu-se do Rio Paraguay até perto da cidade de Goyaz e do Rio das Mortes até perto de Miranda, por conseguinte de cerca de 50°30' a 57°30' de longitude oeste e de cerca de 15° a 20° de latitude sul. Supoz-se até agora que os Bororo não tivessem chegado tanto ao sul; mas os Tereno que moram nos arredores de Miranda, contaram-me que, em tempos passados, frequentemente as hordas de Bororo chegavam ás suas aldeias, não lhes fazendo, porém, guerra, porque, como dizia o velho chefe Tereno Nalikí, para explicar essa inclinação á paz: "Bororo é muito selvagem e não fica".

Mas os Bororo não eram, de modo nenhum, apenas um povo errante. Só durante tres mezes do ano, mais ou menos, passavam em grandes caçadas. O resto do

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tempo fixavam-se, plantavam milho, que conheciam desde ha muito, colhiam frutas silvestres, caçavam e pescavam nos arredores de suas aldeias.

Assim é, mais ou menos, hoje ainda. Apenas o seu territorio diminuiu. No este, oeste e sul, foram repelidos pelos brancos e no norte tiveram que fugir a indios ainda desconhecidos, aos quaes os Bororo dão o nome de Kayamo. De medo de todos os seus vizinhos, os Bororo vieram, ha mais de trinta anos, ás missões salesianas que foram, naquele tempo, fundadas na antiga estrada entre Cuyabá e o Rio Araguaya. Desde esta estrada, noutro tempo infestada por eles, por conseguinte desde cerca de 15°30' de latitude sul, o seu territorio atual estende-se a cerca de 17° de latitude sul e de cerca de 53° a cerca de 55°30' de longitude oeste.

As duas principaes missões dos salesianos entre os Bororo são atualmente a colonia São José no Rio Sangradouro, afluente do Rio das Mortes, que é chamada pelo povo simplesmente Sangradouro, e a colonia Coração de Jesus no Rio Barreiro, afluente do Rio das Garças, a qual é designada, geralmente, pelo nome bororo Meruri, "lugar das raias". Em janeiro de 1934, estive nessas missões. O caminho de Cuyabá à primeira tem cerca de 50 leguas; e de lá a Meruri são ainda cerca de 20 leguas.

Sangradouro está situado numa altura de 625 mts. e Meruri numa altura de 470 mts. O observatorio de Sangradouro apurou, desde a sua fundação no ano de 1924, como temperatura media, 27°. O maximo deu-se em ja-

neiro de 1926, com 38°, o minimo em 20 de junho de 1933, com -5°. A média barometrica em Sangradouro é até agora 715. O observatorio de Meruri constatou como maximo de temperatura do ano de 1933, em 26 de agosto, 37,4°, como minimo do mesmo ano, em 22 de junho, -1,3°.

Em Sangradouro, a grande geada de junho de 1933 queimou as bananas, a mandioca, a cana de açucar, os tomates, o café, a manga, o abacate e o buriti, enquanto que as plantas de espinhos, como as laranjeiras, os limoeiros e as roseiras não sofreram nada. Em Meruri planta-se milho, arroz, mandioca, cana de açucar, vinho, abacaxi e outras frutas.

Em Sangradouro viviam, em janeiro de 1931, 37 familias de Bororo, que contavam 185 individuos. Em janeiro de 1934 só 5 familias estavam lá, compostas de 11 adultos e 12 crianças.

Em 18 de janeiro de 1934 moravam em Meruri 28 familias de Bororo, a saber 32 homens, 28 mulheres, 33 crianças do sexo masculino e 44 crianças do sexo feminino, 137 individuos ao todo.

Nos arredores da povoação de garimpeiros Poxoreu, surgida mais ou menos em 1925 na margem ocidental do Rio Poxoreu, em cerca de 54°20' de longitude oeste e 16° de latitude sul, e que contava, em maio de 1933, 254 casas com 824 habitantes, viviam, entre os brasileiros, em janeiro de 1934, 70 Bororo, na maior parte homens. Cincoenta deles tinham emigrado, no ano an-

terior, de Sangradouro para lá; disseram ter vindo a convite do padre César, que durante oito annos tinha sido diretor de Sangradouro e foi transferido para Poxoreu em 1933. A casa salesiana, que existe lá desde 1932, é administrada por um padre e um irmão leigo; só é, porém, visitada por estes Bororo quando querem pedir esmola ou proteção contra os vizinhos brancos. Os 20 outros Bororo de Poxoreu vieram das aldeias controladas pela Comissão de Proteção aos Indios.

Quatro destas aldeias estão situadas no mato da região do Rio Vermelho, por conseguinte mais ou menos a 16°30' de latitude sul e entre 54° e 55° de longitude oeste; e há uma outra cerca de 20 leguas a sudoeste. Segundo a declaração do empregado da Comissão de Proteção aos Indios, snr. João Arena, essas cinco aldeias tinham cerca de 500 habitantes em 1933.

Entre Rondonopolis e Lageado, povoação de garimpeiros surgida ali por 1920 a 16°20' de latitude sul e 53°50' de longitude oeste e contando hoje mais de 2.000 habitantes, encontra-se ainda semelhante aldeia Bororo, de nome Tori-paru (*tori* significa em bororo: pedra, morro, e *paru*: embaixo, ao pé de; por conseguinte, o nome da aldeia significa: ao pé do morro). Dizem que a aldeia existe desde 1929, tendo tido, em 1933, 50 habitantes. No dia 31 de março de 1935 contei na casa dos homens, 35 homens. Alguns homens estavam ausentes, caçando. O numero total dos habitantes que moravam nas seis casas da aldeia, era, incluindo mulheres e crianças, superior a 100. Viviam da plantação de mandioca, arroz, feijão e

mamão e, em parte, do trabalho nas fazendas vizinhas. Tori-paru está situada a cerca de duas leguas a oeste de Lageado.

Os Bororo dessas seis aldeias estão em contato com os brasileiros, mas, na maior parte, são menos influenciados pela nossa civilisação do que os indios de Sangradouro e Meruri, apezar de que muitos dos átuais habitantes das aldeias estavam antes nestas missões.

O numero total dos Bororo que vivem a este do Rio Paraguay não atinge 1.000, na medida do que me foi possivel verificar.

Os Bororo são índios altos e atleticos; os homens tem, ás vezes, mais de 1,75 mt. Como o clima e a agua no planalto de Mato Grosso são os melhores do mundo, o estado de saude é bom. E' verdade que os Bororo, ás vezes, prejudicam-no pela sua apaixonada geofagia. As paredes de terra dos edificios da missão em Meruri estavam esmigalhadas em muitas partes apezar de serem renovadas tres vezes por ano. Quem se pilhava junto a essas paredes, fôsse homem, mulher ou criança, tirava um pedaço e comia com prazer.

Parece que a maneira de se alimentar importada pela nossa civilisação tambem não tem efeito favoravel. Enquanto antes mesmo os velhos possuiam ainda todos os dentes, hoje muitos moços e moças já perderam grande parte da dentadura. Os Bororo indicam como causa disso o fato de, antigamente, ingerirem as bebidas e comidas mornas enquanto que atualmente ingerem-nas qua-

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si sempre muito quentes; e ás vezes tambem a agua é muito fria. Não pude verificar o efeito do nosso sal nos Bororo. Em todo caso conheceram-no ha pouco.

Se bem que estes indios usem a roupa que lhes fornecem as missões, trazem ainda os homens muitas vezes, sob as calças, o estojo peniano de oauassú e as mulheres sob a saia o traje tradicional de cortiça.

Muitos adultos e tambem crianças tem ainda os pendentes catitas no labio inferior perfurado e no lóbulo da orelha. Mas, poucos são os que ainda têm o buraco no septo nasal, no qual o clan dos Akario Bokodori Baaddageba mete a sua insignia de penas de arara. Adornos de cabeça são ainda freqüentemente usados pelos homens. Muitos adultos e crianças usam nos braços bonitas e estreitas fitas tecidas e cordas no peito e no ventre. Tambem a pintura do rosto é ainda apreciada.

Cada clan tem seus adornos especiaes. O Bororo Mario Bokodori Kudde, em Sangradouro, descreveu-me, por exemplo, os adornos figurados pelo padre Colbacchini no seu livro *I Bororos Orientali*, pags. 48 e 49, como pertencentes aos seguintes clans: 1 — akario bokodori baaddageba; 2 — bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae e manna; 3 — bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae e vie; 5 — bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae tchebegiugue; 6 — kie; 7 — bakorokuddu baaddageba; 1' — paiwe kujaguréugue; 2' — apiburegue; 3' — aorore kujaguréugue; 4' — iwaguddudogue kujaguréugue; 6' — aorore tchoréugue. Cada um dêsses adornos pertence aos seguintes clans designados pelos numeros acima mencionados:

Colbacchini, p. 48:

```
          7 1 1
        6 3 5 2 1
            1
  1 1 1 1 7 1 6' 2' 4' 6'
```

Colbacchini, p. 49:

```
        6 6 6 | | 6
      2     6 | |
    2   2   2 | | 1
7 6 7 7 1 2 2 |-|-|-
            | | 7
      1' 7 7 |-|-
      1 e 7  | | 3' e 6'
```

Karl von den Steinen e o padre Antonio Colbacchini já relataram muita cousa interessante sobre a organisação social dos Bororo. Mas, ha especialmente, um problema que não foi pormenorizadamente estudado até agora: o da posição da mulher entre estes indios.

Entre quasi todos os povos primitivos da América do Sul é a mulher que leva a carga durante as marchas, enquanto o homem só anda com as armas na mão. Por isso, a maior parte dos observadores que fornecem noticias sôbre este assunto, dão-n'a como uma oprimida e escrava. E assim falam não sómente os viajantes que se contentam com um ligeiro exame, como tambem homens que durante decenios viveram em contato com uma tribu. Assim dizem tambem os padres salesianos dos Bororo; e acrescentam que, nas suas missões, só agora a mulher foi igualada ao homem. Mas êsse modo de ver prova apenas que, para conhecer os homens, não tem importancia decisiva passar a vida toda ao lado deles e tra-

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tá-los como bem nos parece; é necessário, para êsse fim, observar e respeitar os minimos detalhes de seu pensamento, de seu sentimento e de sua ação, isto é, tentar ver com os olhos deles o mundo e a eles mesmos.

Antigamente, já por ocasião do parto apareciam manifestações do comportamento do homem com respeito á mulher. Enquanto entre a maior parte das outras tribus de indios sulamericanos é costume que o marido, ostensivamente, não se importe com a parturiente, deixando toda a assistencia a ûma velha prática, entre os Bororo o futuro pai levava pessoalmente a esposa para o mato, cortava com lasca de bambú, depois do parto, o cordão umbilical, atando um fio (Karl von den Steinen: *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1894, pag. 503).

A questão da preferência quanto aos nascimentos de varões ou mulheres tambem pode evidenciar a posição dos sexos. A respeito disso deve-se observar qual é o sexo que prefere e porque prefere. Muitas vezes os pais preferem os nascimentos de varões e as mães os de mulheres; outras vezes, porém, dá-se o contrário. Os nascimentos de varões podem ser preferidos por serem êles mais estimados que as mulheres ou porque um excesso de varões faz subir o valor das mulheres. Félix de Azara (*Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de La Plata*, 1847, t. I, pag. 202) relata que os Guaikurú e os Guaná matavam a maior parte de suas filhas recém-nascidas para que as poucas que deixavam com vida, fossem mais desejadas pelos homens e, por isso, mais felizes, cos-

tume que, como se supõe, levou os homens a roubar as mulheres de outras tribus (v. tambem: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós", Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata 1895).

Entre os Bororo não ha regra para essa preferencia, que depende, de cada vez, do desejo comum de ambos os pais. Com isto se apresenta na materia uma igualação dos sexos.

Sustentava-se que, sendo o infanticidio costumeiro num povo que está sob o predominio de um determinado sexo, — seja do homem ou da mulher, — sempre seriam poupadas as crianças do sexo dominante (M. Vaerting: *Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib*, I, *Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart im Frauenstaat*, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Citaram-se exemplos dos chamados Estados das amazonas de Africa. Mesmo que estes exemplos fossem dignos de confiança, não autorizam tais generalizações. Deve-se considerar que o sexo predominante pode inclinar-se a conservar o proprio numero menor do que o do sexo dominado, não sómente porque tal desproporção numerica pode fazer subir o proprio valor, mas tambem porque a sexualidade pode levar o individuo a que seja mais tolerante para com o outro sexo do que para com o proprio. Seja como for: o costume de matar as crianças de um determinado sexo só pode aclarar a posição dos sexos se conhecemos as causas.

Na América do Sul, o infanticidio é, antes de tudo, costume de tribus nomades e atinge, em geral, da mes-

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ma maneira ambos os sexos. Ordinariamente, as causas são economicas: a mãe de um povo nomade não pode todos os anos deixar com vida um filho, sem crear graças a isso um impedimento funesto para a alimentação conveniente de outro nascido anteriormente. Entre os Bororo estas causas são disfarçadas pela crença que estabelece uma conexão entre a criança esperada e ainda não nascida e os maus sonhos de um dos parentes e especialmente da propria futura mãe. Se, por exemplo, a mulher pouco antes do parto vê em sonho qualquer desgraça, sejam mortos, feridas, picaduras de cobras, epidemias, inundações, incendios etc., a criança esperada é considerada o causador da desdita e será sacrificada logo depois do nascimento. Assim exige a comunidade da tribu, que nada quer admittir que possa prejudicar-lhe a existencia. Em geral os pais não matam pessoalmente o recem-nascido: entregam-no para esse fim aos parentes. Em todo caso, o infanticidio entre os Bororo não revela preferencia de sexo.

Se a limitação dos partos num povo está em relação com a posição dos sexos, é questão que só se pode resolver mediante o exame de um caso concreto. Os Bororo me contaram que antigamente preparavam com as folhas de uma herva uma decocção que esterilizava para sempre as mulheres. Diziam que só dois velhos conheceram êsse remedio. P. Antonio Colbacchini (*A tribu dos Bororos*, Rio de Janeiro, 1919, pags. 58 e 59) escreve o seguinte: "Impedem a concepção e a gravidez por meio de algumas beberagens e tisanas que extraem de raizes,

folhas e cascas de plantas — e conhecem grandes variedades dellas a que attribuem efficacia para o fim desejado. Toma-as a mulher e o homem, não só uma vez, mas muitas. A acção propria d'esses remedios é muito relativa e problematica, parece que muitos tiram o seu valor da superstição, como tive occasião de verificar. Não se pode negar, todavia, a efficacia de algumas das poções que denominam *Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u*. Ao que parece, as substancias de que mais usam para impedir a concepção em geral são muito adstringentes, sendo, pois, o seu principio activo provavelmente o tanino".

Os Bororo diziam-me tambem que usavam de diferentes meios abortivos. Segundo Colbacchini (*o. c.*, pag. 59) "provocam o aborto por meios physicos — trabalho forçado, carga de pesos enormes, pancadas no ventre, ou compressão exagerada delle... ou tambem tomando alguns alimentos ou beberagens que podem produzir tal effeito".

Tambem Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 503) menciona que o aborto por meios internos é freqüente. Quanto pudemos ver, da limitação dos partos entre os Bororo não se podem tirar conclusões a respeito da posição dos sexos.

Nesta matéria é interessante examinar o numero dos nascimentos, como pude averiguar com ajuda dos livros da parochia no dia 18 de janeiro de 1934 na missão de Meruri. Naturalmente é de notar a esse respeito que a influencia dos salesianos produziu alterações fundamentais. Na lista seguinte, os numeros que seguem os no-

mes dos pais indicam os seus provaveis anos de vida. Um *v* a seguir a esses numeros significa viuvo ou viuva de um matrimonio anterior. Se os filhos são de um matrimonio anterior do marido, o numero deles é posto entre parênteses; sendo de um matrimonio anterior da mulher, o numero está entre colchetes.

	pai	mãe	filhos vivos m	filhos vivos f	filhos mortos m	filhos mortos f
1	Alexio 50	Alvina 55	2			1
2	Antonio 55 v	Assumpção 65 v	(1) [1]	[1]	(3) [1]	[1]
3	Attilho 23	Frederica 17			1	
4	Braz 50	Josefina 38	2	4	1	3
5	Benedito 65	Loiduvina 55	1	1		
6	Bentino 20	Dosithea 20				
7	Baptista 26	Erminia 21	1		1	
8	Claudio 22	Ismaelita 19		1		
9	Domingo 50	Natalia 52		1	1	
10	Elias 21	Conceição 18	2			
11	Estanislão 45	Angelina 45		1		1
12	Eugenio 18	Cecilia 16		1		
13	João 38	Regina 19				
14	João Cagliero 50	Judith 50	1	4	2	2
15	João Baptista 50 v	Lucina 20	(2)	(1) 1	(4)	
16	Modesto 35	Anita 26	2	2		
17	Sebastião 55 v	Aida 40 v	(2) [1]		(1) [1]	
18	Thiago 35	Maria Luisa 35	1	1		2
19	Ugo 27	Claudia 22		2		
20	Vito 45	Angelina ?	3	2		
21	Rafael 60 v	Catarina 32	(1)	(3)		

	pai	mãe	filhos vivos m	filhos vivos f	filhos mortos m	filhos mortos f
22	Manoel 32	Jacinta 45 v	[1] 1	4		
23	José Maria 27	Theresa 26		1		1
24	Justino 39	Clotilde 35	2	1	1	3
25	Joaquim 70	Irene 50		(2)	(1)	(1)
26	Cirilo 35	Maria 42 v	[1]	[1] 2		
27	Luiz 50	Florisbela 55	1	1	2	1
28	Gabriel Pilar 34 (abandonou a mulher)		2	1		1
		Total:	31	39	20	17

orfãos irmãos	1	2
» »	1	2
orfão	1	
orfã		1
3 solteiros		
1 viuvo		
1 viuva		

De diferentes maneiras tem-se tentado explicar a *couvade*, o chamado sobreparto do homem, êsse costume muito espalhado especialmente na América do Sul, segundo o qual o pai é obrigado a deitar-se durante dias inteiros, não fazer trabalho pesado e abster-se de muitos alimentos importantes. "Alguns autores julgam o costume da *couvade*, que se encontra entre muitos povos primitivos, um gráo intermedio entre a familia matriarcal e a patriarcal. Esse costume é considerado como áto sim-

bolico do reconhecimento publico da paternidade no recem-nascido, ainda que, provavelmente, tambem algo religioso nisso coopere". (*Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, herausgegeben von Georg Buschan, 3. Auflage, Stuttgart, 1922, t. I, p. 8).

Os resultados de pesquizas mais modernas mostram indubitavelmente que o fim deste costume é defender de males a criança que, nos primeiros tempos da vida é imaginada em conexão direta com o pai, por assim dizer, como parte dele. Notaveis etnólogos, hoje, entendem que a *couvade* significa uma preferencia do homem, porque o fato de determinados costumes serem relativos exclusivamente a um sexo prova, segundo dizem, que esse sexo, por meio dêsses costumes, é colocado acima do outro.

Entre os Bororo, pai e mãe jejuavam durante alguns dias depois do nascimento da criança, não raro, porém, tambem até durante dois mezes, mas ambos continuavam com os seus trabalhos. Por conseguinte, verdadeira *couvade* não existia entre eles. Colbacchini (*o. c.*, p. 61) escreve, sobre o jejum: "Durante tres ou quatro dias, a mãe abstem-se de carnes, contentando-se com alguns caldos de milho ou raizes e fructas do mato, adoçadas com mel selvagem, ou assucar, se conseguem obtel-o. É costume o marido acompanhar a dieta da mulher abstendo-se de carne; póde-se mesmo dizer que a sua dieta é mais rigorosa do que a da mulher. Assim procede para que o neonato cresça forte e robusto e possa resistir, sem soffrer, à fome e à sede".

Karl von den Steinen (*a. c.*, p. 503) refere, a respeito: "Durante dois dias, pai e mãe não comem nada, no terceiro dia podem tomar só um pouco de agua quente. Se o pai comesse, ele e a criança ficariam doentes". Acrescenta: "Até a volta da menstruação, a mulher não pode banhar-se".

Colbacchini (*ibidem*) escreve, porém, sobre os Bororo por êle observados: "A mãe banha-se no dia seguinte ou algumas horas depois do parto".

Seja como for, em geral pode-se dizer que, segundo os costumes relacionados com o nascimento, os progenitores se comportam de maneira semelhante, ficando evidente, a respeito disso, uma igualação dos sexos entre os Bororo.

Tambem as iniciações de jovens pertencem aos costumes que, muitas vezes, distinguem só um dos dois sexos. Entre o Bororo é uma festa os rapazes receberem os estojos penianos. Precisam passar no mato o dia anterior, sem qualquer alimentação (von den Steinen, *o. c.*, p. 504). Não sei se a primeira menstruação tambem é festejada entre os Bororo, como me foi dado observar, por exemplo, entre os Tapirapé.

Como os Bororo me contaram, durante a menstruação da mulher casada, esta e o marido jejuavam, para se tornarem fortes. Assim podiam lutar com a onça; a mulher tambem lutava, sendo atacada pelo felino. E assim podiam também correr mais depressa que o avestruz.

Como os Kaingang, tambem os Bororo dividem-se em duas "metades" exogamas, os *tugarege* e os *tcherae*, o que, segundo Antonio Colbacchini (*I Bororos Orientali*, Pianta del villagio) significa os "fortes" e os "débeis". Tambem entre os Kaingang, uma das "metades" tem "mais força" do que a outra; e essa distinção é feita até entre os quatro "grupos" sociais da sua tribu.

As "metades" dos Bororo não são, porém, como as dos Kaingang, patrilineares, e sim matrilineares. Elas não são divididas, como entre os Kaingang, cada qual em dois "grupos", mas em sete, que designarei com o termo "clan".

Enquanto entre os Kaingang, onde a criança pertence á "metade" do pai, este dá o nome ao filho e á filha, às crianças da tribu matrilinear dos Bororo o nome é dado pelo irmão da mãe ou por outro parente mais velho dela. Os Bororo diziam-me a respeito disso: "Este que dá o nome, pensa e pensa e pensa e depois dá o nome. É o nome de um parente morto. Cada um só tem um nome durante a vida inteira. Alguns dias depois do nascimento, este que dá o nome levanta os braços do menino ou da menina e diz o nome. Depois, êle perfura tambem por meio de um osso o labio inferior do menino".

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [*aroe*] presso gl'Indi *Orari* [*Bororo Orientali*] del Matto Grosso", Festschrift für P. W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel — Mödling, p. 734) relata a comunicação feita pelo Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, segundo a qual os nomes de cada Bororo podem ser quatro, seis e ainda mais.

Segundo von den Steinen (*o. c.*, p. 503), os nomes designam animais e plantas. Colbacchini (*A tribu dos Boróros*, pp. 48 e 49) confirma isto e acrescenta: "Os nomes proprios ou pessoaes derivam de animaes ou vegetaes ou de algum antigo heróe d'elles; somente aos membros do grupo, a que pertencem os individuos, taes nomes se applicam, de modo que não só as duas dynastias ("metades" [H. B.]) dos *Tugarege* e *Cerae* têm nomes proprios determinados aos seus membros, mas tambem cada grupo tem nomes exclusivamente reservados aos individuos proprios, não podendo ser applicados aos de outro grupo, ainda que da mesma dynastia e casta. Por exemplo: o grupo dos *Apiborege* da casta dos *Tugarege* usa destes nomes *Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri*, e outros; os *Paiwe* da mesma casta usam, entre muitos outros, estes: *Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooáa.* Nunca, porém, haverá promiscuidade entre os nomes dos dous grupos; nunca os *Apiborege* usarão dos nomes dos *Paiwe*, e vice-versa, ainda que pertençam á mesma dynastia dos *Tugarege*. O mesmo costume rege os *Cerae* que nunca usarão os nomes proprios dos *Tugarege*, nem dos grupos d'elles. Por exemplo: os *Bocodori cerae*, os *Coge cibae cerae*, os *Aorori*, tomam os seguintes nomes proprios, para membros das suas familias: *Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu*; os *Kié* têm para o proprio uso os seguintes: *Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajoklvo.* Nunca se dará o caso de uma familia dos *Bocodori* dar aos seus membros nomes usados pelos *Kié*. — Ao ser animal ou vegetal cujo nome usam, não attribuem qualquer culto ou veneração,

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nem consideração alguma. Por exemplo: um individuo a quem fosse dado o nome de *Piodudo* (beija-flôr ou colibri) não professará, por isso, attenção especial a esse passarinho, nem terão, por isso, qualquer immunidade os beija-flôres. O mesmo succede em relação a outros animaes ou vegetaes".

Em geral, a criança, nas primeiros anos, é guardada pela mãe.

Vaerting (*o. c.*, pp. 6-9) designou como produto do predominio feminino o costume conhecido de algumas regiões da antiga Europa, Africa e Asia, segundo o qual a mulher toma a iniciativa no amor e no casamento. Observou-se comportamento semelhante entre algumas tribus sulamericanas; sejam mencionados, por exemplo, os Choroti no Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: *Indianerleben*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

Colbacchini (*o. c.*, pp. 55 e 56) escreve dos Bororo: "Em geral e na maior parte dos casos é a mulher que precede ao homem no pedido de casamento. A moça que se sente levada a estimar um moço e que deseja unir-se a elle consulta, em particular a mãe, si ainda vive, ou a irman mais velha. Si tal proposta encontra bom acolhimento da mãe, esta tomará parte activa na satisfação do desejo da filha. Procura, então indagar, entre as suas companheiras e os parentes do rapaz, si a filha seria acceita de bom grado como esposa. No caso affirmativo, a mãe com a filha preparam alguns guisados que julgam ou sabem ser do gosto do rapaz, e a mãe da pretendente ou, na falta d'ella, a irman mais velha, sabendo que o rapaz

está em casa, vai ao meio dia procural-o levando em um cesto de vime as iguarias preparadas, para ao mesmo tempo fazer-lhe a proposta e pedido official. Entrando em casa, dirige-se ao moço, que estará sentado perto do fogo trabalhando nas flechas; e lhe dirá: — *A wogae i roino* — (A procural-o vim) — e lhe fará a proposta. Se o joven quer acceital-a, nada dirá, mas estenderá a mão para receber o presente enviado que porá ao seu lado. E com esse gesto está acceito o pedido. Concluido o ajuste, rejubilando de alegria, irá logo levar á filha a grata noticia. Tanto a progenitora como os parentes da noiva põem-se então a preparar a casa, porque é costume que o homem vá habitar na casa da mulher. Prepararão o fogo, a esteira para dormir, o recipiente para a agua; depois cozinharão alguma cousa e esperarão. Ao escurecer, o rapaz se recolherá á casa da noiva e, sem nada dizer, entrará e se collocará ao lado da que desde aquelle momento é a sua esposa. A mãe ou a irman irão á casa do noivo buscar o que lhe pertence: arcos, flechas, etc. e levam-lhe tudo, mas não entregarão em suas mãos, mas sim á esposa que receberá e collocará tudo em ordem, emquanto o esposo ficará tranquillo junto ao fogo. Com este cerimonial está feito o casamento; desde aquelle momento habitarão juntos, chamar-se-ão com os nomes de *It'ore-do, it'ore-duje* (minha mulher, meu marido)."

É verdade que Colbacchini (*o. c.*, p. 56) refere que em certos casos tambem o homem ou sómente os pais podem ser a parte pretendente.

O relatorio de Karl von den Steinen sobre os Bororo orientais visitados por êle difere em muita cousa das descrições de Colbacchini. Não diz palavra alguma da iniciativa da mulher e observa unicamente (*o. c.*, p. 501): "Os rapazes tratam a tempo de achar mulher, e a respeito disso ha dois costumes em relação ao traje. Os lobulos das orelhas da moça são perfurados pelo futuro marido dela (os do rapaz pelo pai); se ele mesmo não casa com ela, o filho dele casará com ela. Quem coloca um estojo peniano num rapaz, "aparenta-se" com ele e casa-se com a irmã ou tia dele".

Von den Steinen (*o. c.*, p. 500) fala até de roubo de mulheres dentro da tribu e menciona que só uma parte dos homens tinha mulher permanentemente.

É interessante o que este explorador alemão sabe contar das moças na casa dos homens (*o. c.*, p. 502): "As moças, em parte, são trazidas publicamente durante o dia e pintadas e adornadas brincando e gracejando; em parte são apanhadas tarde, à noite. Numa noite vimos como os solteiros que tinham estado deitados diante do ranchão, assaltaram a multidão de mulheres que voltava de uma reunião de pranto. Duas foram aprisionadas depois de uma luta silenciosa, embrulhadas em cobertores de maneira que ficaram irreconheciveis, e levadas para a casa dos homens. Mas uma das duas era, como vimos na manhã seguinte, a Maria, rica de experiencias, em cuja resistencia não pode ter havido intenção muita seria. Hontem não querias casar-te? perguntei. — Agora já me casei, respondeu tranquilamente. Estava deitada com toda a

comodidade sob um cobertor vermelho ao lado do seu preferido, e ambos quebravam nozes de palmeira. Um dia vimos Moguyokuri animar os jovens para enfeitar Maria, que na luta mostrou-se tão brava e era agora tão submissa. Imediatamente seis moços lançaram-se sobre ela, pintando-a."

Que, porém, a moça levada para a casa dos homens não figurava lá, de maneira alguma, como escrava sem vontade propria, é evidente e graças à seguinte observação de Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, p. 489): "Enquanto as mulheres, de ordinario, ficavam afastadas da casa dos homens, raras vezes faltava lá um par de enamorados que bincava deitado sob um cobertor vermelho comum. Ninguem se importava com isso, a não ser alguns amigos atormentados por um pouco de ciumes, que atualmente tinham sido desatendidos pela amante comum e tinham de contentar-se com estar sentados ao lado do par, conversando com êle."

Tais costumes na casa dos homens não parecem ter existido entre os Bororo com os quais os missionarios salesianos passaram a vida. Pelo menos, Colbacchini, jamais refere semelhante cousa. Tambem eu não vi mulher alguma na casa dos homens em Tori-paru.

Tem-se afirmado que o costume segundo o qual um sexo é muito mais velho no matrimonio do que o outro, indica um predominio do primeiro (Vaerting, *o. c.*, p. 22 e seg.), alegando exemplos do Egypto, da America e da India. De indios sulamericanos, por exemplo do povo de caçadores e colecionadores dos Chamacoco no Chaco

(Baldus: *Indianerstudien*, Leipzig, 1931, p. 58), e dos Mojo, agricultores já cristianizados pelos jesuitas, no Rio Mamoré na Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: *Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland*, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), tornou-se conhecida a chamada escola matrimonial, instituição segundo a qual adolescentes casam-se com velhas e anciãos com moças novas, representando os mais velhos, de certa maneira, um papel educativo. Não conhecemos entre os Bororo regras semelhantes. Sobre as proporções de edade no matrimonio observadas, em 1934, na missão de Meruri, veja-se a lista acima reproduzida. Segundo esta lista, de 4 casais ambos os conjuges tinham a mesma edade, de 16 o marido tinha mais edade e de 6 a mulher tinha mais edade. De 7, o marido era até cinco anos mais velho; de 3, era de cinco a dez anos mais velho; de 6, era mais de dez anos mais velho. De 3, a mulher era até cinco anos mais velha; de 2, ela era de cinco a dez anos mais velha; de 1, ela era mais de dez anos mais velha.

Deve-se considerar como conseqüencia prejudicial da exogamia usada entre os Bororo o fáto de que solteiros e viuvos de ambos os sexos tem de ficar, muitas vezes, sem poder casar-se por longo tempo, ou mesmo para sempre, por falta do correspondente consorte da outra "metade"; isto foi observado tambem por Colbacchini (*o. c.*, p. 50).

Pode-se julgar a severidade com que a separação das "metades" exogamas é guardada tambem depois do casamento, pelas seguintes observações de Colbacchini (*o. c.*,

pp. 49 e 50): "Pelo totemismo delles, é absolutamente prohibido aos homens de uma dynastia, falarem, rirem, ou somente repararem, ou olharem as mulheres de outra dynastia. É isso observado meticulosa e escrupulosamente. Os homens de qualquer edade, encontrando-se por acaso no caminho ou em qualquer logar com uma ou mais mulheres, não sómente deixarão de estar parados, não as olharão, o voltarão mesmo o olhar para o lado opposto, como para indicar que querem até fugir ao perigo e occasião de encontrarem-se os olhares. A falta a este tradicional preceito é considerada gravissima, e o culpado cahiria na indignação geral, na censura de todos, pois que é geralmente julgado máo e immoral qualquer olhar ou sorriso entre pessoas de sexo differente e diversa dynastia. Nunca as mulheres de uma dynastia deixar-se-ão ver comendo ou bebendo na presença de homens de outra dynastia, e vice-versa. Não ha, porém, prohibição alguma dessas relações entre individuos da mesma dynastia, sejam elles homens ou mulheres. Vendo-se, portanto, um homem falar com uma mulher, deve-se logo entender que são do mesmo ramo dynastico porque em publico, mesmo entre marido e mulher, observam-se as mesmas regras, ainda que não tão escrupulosamente; será porém difficil que o homem fale ou brinde com a propria mulher em publico, que a coloque ao seu lado ou que estejam juntos, a não ser quando saem de casa e vão ambos apanhar frutas, tuberculos ou outras cousas na floresta; considera-se isso um acto privado".

A posição do marido, condicionada por esta separação severa que o obriga a passar muito tempo na casa dos homens, entremostra, junto com a organisação matrilinear e matrilocal, o matrimonio como instituição socialmente secundaria, até quasi como assunto particular. A familia, não a composta do marido, da mulher e dos filhos de ambos, mas a que consiste na mãe e em todos os parentes consanguineos dela, forma entre os Bororo a célula primitiva e a base da sociedade. O estado de pertencer á familia da mãe não é alterado pelo casamento nem no homem nem na mulher; somente o homem passa a dormir, depois do casamento, na casa da sogra (matrilocal), enquanto a mulher fica a vida inteira na casa da propria mãe; melhor dito: o homem, depois do casamento, tem de tornar maior a casa da sogra por meio de uma peça anexa, e a mulher e com isso a familia materna fica proprietaria dessa parte contigua do edificio.

Karl von den Steinen observa a respeito disto (*o. c.*, p. 501): "A jovem esposa fica com os filhos na casa dos pais. O jovem marido sómente passa a noite nessa casa e mora durante o dia na casa dos homens, se não está caçando. O jovem casal tem um fogo para si, a avó com os netos está sentada um pouco á parte. Assim continua até a morte dos avós. A avó amamenta, quando a jovem mulher vai com o marido á caça ou quando ela procura nozes de palmeira no mato; 'elas sempre têm leite ainda, quando as filhas casam'."

Outros caracteristicos da chamada familia materna ficam evidentes pelas seguintes indicações do mesmo explorador

(*o. c.*, p. 502): "As mulheres do ranchão (as moças na casa dos homens) receberam dos seus amantes flechas com pontas compridas de bambú. Cada um entregou duas, e a moça tomou-as, tendo se acocorado, com cara indiferente. Quando, uma vez, estive presente, contei 18 de tais flechas de amor para uma moça. Elas são entregues ao irmão ou ao irmão da mãe". O destino destas flechas dá, pois, uma ideia das relações de propriedade dentro da familia materna.

Interessante a este respeito é tambem o costume segundo o qual, sendo morta uma onça, o couro é entregue "ao irmão da mulher recem-morta ou ao tio do homem recem-morto" (von den Steinen, *ibidem*). É de supor que êsse tio é um irmão da mãe.

Por fim, um dos indicios mais importantes da familia materna: "Foi sempre como protetor natural da mulher, que seu irmão se nos apresentou" (von den Steinen, *ibidem*).

Uma conseqüência da organisação matrilinear que, ao mesmo tempo, carateriza a preponderante importancia social da mulher, é o fáto de ser um clan destinado a extinguir-se, logo que faltam as mulheres. Tambem Colbacchini (*o. c.*, p. 50) refere isso.

Em geral, os Bororo são monogamos. Colbacchini (*o. c.*, p. 57) observa a respeito disto: "Os poucos casos esporadicos de poligamia que se encontram são reprovados por todos. Dá-se, de ordinario, o caso de poligamia latente quando um homem desposa uma mulher que tem

uma filha mocinha, ou quando se casa com uma mocinha cuja mãe, viuva ou sem marido, é ainda moça. Neste caso é facilima a poligamia, ainda que occulta, porque oficialmente o homem será o marido da mãe ou da filha e nunca da filha e mãe".

Os Bororo falaram-me de tais casos de bigamía, o que é confirmado pela seguinte observação de Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, p. 501): "Em Thereza Christina, aparentemente só Moguyokuri (o chefe) vivia em poligamía. Suas esposas eram uma mulher de certa edade e a filha do primeiro matrimonio dela; ele casou-se com uma viuva que tinha uma filha, e quando a mãe tornou-se feia e a filha ficou bonita, 'casou-se' tambem com a filha".

Von den Steinen (*ibidem*) acrescenta, porém: "Mas nas aldeias, a poligamía dos mais velhos é geralmente a regra." Esse autor parece supô-lo baseando-se sómente no relatorio de Waehneldt sobre os Bororo no Jaurú, (citado na mesma pagina), porque não visitou pessoalmente as aldeias. Se fossemos inclinados a estabelecer relações entre o fáto de existir entre os Bororo em geral a monogamía e só em raros casos a bigamía com mãe e filha, e a instituição segundo a qual a filha mora toda a vidá com a mãe, o marido vai morar em casa dela e ela fica proprietaria da casa, deveriamos objetar a isto que em semelhantes circumstancias a poliginía não é sómente imaginavel, mas tambem em uso, como mostram exemplos da Africa.

Por outro lado, certamente, caso algum entre os povos primitivos me é conhecido, no qual a patrilocalidade e a patrilinearidade se unem com a poliandría, enquanto a ultima em combinação com a matrilocalidade e a matrilinearidade não só é possivel, como tambem existente, como fiquei sabendo justamente entre os Bororo. Os indios em Meruri, por exemplo Aipobureu, chamado Tiago Marques pelos missionarios, me contaram que antigamente acontecia uma mulher energica ter dois maridos se era capaz de mantê-los a ambos com o produto da colheita. Diziam que, certamente, tais casos tinham sido muito raros. Mais tarde, um caso desses me foi afirmado em Sangradouro pelo Bororo Kudde, pertencente ao clan dos Bokodori e chamado Mario pelos brancos.

Pode-se dizer, em geral, que entre povos primitivos com instituições matrilocais e matrilineares, o matrimonio tem regras menos fixas do que entre povos com instituições patrilocais e patrilineares. Entre os primeiros, tudo se ajusta de maneira mais facil e mais natural, os sexos se unem numericamente segundo a necessidade e a capacidade, podendo separar-se tambem com menos impedimentos, por ficarem as crianças com a mãe. Entre os Bororo, a iniciativa do divorcio pode partir tanto do marido como da mulher.

É fora de dúvida que, entre os povos primitivos, não só o homem, mas tambem a mulher, são respeitados pelo outro sexo e desejados para o matrimonio, segundo a capacidade de trabalhar. Nisso, porém, ha exceções, como

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entre nós: ás vezes, a mulher mais preguiçosa tem, graças ao seu *"sex appeal"*, o marido mais trabalhador, e um ronceiro tem a esposa mais diligente.

Não se pode dizer, generalizando, que o sexo que faz o trabalho mais pesado e economicamente mais valioso tenha posição superior ou inferior ao outro. Tambem, muitas vezes, não é possivel decidir qual é o trabalho mais pesado ou economicamente o mais valioso. Assim, Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, p. 490) refere dos Bororo, que, entre eles, "apezar de toda a caça, o alimento vegetal procurado pelas mulheres tem maior importancia por ser conseguido com mais regularidade e em abundancia. As mulheres buscam as raizes por meio de um páo apontado, trepam com grande agilidade às palmeiras entre as quais o oaussú e o acurí tem a preferencia, recolhem as nozes, cortam na copa a "couve de palmeira", procuram as frutas do jatobá e do piquí etc.".

Os trabalhos tipicos dos homens são, entre os indios, a caça, o cortar e lavrar madeira e a construção da casa. Todavia, tambem a respeito destes trabalhos ha exceções: em algumas tribus a mulher acompanha o marido na caça, atirando mesmo, em certos casos, com o arco; em outras tribus, por exemplo entre os Bororo, ela corta certas arvores para obter as nozes de palmeiras e o mel; em muitas, ela tambem ajuda na construção da casa. Mas, considerando esta divisão geral do trabalho, poderiamos, talvez, ser levados a supôr, à primeira vista, que se desejaria livrar dos trabalhos mais pesados a mulher que, na

maior parte dos indios, é, em média, menor (3) e tem menos força muscular do que o homem, além de estar impedida pela menstruação e pela maternidade. Averiguando mais rigorosamente, porém, descobre-se que, a não ser em poucas tribus de agricultores, como, por exemplo, os Tapirapé, a mulher tem trabalhos não menos pesados do que o homem, por exemplo o levar cargas nas marchas. Entre os Bororo, a mulher é até capaz de levar cargas mais pesadas do que o homem, e por isso, nos trabalhos da colheita nas missões, muitas vezes ela ganha mais do que este.

Tambem é erro pensar que entre os indios exclusivamente a mulher se dedique à colheita do alimento vegetal silvestre e à agricultura. Ambos os sexos recolhem todo o comestivel que podem achar, se bem que entre os povos de caçadores as mulheres se ocupam de preferencia da colheita de vegetais, que representam o alimento mais importante e que mais regularmente pode ser obtido, enquanto os homens se esforçam para fornecer a carne. A agricultura, porém, entre muitas tribus — (e na maior parte das tribus que visitei) — é quasi exclusivamente trabalho do

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(3) Como contraste sejam indicadas as seguintes tribus descritas por Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, *Rondonia*, 3.ª ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): «*Tembés* — Estatura masculina, em geral, menor que a feminina. Mulheres altas e magras; homens baixos e gordos. *Mundurucús* — São musculosos. Homens mais baixos que as mulheres, relativamente. Mulheres de bi-acromial relativamente mais largo. *Arôras* — As dimensões do tipo masculino são menores, em relação ás das mulheres. Mulheres de quadril estreito e bi-acromial largo».

homem, e a mulher participa, em algumas destas tribus, por exemplo entre os Tapirapé, sómente da propria lavoura com o páo de cavar, isto é, do trabalho de meter no solo os grãos de sementes, milho, algodão ou amendoim, mas não do de revolver a terra e do de plantar tuberculos, como a mandioca e o cará, ou do de plantar bananas, etc.

Por fim, enganamo-nos quando acreditamos que os trabalhos leves como o entrançar, fiar e tecer estejam, em toda parte, a cargo das mulheres. Entre os Bororo e Tereno, o homem fia e tece; entre os Karajá e Tapirapé, o entrançar é trabalho masculino.

Na lista seguinte demonstro a divisão de trabalho dos sexos entre oito tribus diferentes que visitei. Um ponto de interrogação indica que o trabalho é feito ou foi feito antigamente na tribu em questão, mas que não fiquei sabendo a que sexo êle era atribuido. Os sinais nas rubricas dos Kaingang referem-se aos Kaingang hodiernos de Palmas; alguns trabalhos ahi designados por meio de um traço transversal como não existentes, estavam, sem duvida, antigamente, em uso.

DIVISÃO DE TRABALHO

	HOMEM								MULHER							
	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kaingang	Kaskihá	Terena	Karajá	Tapirapé	Guayaki	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kaingang	Kaskihá	Terena	Karajá	Tapirapé	Guayaki
construção da casa	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
cortar madeira	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
buscar lenha	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
cortar ou inciar as árvores para extração do mel		–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+		–			–	–	–
cortar as palmeiras para lograr os frutos									+							
caçar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–		–		–	–	–
recolher o alimento vegetal silvestre	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
recolher os pequenos animais	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
recolher o mel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
pescar com a rede	+					+										
pescar com o arco e a flecha	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
pescar envenenando a água	+				?	+	+		+				?	+	+	–
caçar									+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
moquear no borralho os pequenos animais e os peixes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
moquear sobre o moquém os grandes animais	+	+		+		+	+	+	+				+			
trazer água	–	–							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
levar a carga nas marchas		–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carregar os filhos pequenos		–	–	–			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carregar os filhos grandes nas marchas								+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
pintar o rosto	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
pintar o corpo	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
tatuar						+	+	+								
perfurar o lábio inferior do menino	+	?				+	+	+		?					+	
perfurar o lóbulo da orelha do menino	+	+		?		+	+					?	+	+		
perfurar o lóbulo da orelha da menina				?		+						?	+	+		
fabricação do cotejo peniano	+	–					+									
fabricação do traje da mulher	–	–	–	?	?		–		+	+	–	?	?	+	–	–
fabricação da corda falsa do cabelo	+															+
fabricação de cordas grossas	+	+	–		?	+	+	–		+	–	+	?	+	+	+
fabricação de cordas finas	+	+		+	?	+		–			–		?	+	+	+
fabricação de trabalhos cozidos	+	–								+		+	+		+	–
entrançar (cestos etc.)		–		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
entrançar a bolsa de caça de uma folha de palmeira	+						–	–	+							
fiar o tecer ou fazer crochê	+				+							+		+	+	
fabricação dos instrumentos para o fiar e o tecer	+				+	+	+					+				
elaboração de madeira	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
cultivo de cabaças	?	+		+	?	+	+		?		–		?		–	–
elaboração de cabaças	+	+		+	?	+	+	–			–		?		–	–
elaboração de ossos, unhas, dentes, máricos, pedras ou metais	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
fabricação de enfeites de plumas	+		–	?	+	+	+	–		+	+	?	+		+	–
fabricação de vasos de barro	–		?	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+

Quanto, entre os Bororo, a vida sexual está em relação com a posição social dos sexos, demonstrou-me a seguinte declaração do Tiago Aipobureu em Meruri. Tendo eu perguntado de que geito os sexos se colocam para fazer o coito, dizia-me que o homem e a mulher, para este fim, sempre se deitam de lado, a saber, um em frente do outro. Depois me perguntou como os brancos costumavam comportar-se a este respeito, e contei-lhe que, pelo que eu sabia destas cousas, entre nós o homem se deitaria em cima da mulher, mas ás vezes aconteceria o contrario. O inteligente indio ficou visivelmente revoltado. "Que desaforo contra aquele que está embaixo!" exclamou. Olhei-o admirado, e ele acrescentou uma explicação que até hoje não compreendi: "Os Bororo dizem que o homem e a mulher tem de deitar-se um ao lado do outro, porque um dia morrem e então estão reunidos".

Atílio, meu fiel companheiro de viagem, Bororo de Sangradouro, mais tarde afirmou as declarações de Tiago Aipobureu e acrescentou: "O pai diz ao filho e a mãe á filha o que a gente tem de fazer no coito". Quando ouve que posição nesse áto é ocupada pelos brancos, espanta-se primeiro e diz depois com branda indignação: "Mas que peso!"

De Naliki, velho chefe Tereno, recebi a respeito da sua tribu a seguinte declaração: "Quando vão casar-se, o futuro marido ouve do pai e a futura esposa ouve da mãi que a gente, no coito, deita-se de lado, a saber, um em frente do outro. 'Primeiramente deveis fazer assim, porque desde o começo da tribu foi feito assim; depois po-

deis fazer á vontade'." — Os Tereno tambem acreditam que os esposos, depois da morte, encontram-se de novo, ficando então juntos.

Quanto pude ficar sabendo, entre os Guayakí, no coito, tambem ambos os sexos deitam-se de lado, mas não um em frente do outro, e sim o homem atraz da mulher. A respeito disso explicaram que, dêsse modo, dependia da vontade da mulher, introduzir ou não o penis na vagina, mas que em todos os casos ficaria para ambos uma possibilidade de prazer. Tambem seria possivel desta maneira, ter prazer com moças ainda impuberes sem que estas ficassem prejudicádas.

Entre os Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá e Tapirapé, a mulher, no coito, deita-se de costas e o homem em cima dela.

Mas que esta posição, tambem em outros continentes, nem sempre é ou foi considerada como normal, fica demonstrado pelos seguintes exemplos: segundo um mito dos Yoruba na Africa, Obatalla, o deus do céo, e Odudua, a deusa da terra, tinham em comum sete aneis. "Quando de noite se ajuntaram, se enfeitaram com estes aneis, a saber, sempre o que estava deitado por cima, usava os primeiros quatro aneis, e o que estava deitado em baixo, usava os restantes tres aneis" (Leo Frobenius: *Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes*, Berlin, 1923, pag. 112). Segundo um conto antigo syrio-judaico, Adão e Eva disputaram no paraiso qual dos dois, na cópula, tinha de deitar-se por baixo e qual por cima (Frobenius, *ibidem*).

Até que ponto a posição socialmente inferior da mulher na nossa civilisação se manifesta tambem a respeito da vida sexual, demonstram as expressões: "possuir" ou "usar" ou "deshonrar" uma mulher. Nossa moral colectiva não tolera que a mulher use tambem tais expressões a respeito do homem. Ela não pode "possui-lo", mas deve "pertencer-lhe", ela não pode "usa-lo", mas deve "entregar-se", e nunca pode "deshonra-lo", porque deve seduzi-lo, de tal maneira que êle próprio se considere como sedutor.

Entre os nossos indios, em vão buscaremos uma mentalidade que estabeleça semelhantes diferenças violentas entre os sexos. Isto não fica contradito pelo que Koslowsky (*o. c.*, pag. 384) relata dos Bororo occidentais: "Cuando se preparan para la caza (da onça [H. B.]) empiezan por observar ciertas ceremonias, que consisten principalmente en no dormir con su mujer cuatro dias antes de salir á la caza del felino; en este intervalo comienza por pintarse la cara con urucú, prepara sus flechas al calor del fuego para endurecer las fibras de la tacuara. En ninguna circunstancia le es permitido á la mujer tocar la punta de las flechas, pues el indio cree que con su contacto pierden su fuerza de penetracion y que le atraerian desgracias." — Quando o homem evita as relações com a mulher, supondo que estas o debilitam fisicamente e tambem mentalmente para o exercício de certos oficios de seu sexo; e quando êle, então, graças a um raciocínio por analogia, é levado á suposição de que a mulher seria capaz, por meio de seu contato, de tirar

a força das armas, não prova, com isso, que se sente superior ao outro sexo ou desdenha-o. Tais costumes encontram-se entre muitos povos de diferentes continentes.

Tiago Aipobureu em Meruri dizia-me: "Antigamente, os homens arrancavam às mandibulas da onça, mas hoje copulam tanto que não podem mais fazer isto. A cópula ataca muito o sangue, por isso o homem é mais forte quando copula raras vezes. Antigamente tinha relações sexuais só uma ou duas vezes por mez, hoje tem-n'as de uma a duas vezes por semana. E antigamente, a mulher, apezar das poucas relações, estava contente com o homem de medo de perde-lo".

Parece, porém, que em certa oposição a isso está a indicação do mesmo Tiago Aipobureu, segundo a qual antigamente os homens consumiam como afrodisiaco o breo do jatobá (*Hymenaea sp.*). "Hoje a gente come este breo só raras vezes; não é mais necessario porque agora a gente sempre está com vontade de copular". — Não será provocada esta mudança pela maneira de viver e alimentar-se dos Bororo que a nossa civilisação tanto alterou?

Dizem que a unica forma de carícia sexual conhecida pelos Bororo é fazer cocegas um no outro, especialmente nos sovacos e nas partes pudendas, cousa que aliás nunca se manifesta publicamente.

A homosexualidade e o onanismo são desconhecidos entre os Bororo, como entre a maior parte das tribus de indios visitadas por mim.

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Na lenda do Ké-Marugodu (v. as paginas 175, 176 e 181 do presente livro), Adugoedu, o jaguar, recomenda á sua mulher que não ria e não brinque com os outros homens. Quando ela, apezar disso, é levada a rir por Ké-Marugodu, o lagarto, cai morta no mesmo instante. Referindo a separação dos sexos das "metades" exogamas já ficamos sabendo, "que é geralmente julgado máo e imoral qualquer olhar ou sorriso entre pessoas de sexo diferente e 'metade' diversa". Indubitavelmente, os ciumes são um dos motivos deste costume e da passagem citada da lenda do Ké-Marugodu.

Entre os Bororo, ambos os sexos mostram ciumes. Não raras vezes os ciumes das mulheres levam-nas a verdadeiros duelos.

Conhecemos o duelo das mulheres dos Chamacoco (Baldus: *Indianerstudien*, pag. 62). Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 454) descreve o dos Bororo da maneira seguinte: "Quando a contenda no interior da cabana atingia o ponto culminante, era concluida por uma especie de luta. Saíam correndo para a praça; Xantippe parecia ser a imparcial. Falando e gesticulando vivamente, ela colocou tres mulheres de um lado e Maria, sózinha em frente delas. Uma das tres adiantou-se com grande pulo, e Maria foi ao encontro dela. Agarraram-se pela cintura, e uma luta feroz começou. E dentro de poucos segundos formavam o centro de um grosso novelo de curiosos e combatentes, novelo que se revolveu no meio e conjuntamente de uma massa maior e mais solta ao

longo das casas. Era um louco empurrar e apertar, os homens rindo, pulando, fóra de si de prazer, as mulheres uivando a mais não poder, enquanto as duas adversarias se seguravam firmemente abraçadas e agarradas pelos cabelos. Finalmente, foram separadas á força".

Entre os Bororo visitados por mim, as mulheres, para o duelo, atam pedaços oblongos da pele armada de espinhas do rabo da raia d'água doce, no lado interior nas articulações dianteiras dos dedos. Os homens fazem a mesma cousa, e tratam de arranhar com isto o adversario, batendo-o e abraçando-o. Além disso, os homens atam algumas peles inteiras do rabo da raia nas barrigas da perna e lançam então a perna por entre as partes superiores das coxas do inimigos. Tanto nas missões como em Tori-paru pude adquirir essas terriveis armas. Não sómente por meio delas, mas tambem com as unhas apontadas especialmente para esse fim, as mulheres arranham a cara e o corpo da antagonista. Fazendo isto, dão muitos gritos agudos, enquanto os homens pelejam silenciosamente; só, sendo a onça o adversário tratam de irrital-a por meio de gritaria.

As mulheres dos Bororo não brigam sómente por causa de ciumes, mas tambem quando os seus filhos fazem algum mal um ao outro ou quando elas mesmas se enfurecem por causa de qualquer mexerico. Depressa tornam-se amigas umas das outras, para poder contar historias escandalosas das outras amigas. Fazendo isto, procuram conhecer os segredos da nova amiga, mexericando depois sobre ela da mesma forma que sobre as

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outras. Tambem os homens são mestres na mentira e na calunia. E como se dá com todos os mexeriqueiros do mundo, tambem os Bororo, homem e mulher, são supersensiveis; e facilmente se irritam quando alguem acha o que dizer deles mesmos.

Ambos os sexos não guardam severamente a fidelidade conjugal. A respeito disto, o diretor da missão de Meruri contou-me: "Antigamente separavam-se quando o matrimonio não ia bem; hoje porém, sendo os matrimonios cristãos e, por isso, indissolúveis, o marido espanca a mulher". Como fiquei sabendo, ás vezes estas sovas vão até o homicidio. Diz-se que já antigamente tambem, se bem que de raro em raro, acontecia que o homem matava a mulher e que, por outro lado, tambem acontecia que os parentes da mulher o liquidavam com algum veneno vegetal.

Se os padres salesianos afirmam que a posição da mulher antigamente teria sido peior do que hoje, e que agora nas missões a Bororo estaria igualada ao homem, essa opinião corresponde á sua mentalidade europea, convencida da necessidade natural do predominio do homem, mentalidade que tem a mulher abandonada por mais digna de compaixão do que a espancada. Segundo o mesmo estado do espirito, o homem é "senhor em casa"; e os apostolos em Meruri e Sangradouro contam com satisfação que agora mudaram, no sentido cristão, os costumes dos Bororo, segundo os quais a mulher manda em casa.

Mas ha alguma cousa que não muda no sentido cristão e não se deixa oprimir para sempre por doutrinas boas ou más: é o carater inato do individuo, que consiste na força da vontade, na singularidade da sua sexualidade, em suma, na composição especial de todas as suas disposições naturais não adquiridas durante a vida, mas já nascidas com êle, composição pela qual unicamente o individuo é individuo e continua individuo, isto é, distingue-se de todos os outros individuos. Se bem que a posição social dos sexos dentro de um povo apresente, por assim dizer, vista de fóra, a forma ao matrimonio, se bem que pareça determinar ou, pelo menos, procure determinar a relação dos sexos, tambem no matrimonio, cada matrimonio recebe a sua propria e verdadeira configuração, ou, melhor dito, o seu conteudo, interiormente, pelos carateres dos individuos que por ele se unem. Naturalmente, os carateres pouco pronunciados são reprimidos pelas normas da sociedade tambem no matrimonio, pois este é uma formação que está no limite entre o ser social e individual. Quantos homens há entre nós que gostariam de ser dominados pela mulher, e representam o papel do inexoravel senhor e dono, em vez de produzir a força necessaria para vencer com a sua individualidade a influencia das convenções criadas pelo predominio do sexo masculino!

As diferenças do carater dos individuos não são menores numa aldeia de indios do que numa de nossas aldeias; e tambem lá os carateres muito pronunciados abrem o caminho, no matrimonio, atravez das regras so-

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ciais. Entre os Guató que Couto de Magalhães (*O selvagem*, 3.ª edição, São Paulo, 1935, pag. 148) chama "um tipo exagerado dos direitos do homem sobre a mulher", Julio Koslowsky ("Tres semanas entre los indios Guatós", Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895, pag. 232) encontrou um homem do qual, depois de ter elogiado a sua extraordinaria inteligencia, menciona: "Lo único que tuve que desaprobar fué la completa sumisión que demonstraba hácia su mujer".

Tais exemplos encontram-se em cada tribu de indios. Entre os Tapirapé vi homens que mandavam e maltratavam a mulher, e outros que fugiam da cabana com suas plumas quando a esposa enfurecida ameaçava atirar esses enfeites ao fogo. Entre os Karajá ha homens que, no momento de raiva, espancam a mulher terrivelmente e que, apezar disto, em todos os assuntos importantes se lhe submetem incondicionalmente. Karl von den Steinen diz, se bem que generalizando, dos indios da região do Xingú (*o. c.*, pag. 332): "O homem deixou a mulher levar mais carga do que êle, mandou-a ficar afastada da casa das frautas na qual os homens se aconselhavam, fumavam, realizavam festas, e onde os homens foram hospedados, êle foi senhor e dono dela — e fez o que ela queria".

Um dia, um velho irmão leigo em Sangradouro, que tinha passado toda a vida com os Bororo, me explicou, de u'a maneira ingenua a conduta dessa tribu em tais conjunturas: "Geralmente é o homem que manda; mas

quando um dêles é muito bom para a mu'her, é esta que manda".

Querendo averiguar a importancia do adôrno na situação dos sexos, temos de perguntar primeiramente, quando serve êle para apregoar o individuo adornado ao outro ou ao proprio sexo, e quando para mostrá-lo superior ao outro ou ao proprio sexo. Mas antes de tentar obter resposta a tais perguntas, é necessario distinguir o adôrno condicionado pela sociedade do adôrno originario do individuo.

Entre os Bororo podemos designar como "adôrno social" o enfeitar com os adôrnos próprios das diferentes clans e com o adôrno de plumas relacionado a fins religioso-coletivos. A grande coroa de plumas de arara, chamada *pariko*, o adôrno do peito que consiste em unhas do tatú canastra, e todas as várias especies de pendentes do labio competem ao sexo masculino. Os lobulos das orelhas, porém, são perfurados em ambos os sexos, com o fim de adorna-los, a saber, como Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 474) menciona, entre os rapazes pelo pai, logo que eles tem oito a dez anos e começam a provar seriamente a habilidade de caçador, e entre as meninas (K. von den Steinen, *o. c.*, pag. 501), como já vimos, como especie de sinal de uma promessa em casamento, pelo futuro marido (4).

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(4) Representemos, aqui, os brincos de metal. Colbacchini (*I Bororos Orientali*, p. 100) representa um homem com êsse brinco na orelha. Os Bororo me asseguraram que certos clans usavam e usam êsse adôrno de orelha feito de conchas, mas

Podemos considerar por "adornar individual" entre os Bororo o uso das cordas transversais do peito e das estreitas fitas tecidas dos braços. Ambos os sexos, adul-

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outros fabricavam o seu de um metal que a tribu possuia antigamente. Dizem que este metal era o ouro, noticia não muito dificil de acei'ar porque os Bororo ocupavam regiões nas quais hoje ainda o ouro aparece freqüentemente. Atualmente, os brincos aqui reproduzidos em tamanho natural são fabricados do metal de cartuchos. Chamam-se *meriri-kiga-réu* e são firmados por meio

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

de um fio d'arame anular no buraco furado em ambos os lobulos das orelhas, de maneira que o individuo usa um par dêsses brincos. O representado na figura 1, que tem um dente em cima e um em baixo, é proprio do clan dos Aroia; é usado por Mario Bokodori Kudde, figurado na estampa 21, ainda que este homem não pertença ao dito clan. Mas tinha matado uma onça e dado

tos e crianças, costumam usa-las ocasionalmente para, segundo me foi assegurado, defender-se das doenças.

Parece que o adorno de peito feito de dentes de animais serve para o mesmo fim. Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 479) escreveu a respeito deste adorno: "Só rarissimas vezes acontece que tambem mulheres recebam estes adornos o que, provavelmente, resulta da mudança pela colonização, porque se conta que, nos outros Bororo, é comum só os homens adornarem-se". — Vi esse enfeite tanto nas mulheres e crianças como nos homens.

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o cadaver aos Aroia, livrando, com isto, do encarnar-se nessa fera um recem-defunto dêsse clan. Recebeu então, como é costume em tal caso, presentes de honra dos Aroia, especialmente o arco pomposamente adornado de plumas, e a licença para fabricar e usar «sem medo e vergonha» todos os adornos com que o clan deles se distingue dos outros. Pode-se adquirir esta licença de qualquer clan desde que se lhe entregue uma onça morta, livrando, desse modo, um dos seus defuntos da encarnação nesse felino. Desejo observar ainda que a mulher de Mario Bokodori Kudde (estampas 19 e 20) era uma Aroia e, por isso, possuia brincos iguais aos que o marido usava. O mesmo homem me disse que, antigamente, esses brincos eram usados de modo inverso, quer dizer, com as pontas para cima.

O brinco sem dente, representado na figura 2, pertence ao clan dos Paí-we; o com um dente, na figura 3, é do clan dos Dyakome(r)koadda.

E' provavel que a forma destes brincos tenha sido tomada do adorno de peito feito das unhas do tatú canastra (*Priodontes giganteus*), chamado *bokodori inoge* (*bokodori*: tatú canastra; *inoge*: unha), e representado varias vezes por Colbacchini (*I Bororos Orientali*, p. 50) e por Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*).

Vi em Sangradouro um Bororo fabricar tambem um adorno de peito na forma e com o tamanho do *bokodori inoge*, mas de folha de lata.

Não pude averiguar se essa forma tem qualquer relação com a lua.

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Tambem, nem entre os Bororo nem entre outras tribus de indios é "comum" que sómente os homens se adornem. Justamente Karl von den Steinen refere (*o. c.*, pags. 476 e 502) que as moças na casa dos homens são pintadas e adornadas com o maior cuidado. E Colbacchini (*o. c.*, pag. 15) diz: "Homens e mulheres enfeitam a cabeça com plumas e pennas". — E' verdade que estes casos são exemplos do "adôrno individual" e não do "adôrno social". Entre a maior parte das tribus de indios encontramos um par de namorados que se adornam reciprocamente, em especial por meio de pintura; nota-se tambem que os pais adornam os filhos de ambos os sexos. Entre os Tapirapé, a igualação no "adôrno individual" vai ao ponto de homem e mulher, em muitos casais, trazerem, alternadamente, os mesmos colares de contas no pescoço.

Mas o adôrno da india não é, sempre e por toda parte, limitado ao "adôrno individual". Em muitas tribus, a moça, no fim da primeira menstruação, é adornada solenemente. Entre os Tapirapé, as mulheres renovam depois da menstruação a pintura do corpo, tipica do sexo feminino. Entre os Bororo, as mulheres usam brincos que valem por distintivos de clan. Tudo isto é "adôrno social".

Considerando o adôrno dos Bororo em conjunto, verificamos que a maior parte do "adôrno social" compete ao homem, enquanto que ambos os sexos se dedicam, em proporções iguais, ao "adôrno individual". Parece, porém, que a pergunta a respeito de quando o

adôrno desses indios serve para apregoar o individuo adornado, ao outro, ou ao proprio sexo, ou mostra-lo superior ao outro ou ao proprio sexo, só pode ser respondida em face deste ou daquele caso particular. Assim, essa resposta só tem valor individual-psicológico e não valor geral, quanto á significação do adôrno para a posição dos sexos.

Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 497) escreve que entre os indios "é próprio da mulher chorar e 'tremer' sempre, quando animais, inimigos ou apenas saltos de agua ameaçam, e necessitar sempre de proteção".

Verifiquei em minhas experiencias que isto é verdade, em geral; e quando se observa que a mulher, na raiva e no medo, dá gritos agudos ou gemidos, enquanto que o homem quasi sempre se esforça por conservar, em qualquer caso, mais dignidade tranquila, inclinamo-nos a ver nesse comportamento uma superioridade do homem. E mesmo sendo a causa do comportamento da mulher apenas a sua intenção de "vencer por meio de fraqueza" nas relações dos sexos, isso nos parece um indicio da inferioridade social.

Na maior parte das tribus indigenas os homens querem até que as mulheres mostrem medo, e certas dansas são realizadas para este fim. Segundo Wilhelm Koppers (*Unter Feuerlandindianern*, Stuttgart, 1924) os indios na Terra do Fogo contam que, em tempos antigos, eram completamente dominados pelas mulheres, porque estas tinham-se reunido em ligas secretas e realizavam ritos graças aos quais mantinham os homens em medo per-

manente. Mas um dia os homens descobriram esse embuste e fizeram então o mesmo com as mulheres; e desde aquele tempo estas são atemorizadas por meio de praticas de feitiçaria e dansas. Nas dansas dos *ānāpēsē* dos Chamacoco no Chaco (Baldus, *Indianerstudien*, pag. 94), os homens, por meio dos seus tregeitos misteriosos e amedrontadores o que querem é protestar contra o poder das mulheres.

Von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 494) diz, da dansa do couro da onça dos Bororo, a qual foi observada recentemente ainda entre os chamados Bororo da Campanha que pertencem aos Bororo occidentais, por Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, N. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pags. 120 e segts.): "O medo das mulheres era a *pointe* da dansa".

Se parece que a causa de que os homens tratem de intimidar as mulheres por meio de certos misterios, é, muitas vezes, a intenção de se sustentar contra o sexo feminino, intenção que não prova de modo algum que os homens estejam perfeitamente convencidos da sua propria superioridade, por outro lado, porém, tambem um sentimento que os inquieta, não por causa de si mesmos, mas por causa das mulheres, pode leva-los a tais práticas. Este ultimo motivo dá-se, por exemplo, segundo Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 498) nas festas funerais dos Bororo. Escreve êle a este respeito (o. c., pag.

497): "A ideia fundamental de todas estas solenidades é o medo de que o morto voltasse para levar os vivos. Exclue-se timidamente o sexo fraco das cerimonias que são realizadas com o fim de defender-se desta possibilidade. As mulheres vão ao mato ou escondem-se nas casas. O signal para elas é dado por certo instrumento sonoro (especie de "berra-boi", em alemão *Schwirrholz*) cujo som particular tem sentido acautelante ou atemorizador. Se elas estivessem presentes, expôr-se-iam a morrer. Até aqui tudo é logico e natural. Mas, ha mais: deste costume formou-se a crença de que apenas a vista desse instrumento já constitue perigo para as mulheres: morreriam se o vissem".

Como Tiago Aipobureu me contou, hoje ainda existe o costume das mulheres prepararem, para as festas funerárias, a comida que é levada pelos rapazes á casa dos homens, completamente fechada, e lá consumida pelos presentes. Segundo a tradição da tribu, tambem o morto participa desse banquete. Mas o sincero Tiago Aipobureu ajuntou: "As mulheres sabem, porém, o que lá acontece em realidade, se bem que finjam não saber. Sempre ha homens que lhes contam tudo".

Ambos os sexos dos Bororo tomam parte da maioria dos cantos e dansas; é verdade, porém, que nessas ocasiões o sexo feminino sempre tem papel secundario. Segundo Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 491), homens e mulheres embriagam-se indistintamente com o vinho tirado do acurí.

5: Baldus SP8 Bororo

A posição dos sexos evidencia-se tambem por ocasião da morte. Como entre quasi todas as tribus do oriente da América do Sul, tambem entre os Bororo os parentes mais chegados do defunto ou da defunta, especialmente o viuvo ou a viuva, cortam o cabelo.

As seguintes passagens do relatorio de Karl von den Steinen são carateristicas do comportamento de um viuvo (*o. c.*, pag. 505): "Coqueiro, na sua cabana, deu córtes nos braços e pernas, que se cobriram com crostas de sangue coalhado; e de tarde realizou-se a solemne destruição dos bens da defunta, melhor dito, dos bens de sua familia, que tinha morado na mesma cabana que ela". — Depois disso (*o. c.*, pag. 508): "Coqueiro chegou com uma criança na mão. Sentou-se silenciosamente ao lado, soluçou e chorou. Não tinha adôrno algum além da corda preta ao redor do corpo, que ele tinha fiado e entrelaçado do cabelo da sua mulher. Suas faces estavam molhadas de lagrimas; comprimiu os olhos como se o chôro fosse doloroso". — E por fim (*o. c.*, pag. 510): "Coqueiro ficou sem nada. Os amigos fabricaram arco e flechas presenteando-o com eles".

Si bem que possamos afirmar que por este comportamento se manifesta o medo do fenomeno enigmatico da morte, parece que o viuvo Coqueiro mostrou uma verdadeira dôr de marido amoroso e com isto provou como estimava a mulher.

Quando falei da vida sexual já referi que, segundo a crença dos Bororo, os casais reunem-se de novo depois da morte. E' preciso acrescentar que eles, então, só se

reunem depois de ter-se tornado araras ou outros animais, correspondentes á crença na transmigração das almas entre esses indios. Se um homem tinha duas mulheres, reune-se com ambas depois da morte. Si foi casado varias vezes, reune-se, depois da morte, com a mulher ou com as mulheres do seu ultimo consorcio. A viuva que casa outra vez, reune-se, depois da morte, com o ultimo marido. Aparentemente, a reunião depois da morte realiza-se, por conseguinte, sempre segundo o desejo do cônjuge sobrevivente. O filho reune-se aos pais, contando-lhes tudo o que aconteceu desde a morte deles.

Sobre a vida da viuva, Colbacchini (*o. c.*, pag. 58) escreve: "As viuvas são verdadeiramente livres e gosam da mesma posição de antes. A viuvez não impõe honras nem deveres. Podem casar-se novamente; não ha tambem da parte das mulheres aversão a se casarem com viuvos. Morto o marido, fica a viuva em companhia dos parentes dela".

Os Bororo das missões me asseguraram que entre eles não existem nem jamais existiram *bari* femininas (medicas-feiticeiras) e sim velhas curandeiras. Disseram-me que aquele que sabia cantar melhor, com a voz mais alta e por mais tempo, e que tambem possuia outras aptidões, era eleito para *bari*. Mas os habitantes da aldeia Tori-paru me disseram que o *bari* não era eleito, mas que o demonio *bope* entra em qualquer um dos seus, e este, então, fica *bari*. Ninguem sabe, com antecedência, quem se torna *bari*. Duas pessoas podem tornar-se *bari* ao

mesmo tempo e dessa maneira, e tanto homens como mulheres.

Medicas-feiticeiras são rarissimas entre os povos primitivos da América do Sul. Os Tapirapé tinham um *pantché* feminino e mataram-no como suposto causador de desgraças.

Em outro lugar (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme", Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XXIX, Leipzig, 1932; tradução franceza pelo Dr. A. Métraux na Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), tentei demonstrar como as organizações sociais entre tribus de indios sulamericanos se refletem em sua mitologia. Entre os Bororo encontramos dois "mitos de origem" (*Ursprungsmythen*), cujos elementos são muito espalhados neste continente. Uma moça da tribu casa-se com o jaguar. Ela morre, e do seu corpo tiram-se gemeos que se mostram, mais tarde, como os herois civilizadores e os antepassados da tribu. Neste mito, por conseguinte, aparece a figura de uma "mãe primaria" (*Urmutter*; Baldus, *o. c.*) como a encontramos, na maior parte dos casos, entre povos de organização matrilocal e muitas vezes, tambem, matrilinear. E' verdade que ela existe hoje, ás vezes, de par com a organização patrilocal e patrilinear; mas, a respeito disso, temos de considerar primeiramente que muitos mitos fazem grandes migrações e são, muitas vezes, com a maior facilidade, incorporados à mitologia de uma tribu; e, em segundo lugar, que as

formas sociais não são fixas, mas mudam, freqüentemente, mais depressa do que a mitologia que as reflete.

Num outro mito dos Bororo, o homem sobrevivente depois da grande enchente que destruiu tudo, povoava novamente a terra por meio de casamento com uma veada. Por isso, hoje em geral se evita comer a carne de veado. Os Bororo crêm que adoeceriam se a comessem. Só em rarissimos casos, a magía de um *bari* especialmente poderoso é capaz de tornar comestivel essa carne.

Os Bororo me contaram: "Havia um homem que mandou os homens, e uma mulher que mandou as mulheres". O homem era Baitogogo, o primeiro e maior chefe e que tem na mitologia papel importante como civilisador. Esta repartição mitica do mando entre um homem e uma mulher prova uma completa igualação social dos sexos.

Em resumo, pode-se dizer, sobre a posição social da mulher entre os Bororo orientais: é verdade que o sexo feminino é considerado muito diferente do masculino, mas em geral não é considerado nem inferior nem superior a ele.

[pp. 163 - 322 not processed]

[p.323]

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Natural History

Incorporating Nature Magazine

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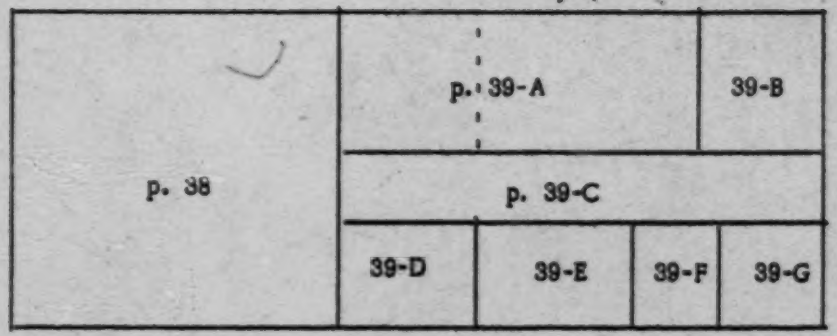

[Layout of pp. 38-39]

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Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

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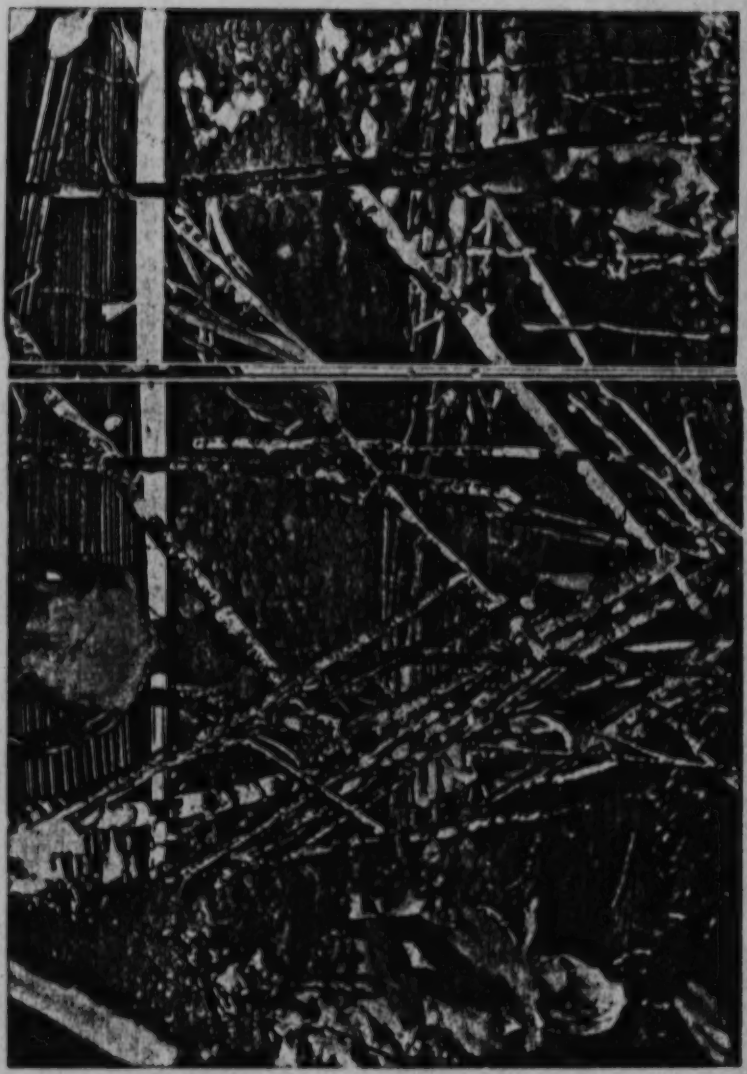

View of main street, showing some of the village chiefs. Upper right, a couple of men and the people during the long funeral ritual.

[p. 39-A]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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DRUGGED FISH try to escape weir and are netted when they enter its chutes.

[p. 39-B]

Ritual of a Bororo Funeral

A simple interment ends full month of highly elaborate ceremony and preparation

By Vladimír Kozák

[p. 39-]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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DEATH CAUSES GREAT CONCERN among peoples of all levels of culture. Among primitive peoples, anxiety about death is especially keen because of the widespread belief that the spirit of the dead person may be displeased and may remain in the community to haunt and disturb the survivors. Consequently, it is extremely important to the survivors to dispose of the remains of a dead person in the prescribed manner and to demonstrate their concern for the deceased through the proper rituals. For this reason, the

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6:Kozlk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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ritual practices accompanying death are often among the most elaborate and impressive ceremonies to be found in the primitive world. No more spectacular funerary ceremony is known to ethnology than that of the Bororo Indians of Brazil. 764

The Bororo now living on the São Lourenço River in the state of Mato Grosso call themselves *Orarimogodogue*—Fish People. Their settlement consists of a number of large thatched houses arranged in a circle around an open dance plaza. Each hut is occupied by a group of closely related women, together with their husbands and children. 131 101 361 592

[p. 39-E]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

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[p. 39-F]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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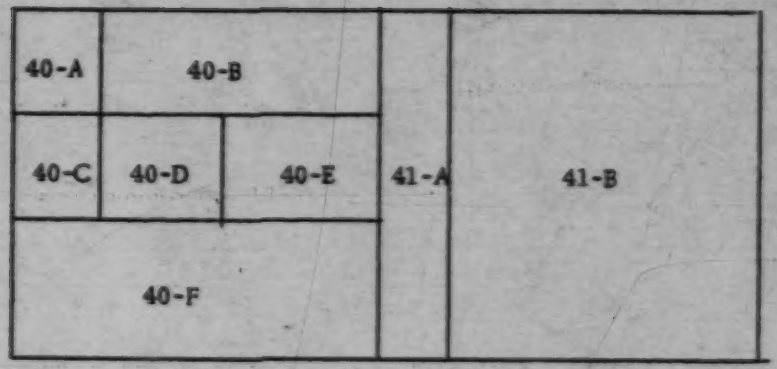
are pacified and are being affected to an increasing extent by contact with Western civilization. But in much of their ceremonialism these people still retain their native customs. 648 177 [181]

When a death occurs among the Bororo, all the members of the society put aside the activities of their normal routine for several weeks and together perform some thirty separate rituals that constitute their elaborate and protracted funerary ceremony. 764

A few years ago, the author, with the co-operation of the Brazilian Indian Service, had an opportunity to visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga 114

[p. 39-G]
[text continues on p. 40-C]



[Layout of pp. 40-41]

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LARGE CATCH is smoked and dried on split-ended sticks set up close to fire.

[p.40-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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SHAMAN, into whose care all of the caught fish are first given for ritual treatment, here places a large fish on palm leaf and cuts it in small pieces.

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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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on the São Lourenço River, and to 114
photograph the events that followed a
death that had just occurred there.
This story gives only the highlights of
these events—a complete report would
require an entire monograph.

When a Bororo is gravely ill, with- 763
out hope of recovery, his friends and [301]
relatives decorate him with feather [302]
ornaments and anoint his body with
urucú, a brilliant red paint made from [386]

[p. 40-C]

the oily seeds of a shrub. As death 763
nears, the assemblage begins to chant [386]
softly. Then, one by one they approach [533]
the dying person and pay him their
last respects by briefly placing a hand
on his forehead.

As soon as breathing has stopped, 764
the body is quickly covered with
a sleeping mat, for the corpse must not
be seen again by the women or chil-

[p. 40-D]

764

dren. The mourners, especially the women, wail loudly and further express their grief by cutting themselves so deeply with sharpened mussel shells that their blood runs onto the mat that covers the corpse. [152] [304]

At sundown the body is wrapped in the sleeping mat. If the deceased is a man, his bow and arrows are wrapped with him, and the bundle is taken out to the plaza. All the villagers gather

[p. 40-E]

[text continues on p. 41-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

[p. 40-F]

After biting fish, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is proceeded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bopa*, a powerful spirit.

756
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[774]
[787]

Mr. Kodak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

114
128

All the Women gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152] [304] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 326 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

222
273

WOMAN scrapes wall in an ocuri palm, above, after top has been chopped off. Sap seeps upward, and while it collects a leaf covers the cavity. When wall is full, below, a woman draws off the sap by using a long reed tube as a pipette.

[142
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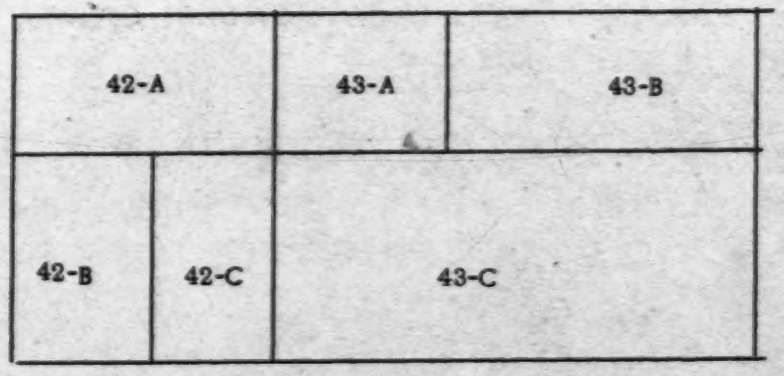
415]

[p. 41-B]



[Layout of pp. 42-43]

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ORNATE BOW, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

6:Kozdk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

[p. 42-A]

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

776
761
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224
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[787]
[616]
[411]
[534]
[431]

[p. 42-B]

8:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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made from the mourners' hair, which the hunter wraps around his left wrist to prevent it from being injured by the snap of the bowstring.

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EVEN though the shaman has "learned" the location of a jaguar from the spirit of the deceased, several days may pass before the hunter succeeds in finding one. The ensuing struggle between hunter and hunted is a feat of great daring and skill. As soon as a jaguar comes within shooting range, the hunter releases an arrow. He then immediately lifts his bow into a horizontal position and extends it toward the jaguar, pointing the far tip directly at the beast to parry its attack (a single arrow is seldom lethal). This maneuver must be accomplished with great speed before the jaguar pounces. Enraged by pain, the jaguar leaps at the end of the bow, clawing and biting it. Eye to eye the two struggle, the hunter warding off the beast with his bow held rigidly in both hands. When the jaguar recoils to pounce, the hunter quickly looses a second arrow and again raises the bow to protect himself. When the jaguar finally falls to the ground, weakened by the wounds, a last arrow is shot to end the struggle. If the hunter does not deliver this coup de grâce, he may lose the contest, for the jaguar may still have enough strength to attack when the hunter least expects it.

With the help of a companion, the hunter carries the dead jaguar

[p. 42-C]

[text continues on p. 44-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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WOODEN FLUTES, ornamented with bird down and feathers, figure prominently in the ceremonies, as do whistles, and rattles and trumpets made from gourds.

[p. 43-A]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

BLACK DESIGNS are painted on inside of jaguar skin, *above*, which is worn by shaman, *below*, in ritual dance to appease spirit of the ceremonial kill.

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[See p 43-C]

[p. 43-B]

6t Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Berero SP8

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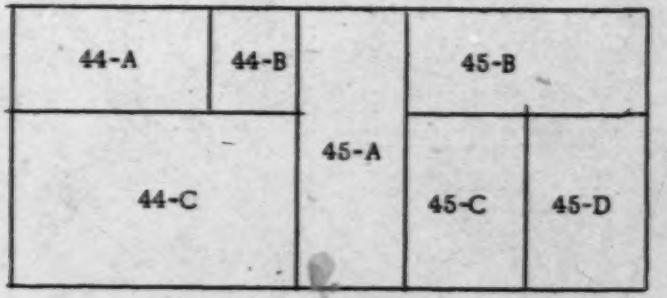
[Stud dance to appease spirit of the commercial fish.-Ambyst] ¹

[p. 43-C] ¹ [For caption, see p. 43-B]



[Layout of pp. 44-45]

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MEDICINE MAN, at the left, holds rattle as he leads strenuous dance. Men and women jump, then kneel, to raise and lower palm fronds held between them.

6:Kosik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPB Barono SPB

[p. 44-A]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [411] [531 766]

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

765 535 825 782

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

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EXHAUSTED DANCERS squat on temporary grass as a friend, daubed with clay to represent a mythical beast, sprinkles them with water. The action cools the dancers and hastens disintegration of body. Feathered pole is grass snake.

[p. 44-C]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone. 765 535 825 762

IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun. 764 302 301 292 [435]

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue. 765 535 767 776 767 776 765

ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound. [302] [775]

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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PALM SAP, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p. 45-B]

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renewed effort to call forth the spirit of the dead Bororo.

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The ritual dances of the Bororo depict in lively and vigorous fashion many aspects of their relations with the spirit world. All the dances take place in the village plaza, and most of them continue for hours at a time, requiring tremendous physical endurance. As one by one the dancers become exhausted, they drop out of line. Weary and covered with perspiration, each one squats unceremoniously on the shallow grave, while someone pours a pot of water over him. These shower baths have a twofold purpose: they refresh the dancers and also moisten the ground, thus hastening decomposition of the body.

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[765]
[595]

Before the dancers return to strenuous activity, they may sip palm "wine." This weakly fermented beverage is prepared from sap of the *acuri* palm, a tree that grows in profusion near the village. To collect the sap, a man climbs to the top of the tree and cuts off the uppermost fronds. Next, his wife ascends and, with a shell, scrapes the pith from the heart of the

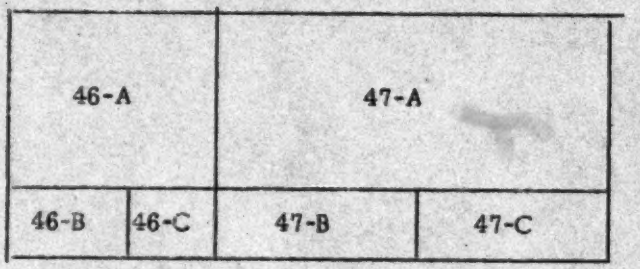
[p.45-c]

palm, leaving a deep well in which the 273
sap collects by upward seepage. She 222
covers the opening with leaves, and
by the next day the well is full. A number of women then suck the sap into
reeds, which they use as pipettes. [445]
When a reed is full, they close the top
quickly with a thumb and transfer the
sap to large pots. It is then taken back
to the village and left in the shade for
a day to ferment.

FOR a change of pace from the ritual 526
dances of the funerary ceremony, [764]
the Bororo engage in an unusual kind
of relay race. Two teams of young
men—each team representing one of [616]
the two moieties of the society—oppose
each other. Men of the two groups cut
stems of buriti palms, trim them to a
uniform length, and tie them into two
huge circular bundles resembling cart
wheels. Each one is about three feet
in diameter and may weigh more than
one hundred pounds. With a "cart
wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man
from each team begins running toward
the village. When he tires under his
heavy burden, the bundle is taken over

[p. 45-D]

[text continues on p. 46-B]



[Layout of pp. 46-47]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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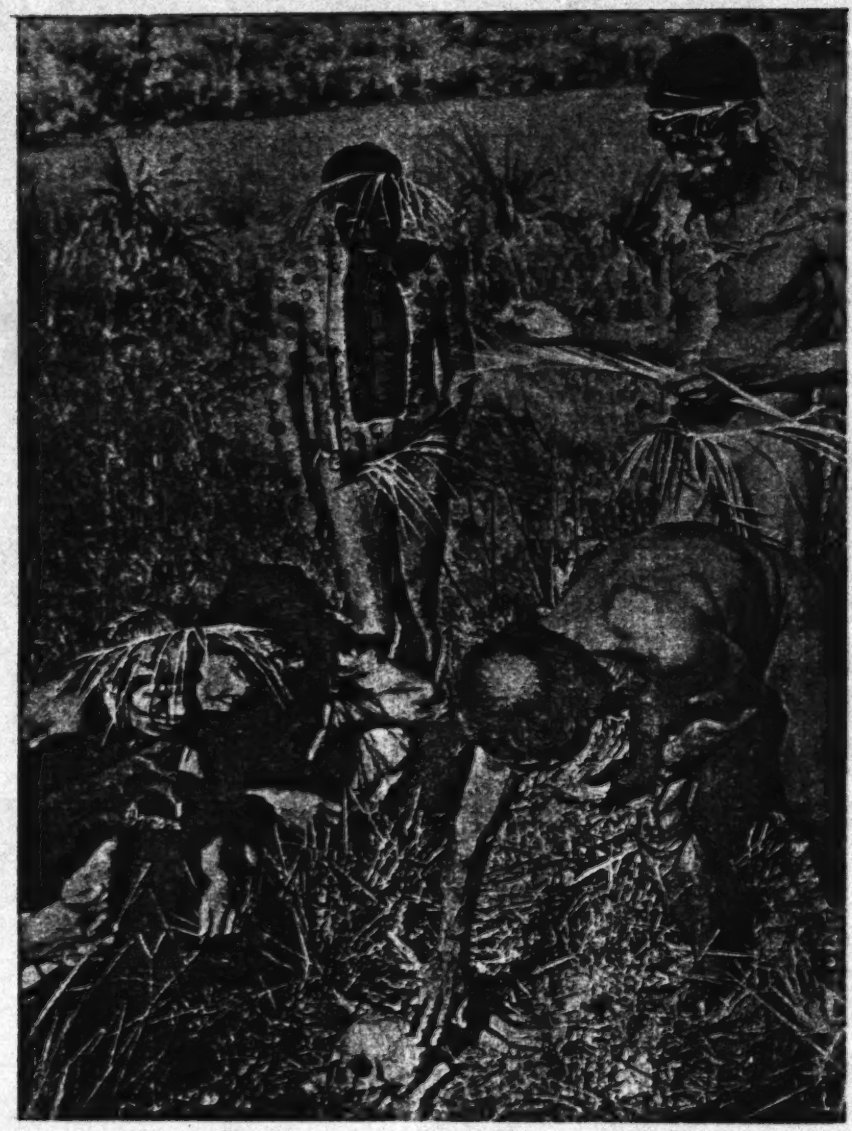

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

by a teammate, who, as he in turn 526
tires, is relieved by a fresh teammate, [764]
and so on. The race is so exhausting
that no rituals are held the next day.

When the rituals are again resumed, 765
they continue with undiminished va-
riety and vitality until the repertory [535]
of dances is completed. Then, early
one morning, about a month after the
initial burial, the skeleton of the de-
ceased, now nearly free of flesh, is
disinterred. A few men take the bones
to a nearby swamp, wash them without
ceremony, and carefully remove all the
remaining flesh.

After being washed, the skull is set
by a small fire to dry. When thorough-
ly dry, it is put into a basket with the
other bones and carried back to the
village, escorted by a procession to
the accompaniment of cane flutes and [534]
gourd trumpets.

As the procession approaches the
village, it is met by the nearest female [602]

[p. 46-B]

relative of the deceased, who shoulders the basket and carries it to the men's house. As she sits outside the house, holding the basket in her lap, the other female kin of the deceased once more gash their arms and breasts, and allow their blood to run onto the basket. The men once again shake their gourd rattles and sing the songs and lamentations they intoned at the time of death.

765 [602] [3014] [152] [533]

MEANWHILE, several men begin to decorate the skull, which is placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it.

765 531

The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[p. 46-C]
[text continues on p. 48-A]

6: Kodak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

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[p.47-A]

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During decorating, women gash their skin and allow blood to drip on skull.

Notice cuts on arm of woman at right, whose hair is cropped as mourning sign.

[p. 47-B]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 195[illegible]
SP[illegible] 3P8

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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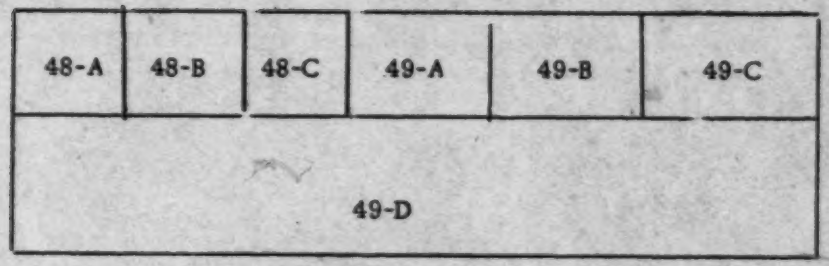
MULTICOLORED feathers, held on with resin, completely cover skull, which is surmounted by feather crown. Still on its mat, skull is put on jaguar skin.

[p.47-C]



[Layout of pp. 48-49]

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placed in the special basket that is to be their final repository. Then the skull, still resting on its little mat, is placed in the basket on top of the other bones. The edges of the basket are sewed together with a wooden needle and fiber cord, and until its final burial a few days later, it is hung in the house of the deceased's relatives.

[283]

[p. 48-A]

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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On the day after the bones have been decorated, some of the men go into the forest to carve and decorate a number of bull-roarers. These are flat, fish-shaped pieces of wood, 3 to 4 feet long and 5 to 8 inches wide, which are whirled in the air by means of a long cord. As the piece of wood rotates it causes the cord to twist, and

[p. 48-B]

the combined action produces a strange, moaning whir. The rest of that day and all of the following night the bull-roarers are whirled, and their noise is believed to represent the voice of the evil spirit *Bope*. (No woman may see the bull-roarers, for the sight, it is believed, would kill her.) The bones are carried to their final resting

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[776]
[562]

[p. 48-C]

place to the accompaniment of the bull-roarers' whir. 765 [523]

At the swamp, where the final interment of the bones takes place, a deep pit is dug, and the basket is lowered into it. There is no further ritual. Only a long bamboo pole decorated with feathers is left to mark the last resting place of the bones, on the proper dis- [461]

[p. 49-A]

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

position of which the Bororo have lavished approximately a month of their time and so much of their energy. 765 [461]

In January, 1958, Marshal Candido M. Rondon, who was a great friend and protector of the Indians of Brazil, and the first director of the Brazilian Indian Service, died. During Rondon's 114

[p. 49-B]

114

last visit to the Bororo, he spoke in the Bororo tongue with Cadete, an old chief whom he had known for more than sixty years. After a long conversation, Rondon translated for a companion: "He said that I am old and have not long to live, and that I should come here to die, for only the Bororo know how to bury me properly."

[p. 49-C]

6: Kodak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Berore SP8

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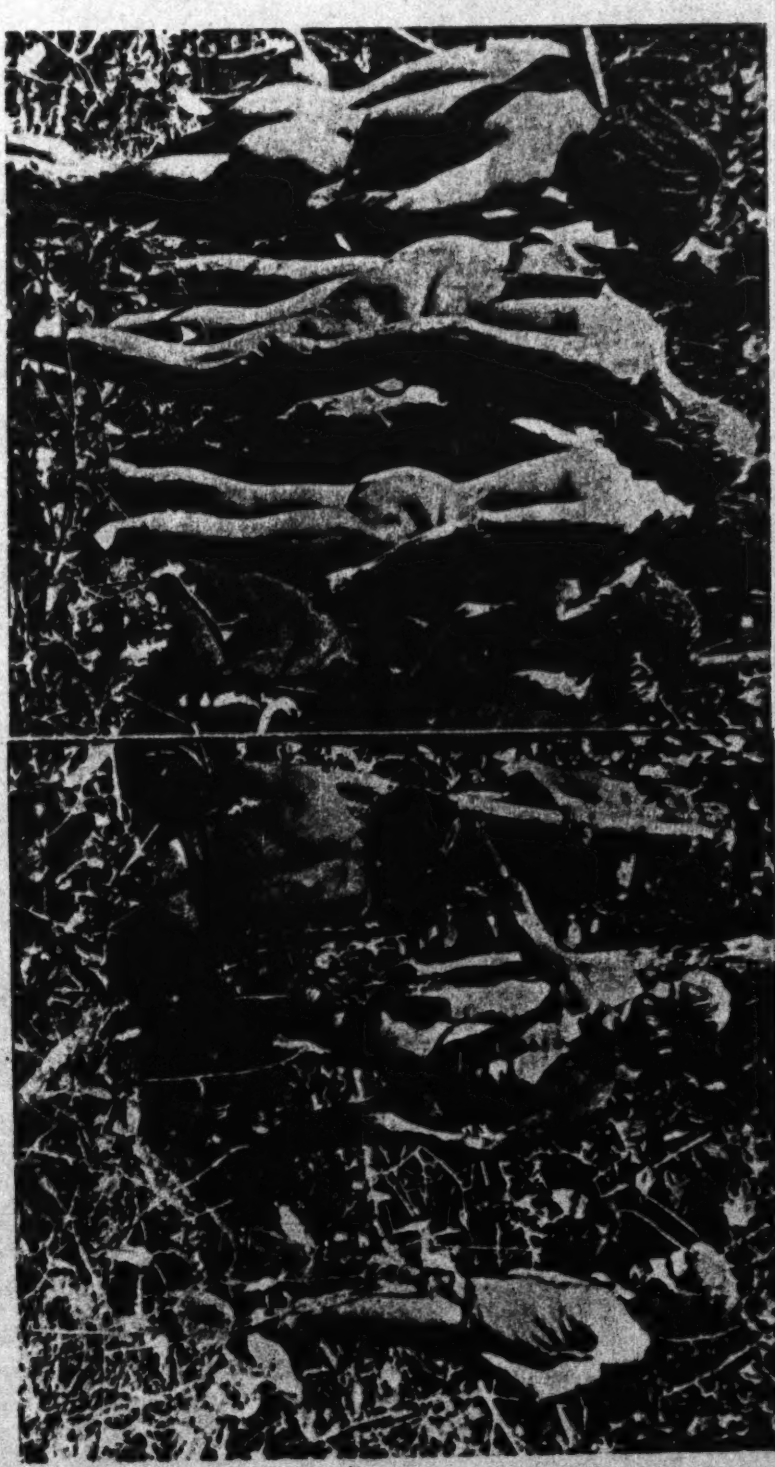

[p. 49-D]

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[Information on the various Bororo rituals and ceremonies associated with death will be found in categories 764 and 765.]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

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1907

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

THE BORORÓ INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

By W. A. COOK

14

In November, 1900, while in Goyaz, Brazil, the writer received a communication from the Smithsonian Institution, through Doctor Orville A. Derby, of São Paulo, requesting photographs and descriptions of the aboriginal tribes of Matto Grosso and a collection of objects made and used by them.[1] I here give some account of the journey to Matto Grosso and of the manners and customs of the Bororó tribe.

Senhor Antonio Candido de Carvalho, a Brazilian explorer of large experience and influence and thoroughly acquainted with the region to be traversed, had arrived at Goyaz with his light traveling caravan, and the evening before the communication from Mr. W. H. Holmes of the Smithsonian Institution was received, had invited me to accompany him on a visit to the villages of the Bororó Indians scattered over that extensive region of Matto Grosso between the capital of Goyaz and Cuyabá, the capital of the State of Matto Grosso. I did not hesitate to accept the invitation, for with Senhor Antonio as a companion and guide, whose influence over many of the Bororó tribe was great, I would be at much advantage in doing the work desired.

As Senhor Antonio Candido had his equipment, I needed only to buy a mule to carry my baggage and a horse to ride upon, a tent, raincoat, riding boots, and some bright colored cloth, knives, beads, fishhooks, mirrors, handkerchiefs, etc., to trade with the Indians.

We left the city of Goyaz, nearly 700 miles from the Atlantic coast, on November 17, and, following the divide between the great river systems to the north and south, traversed between nine hundred and a thousand miles before reaching the city of Cuyabá, in Matto Grosso.

We rode nearly 600 miles before we began to meet with the Bororó Indians. The last 60 or 70 miles was through an exceedingly wild and almost unknown region of forest and dense bush that made traveling almost like pushing through a network of barbed-wire sieves, where we were constantly raked and torn, and were drenched by the daily thunderstorms.

[1] The photographs, implements, and other objects gathered by Mr. Cook among the Bororó Indians are in the U. S. National Museum.—EDITOR.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow." 114

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity. 114 123 [276] [262] [685]

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents 302 [142] 302 593

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

[facing p. 50]

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BORORO HOUSE, BRAZIL

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INTERIOR OF BORORÒ HOUSE, BRAZIL

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the tatou canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood
346 in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 361
club where visitors are received and entertained. The bachytu of
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 346
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and
are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 482
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food.
When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 572
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 764
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

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BORORO WOMAN ADORNED WITH FEATHERS

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BORORO METHOD OF CARRYING WITH HEAD STRAP

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764 [534] slightly in unison with each note, and shaking huge calabash rattles. This was accompanied by the wailing chant of a chorus of women standing just behind the quartette and waving fans to keep away the flies. The snort of two huge flutes, the barking of the calabash trumpets, the lament of the savage mother, her body besmeared with her own blood, kneeling by the corpse of her child, the hairs jerked from her head, half a dozen at a time, by a female crouched behind her, the lamentations of the father, with his hair clipped, as he kneeled on the other side of the body and recited the virtues of the deceased loved one, and the low mournful chant of female relatives or friends as they slashed their legs and arms, or even their entire bodies, with sharpened shells—this was the drama that unfolded itself one beautiful summer morning as we crept into the baehytu of the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village. The little daughter of a chief had been summoned from her earthly bae to wander with the bope (evil spirits), and the funeral ceremonies were in progress.

When a Bororó dies, his body is wrapped in the palm-leaf rug which has served as his bed and is carried to the baehytu, where the spectacle described above makes night and day hideous until the first sunset after death; then as the sun goes down the chorus becomes hushed, and the bundle of remains, with a nine-foot pole passing through the roll, is carried to the public play-ground just outside the baehytu, and about ten inches of earth heaped over it. 766 Here it rests a week that the flesh may separate from the bones, and each evening at sunset the sorrowing family and friends gather around the little mound, their faces toward the fading light, and murmur a low chant, pleading the virtues of the departed one. Every evening, also, water is thrown on the little mound to hasten decay. The day before the remains are to be resurrected is again a gala time. A bamboo whistle brilliantly decorated with feathers is blown at intervals to summon the bope, while within the baehytu the man who invites the bope to resurrect the body is decorated and fêted. He wears a skirt of palm leaves hanging loosely from a belt, over his shoulders a cloak of the same material descending below the waist, and over his head is a veil of slender palm leaves to prevent his recognition, and his name must not be spoken. On his head, to represent the setting sun, is a pariko, an ornament of brilliant feathers of the makaw and parrot. Thus arrayed, he dances up and down sideways like a crab, while a companion and a rear guard execute similar movements. After a time, accompanied by all the males, they leave the baehytu for the play-ground just beyond the village, all dancing as they go. Here the soul-representa-

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tive and his body guard, exhausted, sit on the ground to rest, and a substitute, or rather those who are to represent them, his brother tribesmen, proceed to call the bope by offering some tobacco or other delicacy. Soon one offers himself as a bope-representative by dropping on all fours and creeping slowly toward the caller, emitting a noise like the grunt of the tapir; and finally, springing to his feet, he rushes with outspread arms to the center and quietly stands on a spot prepared for him. Others repeat the performance, until five are in line in the center. They are smeared from head to foot, hair and all, with a coat of clay. Black streaks are painted around the eyes and other decorations added, and the five bope again drop on all fours, and the caller (still acting as adjutant for the decorated soul-representative, standing in the path to the village) beckons and calls as before. At the same time the remaining band seeks to drive the bope to the village by pushing them with instruments used to frighten evil spirits, jumping, screaming, and swinging their arms. But the bope advance slowly, constantly making their squeaky grunt. Just as they enter the village path a man suddenly springs up before them, frightens them with a yell, and they wheel and begin creeping away from the village. The drivers then become more frantic than ever to prevent the escape of the bope without resurrecting the body. Finally the bope again head toward the village, enter the path, suddenly spring to their feet, mount their "horses," fellow red men, gallop into the village, dismount, squat around the burial mound, and claw the earth with their fingers. But this is only a feint of what is to happen later, and the body still lies covered, while the bope retire, having finished their part in the drama for the present. A large fire has now been kindled, and in order that the spirit of the departed may not return to haunt the family his belongings are passed piece by piece to the adjutant, who hands them to his master, who throws them in the fire while they both dance and waltz around it. This done, the soul-representative and his adjutant sit astride the grave, and having called the father of the deceased, who crouches beside them, he fortifies him against evil spirits by passing a hand over his head and face, whispering and blowing in his mouth and ears, after which he deposits all his paraphernalia, except the pariko, upon the grave. The day's performance concluded, all the males sit in two groups just outside the bachytu, and the daily feast is served by the females.

Early next morning the bope-representatives resurrect the remains by means of the pole, carry them to the river, scrape and wash the bones and pack them in a basket, keeping the skull separate when

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766 they wish to decorate it. They say that the resurrectionists are not called by men, but directly by the bope, and no one is supposed to know who they are.

When the village awakes to find the bones already prepared, the din is again unchained, the mother and female friends again slash themselves from head to foot, wail, and daub their bodies with black paste made principally from a fruit called geuipa-pa, while two men sit on a palm-leaf rug and decorate the skull with a layer of bright red makaw feathers. This weird drama continues all day with little interruption, the players and singers relieving one another from time to time. And if some of their brethren from a neighboring village should visit them, the bakororo, as this noise is called, may continue all night and all the next day. Finally the concert ceases, and at sunset the basket of bones is laid away in the little cemetery outside the village, where the bope will take possession of them in due season, though only the priest is supposed to know when. Through constant howling during the bakororo, the family of the deceased become so hoarse that they cannot speak above a whisper, but the drinking of clay water, they say, relieves them.

775 As the Bororó is "very bad," they say, he is doomed forever to
755 wander and suffer in the lower regions and be subject to constant eviction. He takes up his abode in the bodies of certain fish and mammals, and when the creature dies the spirit must seek a new dwelling and be exorcised from the bodies of fish, fowl, or beast by the priest before the meat can be eaten. To eat it without this ceremony would cause sickness and death. Not every creature, nor even every member of certain species, is inhabited by a bope. Its presence is indicated only by certain markings or other peculiarities. In exorcising the bope the priest faces and calls upon the sun with loud yells, ecstatic jumping and trembling, slapping the fish, spitting and blowing into its mouth. Corn also must be exorcised, as they say they were once made desperately sick by eating it without this ceremony. Only the priests are exalted to an abode with the sun at death; they are not chosen by men, but by the bope. It comes
755 about somewhat in this manner: Some day a Bororó may be taken with a fit, and a priest of the tribe will be called to determine the disease and to say whether he will live or die. After consideration he may say to those present, "Piadudu [humming-bird] is in deadly combat with a bope. If he surrenders to the bope he will become a priest, but if he continues to resist he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is considered that he has given himself up to the bope, and is therefore qualified for the priesthood. But the certificate of

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priesthood seems to lie largely in the ability to throw themselves at 755
will into a savage ecstacy.

When a Bororó is ill, a priest is called to determine whether he will recover or die. On entering the hut and looking at his sick tribesman and concluding that he will probably die or should die, he will count his fingers, and each time he touches one finger will repeat, "Meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, bi," meaning that the sick man will see five suns, five days, and die, or he may say, "Nadua, nadua, nadua," etc., "bi," meaning sleep, sleep, etc., five days, and die. If at the end of this time he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the priest, will suddenly appear in the hut, sit astride his stomach, and strangle him to death, for the reputation of the priest must be maintained. The priests are probably responsible for not a few deaths. They are the bane of life in the tribe. They must nurture the delusion that they can communicate with and have influence in the other world and power to avert or cause evils and calamities. They are therefore on the alert to take advantage of any propitious occasion to prey upon the superstitious fears of their fellow-tribesmen. They are freely supplied with food by their tribesmen in order to retain their good will.

The Bororó seem to have no idea of God as the Christian understands Him. They consider the sun as the fountain head of majesty 776
and power and even of beneficence, and as the abode of the great priests who have passed to the spirit world and fear him. Bope means spirit or disembodied soul, but they seem to have no idea of a good spirit. The bope, who are evil spirits, must therefore not be offended though they must be driven away. To drive the spirits 755
off, they use a bull-roarer, a peculiar instrument made of a slab of 778
wood about half an inch thick, shaped something like a fish, and of varying size, hung by a long cord from the end of a stick like a fishing rod, and swung round and round through the air. As it swings and rapidly revolves, it sends forth loud sounds to a surprising distance, pitched from a sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek, the wail rising and descending the scale according to the rapidity of the swing or the size of the instrument. To hear several of these roarers at once certainly produces most unusual sensations, particularly when operated, as we heard them, during a tropical storm amid the play of the lightning, the crash and roar of thunder, the falling floods, and dismal gloom. No female is allowed to see this instrument under pain of death. New ones are made as occasion demands, and they are burned immediately after their need has passed. We entered the baehytu as some of these roarers were 778
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being made for the funeral prelude. There was deep silence, and the word bope was whispered low and mysteriously. Certain warning calls are given some hours in advance of the time for bringing the roarers into use, and, hearing these warnings, the females enter their huts, close the openings, and hide their heads. The roarers are manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush. We had difficulty in securing examples of these instruments. They were brought to us at night securely wrapped and amid the greatest secrecy, every precaution being taken to make sure that we would keep them where there would be no possibility of a female seeing them. We also had much difficulty in obtaining the *base flute* which is played only over the bones of their dead. A captain said to me, "That is a very bad instrument; you must not take it. If you do you will never return."

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The Bororó are expert swimmers and are fishermen of the highest order. One mode of fishing is to swim out into the river, three or four miles above the village, with a net called buke, like a great bag, its mouth secured to two parallel rods nine to twelve feet long, bound together at their ends. When one or more fish are seen, the mouth of the sack is opened by springing the rods apart, and with wonderful dexterity the fish are bagged and the mouth of the net quickly closed by allowing the rods to spring together. The fisherman then plays the game, especially if it be large; gradually rolls the net over the rods till the fish cannot move, brings it to the surface and kills it with a club, which he trails by a cord from his neck. The fish is now taken from the net, strung on a cord, and floated along with the club. Sometimes two or more fish of twelve or fifteen pounds will be taken at one catch, or maybe one weighing as much as the man himself will be bagged in this way. A Bororó will remain in the water an hour or two continuously, and return ashore with six or eight large fish. They have learned to turn their bodily strength to the greatest account while in the water.

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Another method of fishing is with a bone harpoon, to which is secured a long cord and a short detachable bamboo staff. With this the fisherman enters the water, and, finding a large fish in the shadow of a rock, following it with great expertness if it moves, he plunges the harpoon into it even at a depth of fifteen or twenty feet, while the staff detaches itself and remains in his hand with the end of the cord secured to it. The fisherman now returns to shore and plays the fish until he lands it.

Another method, when fish are scarce, is for one gang of men to enter the water with their sack nets, three or four miles above the

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village, form a chain across the stream and make a great commotion 226
and drive the fish downstream to a point near the village where another gang with sack nets awaits to bag the game. Sometimes they fish at dead of night, but as a rule they rarely leave the village after dark except in war.

Late one cloudy afternoon we had the pleasure of seeing the Bororó 524
play Mano, the name of the small banana-like plant used in this game. It seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of ants. Indeed, the imitating of nature occupies a large part of the *Bororó life. Early in the day they went up the river and cut many* of these plants, which grow three or four feet high, floated them down on rude bamboo rafts, carried them to a point about 600 yards from the village, and placed them in two piles, one for each of the two parties into which every village is divided—the Xeráede and the Ta Nagarêde. Each group prepared its material by cutting off the tops of the mano, leaving a spongy stem about eighteen inches long, and when all was ready each made its pile into a huge wheel. This was done by two men for each wheel standing face to face, about five and a half feet apart, with two long, strong, parallel cords between them, reaching from the ground up over their shoulders, for binding the material into a wheel. The mano was then piled in between each pair of Indians acting as posts, and when the weight pressed too heavily upon them, they were supported by other Indians leaning against them, back to back. When the mano was all in place the cords were drawn over the top and tightened. The wheels were next laid flat on the ground and a string of men pulled with all their strength on each of the four ends of the cord for each wheel, while others pounded the spongy mass so close that it could not burst. Each wheel was again set upright to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village. But the Bororó must do things decently and in order, so a Ta Nagarêda man, with much ceremony steps quickly over to the Xeráede, takes a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel and stops in front of it, meaning by this that his wheel is delivered to its party, and the same ceremony is repeated by the other side. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces others of his own party just as he himself was introduced, until all surround their own wheels. At a given signal each group seizes its wheel, throws it up on its shoulders, and runs pell mell in a race to the village. Each squad of these human ants tries to keep its wheel upright as it sags this way and that, or finally rolls over on the carriers, to be quickly straightened up, and rushed along again, each crowd endeavoring to

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524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each 224 party eating separately.

224 226 533 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the un- [532] earthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 583 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

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582 turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to him- 583 self he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu whenever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families. They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an [595] old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The pros- 844 pective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born, and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. It is common for children, espe- 862 cially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases. The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts, works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry 582 a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the 173 Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men, now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them. There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not 586 abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights 578 between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged husband berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men, women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

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578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to fur-
412 nish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in
433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and
226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January,
222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the
[283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

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long tongue-like leaf furnishes a silk or band of strands called 222
bokigo, which he rolls into a single strand as he sits cross-legged on [283]
the ground, and by twisting this strand with others he obtains cordage with which to make his fishing nets, harpoon lines, etc. From the ground he digs two or three varieties of the potato family, which he boils. Corn is eaten as roasting ears or cut from the ears and boiled. They use no salt. The large ant bear is considered the 224
most valuable of all creatures. Nearly every part of its body is utilized. When discovered it is driven to the village for slaughter in order to secure its blood. After this comes the tapir, which is also greatly esteemed. When food is plenty they eat nearly all the 264
time when awake, and even rise several times in the night to take a little food. While we were in the baehytu at the Kogy ao Paro village we saw 33 men devour upwards of 25 gallons of boiled shelled corn within an hour and a half, and they had been nibbling roast ears all the morning. The two men who had accompanied us from the Ja-Dare-Mano Paro were induced to eat from every pot as they were brought in one at a time. They seem never to get full, and will eat as long as there is anything to be had. While at work making bows and arrows and ornaments, they are nibbling food, if they can obtain it. They eat the corn mush squatting and standing around the pot, using large oyster-like shells or broad leaves as spoons.

Their language seems quite free from clicks and from deep gut- 194
turals. The names given to animals are often in imitation of the sound produced by the animal. Ki, for instance, means tapir, and is a close imitation of the note of this animal; pobu means river or water; pobu camahina is great river; meri rutu, sunset; adugo, spotted tiger or ounce; and aigo, brown ounce. Báekimo is the negative; Boe by báekimo means "Indian die not"—"I will not die."

They are wonderful whistlers and seem able thus to communicate 198
whatever they otherwise would by speech.

All the fine and ornamental work is done by the men. A great 462
deal of time and labor is spent in making seemingly unimportant articles, and the time consumed in shaping and burnishing an arrow is astonishing, generally the larger part of two days. The shell [321]
ornament worn around the neck is made by the reciprocating motion [322]
of the point of a sharp instrument of flint or of iron or steel, if they can obtain it, fastened near the center of a roughly shaped shell. A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into another bit of wood. When holes have been made in bits of roughly 600

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When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.
562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

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Through The Wildernesses Of BRAZIL

By Horse, Canoe and Float

BY

WILLIAM AZEL COOK

[Title page]

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY
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Chapter XXXI.

THE BORDERS OF BORORÓLAND.—FORESTS AND THE FORCES OF NATURE.

We dismounted at a ranch on the borders of Bororóland where, a few months before, the ranch owner and his men had wantonly and cruelly massacred fourteen harmless, helpless Bororó men, women and children, who worked for him, living upon his vast estate and under his protection. This was part of a wicked, idiotic plan to rid this particular region of the Bororó. These ranchers had induced the governor of the state of Goyaz, who had declared that he had nothing for the aborigines but bullets, to send a detachment of soldiers to murder a certain group of the Bororó, while they themselves slaughtered the other little group. The ranchers succeeded in executing their part of the horrid crime, but the other group got wind of the approach of the military in time to escape. This atrocity was entirely without excuse. These men, calling themselves the "civilized ones," say that the poor aborigines are "wild beasts of the forest." But the reader can judge which of the two are most worthy of the name. A prominent Brazilian official told me once that a rubber exporting company, wishing to rid a certain district of its primitive inhabitants, gave them poisoned rum.

The great table standing between the Bonito and Araguaya river valleys is level and nearly treeless. One day, while crossing this broad, lonely expanse, we encountered a solitary bullock, which my companion said was suffering from a

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disease called *o seco*—the dry. It is a kind of consumption, and the flesh of the animal wastes slowly away during a period of one or two years until nothing remains but a skeleton with a leathery hide drawn over it. Even the viscera consumes away with the rest of the body; and when the brute dies, there is so little else than hair and bones that the buzzards are not interested in the carcass. We saw a carcass lying in the trail which the buzzards had not touched. If taken in time, the sick animal can be cured by being driven to new pasture and given plenty of salt. Another disease, which is very destructive of horses, occurs in the Cuyaba region. It attacks the spine near the kidneys, causing it to decay. No remedy is known. My companion lost a large number of horses and mules by this disease.

We saw, one day, a great ant bear which had come up out of the jungle to dig into ant-hills and feed. It cannot run faster than a good dog-trot, and its gait suggests running on three stilts, for its feet are much better adapted for digging than for locomotion. As it runs, the body rocks up and down, the prolonged snout rising and falling like the jib-boom of a vessel riding the waves, while the great hairy tail, which it curls over its back for an umbrella when rain is falling, wig-wags back and forth. Wishing to secure a photograph of the beast, we tried to tire it, or get it to face the dogs. Failing this, my companion seized it by the tail as it ran by a clump of bushes, hoping to hold it a moment, but he had to quickly relinquish his hold. It embraces its foe when grappled with, and will rend him asunder, digging its claws into his back. It is a powerful animal, and has been known to kill even the tiger when attacked by it, though it is a death-grapple for it as well.

As the abodes of the ranchers became less and less, we had, with increasing frequency, to pass the night in our tents in the wilderness, leagues distant from human dwellings. Storms, too, burst upon us, and at times the darkness was so intense that it could almost be felt. One with a nature at all sensitive, could not fail to be strangely impressed when pass-

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ing a tempestuous night in these savage solitudes listening to the moaning and wailing of the wind through the forest like a thousand weird, Æolian harps, the incessant cannonade of the celestial batteries and the musketry of the rain-drops.

We crossed the Araguaya river by means of a bridge, at a point forty miles from its source, where it is less than forty feet broad, though deep. It cuts through tilted rocks near here and is forced into a channel but one foot wide. We visited two cataracts of the Araguaya some distance below this crossing, which are some thirty miles apart. We estimated that at the first three thousand cubic yards of water rolled over the cliff every minute and dropped sixty feet; and at the second, twelve thousand cubic yards of water fell about one hundred fifty feet each minute. In visiting the latter cataract, we arrived, first, at a point a short distance below the falls where they were not visible owing to the forest and jutting cliffs. Leaving our horses, we descended to the bottom of the chasm by climbing and sliding over great blocks of stone and making short stops by catching hold of trees and bushes. Standing at length upon some great boulders at the water's edge, we saw all about us an awe-inspiring spectacle. The waters, churned to madness, rolled like waves of the sea and with a deafening roar over the huge masses of rocks that formed the river bed; a dense arboreal growth of perpetual verdure robed and draped both sides of the chasm; the stormy sky and the deep shadows caused by the depth of the abyss and the low declining sun; all combined to form one of the wildest and most romantic scenes that I had ever beheld. After silently contemplating the wonderful, tumultuous scene a short time, we reascended our great natural staircase to the top of the chasm; and being assured that the cataract itself was "very" near and "easy to reach," and that we still had time to see it before sunset, we started in that direction. But we little knew how difficult was our undertaking. We had to pass through a terrible cornfield belonging to the cattle grower who owned this territory. About the only tools of the ordinary Brazilian

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agriculturist is an axe and a grubbing hoe. Preparatory to planting a crop, he slashes down two or three acres of forest, allows it to dry during the rainless months, then burns it. But there always remains a more or less dense network of blackened trunks and limbs, among which he simply plants the corn without further preparation of the soil. The cornfield, therefore, that we had to traverse was a tangled mass of black, slimy and slippery logs, limbs and poles that were suspended higher than our heads, and stumps of every shape and size. Up through this network bristled the corn ten or twelve feet high, and over the corn, logs, limbs and stumps, climbed a dense and almost impenetrable mass of vines, while everything was dripping with water from the recent rains. Through, over, and under, this mass of logs, limbs and stumps, crawling, climbing, sliding, and practicing aerial rope walking, and through the corn and vines we crept and carved our way; and as we approached the falls, a storm of cold spray added to our discomfiture.

Arrived at our objective point, blackened and bedraggled, we saw before us a sublime and dreadful scene, far beyond my powers to describe:—The rushing, boiling and swirling waters above the falls, the headlong leap over the precipice into the deep, dark abyss, the rocky sides of which are perpendicular at this point, the ceaseless thunderings of the cataract, the torrents of spray, the deepening gloom of approaching night, the lonely wilderness all about us!—I felt almost speechless in the presence of this wonderful and awful display of the forces and the sublimity of nature. In the center of the cataract was a huge column of rock crowned with bushes, in the sides of which, in the midst of the fearful, thundering torrent, hundreds of bats made their home, absolutely safe from all enemies. Hoping to secure a photograph of the falls, notwithstanding the twilight, I set up the camera under a big rain cloak, held by my companions, who raised it for a moment while the exposure was being made. Darkness coming on rapidly, we had much difficulty in extracating ourselves from our almost uncanny situation.

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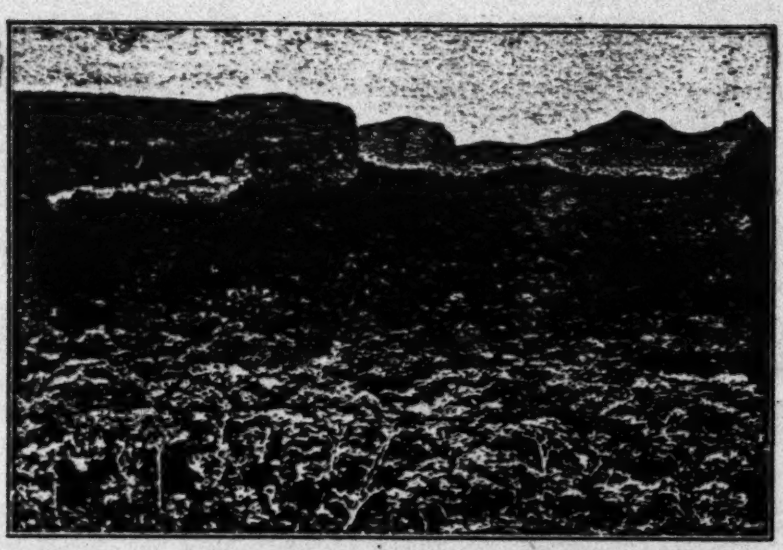

The Basin of a Primeval Lake, where the Rio Vermelho takes its rise, near the site of a Primitive Forest.

122

Eating Christmas Dinner.

[Facing p. 354]

Brazil.

The following day, we turned aside from the trail to visit a beautiful cascade where the water descended about one hundred feet in seven jumps.

The Christmas season came and went while I was on this expedition. What a remarkable Christmas it was! How almost infinitely removed it was from the Christmas seasons I had passed in other days, the memory of which seemed like a strange dream! We were in the height of summer, and vegetation, displaying abounding life, was growing with marvelous luxuriance. The world of natural life, arrayed in its magnificent bridal robes, was certainly in harmony with the birthday of the Prince of Life.

Early in the day, I rode several miles over splendid grazing lands to visit a charming waterfall in the heart of the forest, the trees joined hands across it, forming an arbor of dense foliage beautifully draped with climbing vines, and the little stream flowed ever in eternal shadows. Enveloped in the shadows of a primeval forest at this delightful spot, a paradise of Nature, and listening to the soft music of splashing waters, far away from the haunts of men, we seemed to have left the careworn, excited world forever behind us.

My Christmas dinner, consisting of a fish, caught at the foot of the little falls just described, and a whole rib of beef together with a part of the backbone, was eaten at sunset while sitting on a box outside of our tent.

Near our camp was another pretty little waterfall. About five feet below the edge of the ledge over which the water dropped in a broad, thin sheet, a bench of rock jutted out just right for one to stand upon and take a delightful pour-bath, which was indulged in twice each day.

An incident occurred Christmas morning that gave us some feeling of insecurity. A venomous reptile killed a valuable dog of ours within one hundred feet of our tent. It was bitten on the neck, and had apparently fallen at once.

Leaving here, we followed for about one hundred miles the lofty plateau dividing the great river systems of the north and of the south. The edge of this great table is nearly

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133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet 609 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing [291] nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the [302] time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were 533 no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

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evening anthem, which will be described in future pages. We 633
were at our camp at the time, a quarter of a mile distant from the savage chorus. It was indeed wild music, and an appropriate production of the wild ones and the wilderness. It was hard to believe that this fusillade of uncouth, alarming sounds issued from human throats. This savage music resembled, somewhat, the remarkable and uncanny sounds produced by coyotes when heard at night from a distance.

Doubtless these nude, unclean savages would appear ex- 114
tremely repulsive and unhuman to most civilized people, yet I could but regard them as simple, overgrown, neglected children; and finding myself again among such rude, needy beings, I experienced a pleasure and satisfaction which I cannot describe, and inwardly thanked God, Who, in His gracious providence, had led me again to their haunts after a long detention among a more advanced race. Could I be among them once more, my cup of joy would be full.

Two naked Bororó accompanied us as helpers during the [123]
remainder of our journey to one of the chief villages of the tribe. The world about us became more and more wild, rugged and inhospitable as we advanced, and the difficulties and dangers of travel increased. Moreover, the myriads of the insect 136
world seemed to resent our encroachment into their domains, and fell upon us with ever-increasing numbers and ferocity; while the elements, too, appeared to join forces with the rest of Nature, for storms occurred, not only daily, but several times [132]
during twenty-four hours. One night, we found ourselves encamped upon the "private grounds" of a colony of destructive foraging ants, which set to work promptly to cut us to pieces; and when we halted at noon for breakfast, some days, we were set upon by hordes of a stupid, sluggish, stingless bee, called "father of honey" by the Brazilians, but known to science as the *Melipona fasculata*, of which there are more than fifty varieties in Brazil. They were attracted to us by the perspiration of ourselves and our beasts, and also by the odor of our food. They did not attack us in a single swarm, but came to us individually and gradually, until quart

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136 measures of them had massed themselves upon our saddle blankets, and upon whatever else took their fancy. They did not bite, but lit upon us and dragged themselves, worm-like, over our flesh, down our necks and up under our hats, into our eyes, ears, noses and mouths, and dropped by threes and fours into our food as we were taking a mouthful. To kill them had no effect in reducing their numbers, and it was impossible to escape them. When crushed, their bodies exhaled an offensive effluvium, or a nauseating taste, if masticated. We were therefore compelled to make haste in preparing and eating our food, else we would have been driven nearly to madness. We were told that there are places where it is almost impossible to take food during daylight because of these pests.

137 Our route led us more and more into primeval forests, where, in the eternal shadows, we were completely engulfed in the endless masses of thorny, tangled undergrowth, dripping with water. Though my companion had previously cut a trail through here, it was largely taken possession of again by the forest; therefore, we were continually curried and harrowed from head to foot, and had to perform constantly acrobatic feats, or practice rough riding, in order to escape being dragged from our horses, while our clothing reverted rapidly to lint, and big, ugly *carapatos* clung to our boots by dozens.
136 Moreover, hornets had built their nests, Chinese-lantern-like, thickly along the trail; and when we disturbed these nests—for we were seldom aware of their presence until we had disturbed them—the infuriated insects invariably inspired our beasts with renewed energy, besides touching us up a little. Therefore, owing to these and other reasons, we sometimes finished the day's march feeling exhausted and low spirited.

One day, as we emerged from the woods into an open swail, we came suddenly upon a family of eight rheas—an old father and mother and six children. They squatted first into the grass to hide themselves, but conscious at once that they were not sufficiently hidden, they sprang up again on their long legs and made off rapidly, the old folk hanging in the rear until the children were safe.

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The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars. 133 137

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of *college yells*, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females. 361 574 122

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, brightly painted, uncouth appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The 361 137 29 302 000 136

226 savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
433 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
[593] She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The
302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in
593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum
301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

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A Bororó Village.

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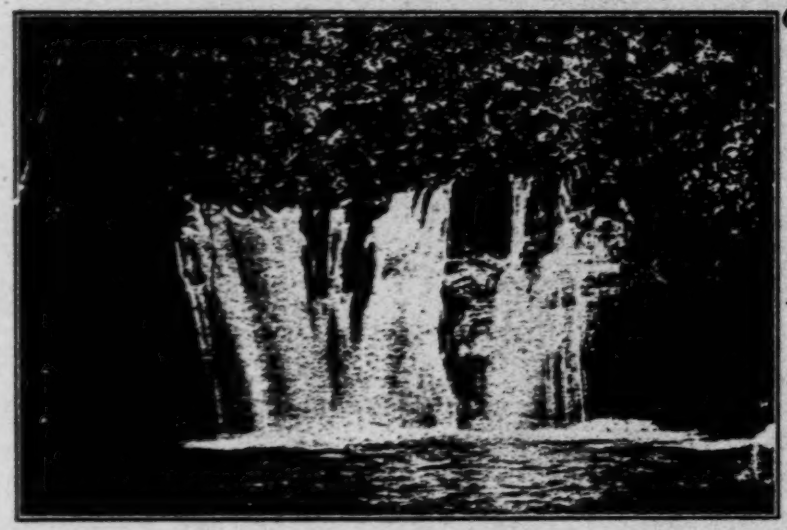

Christmas Day in the Heart of the Primitive Forest.

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of their shirts and trousers, plunged into the water and swam rapidly with the current. Soon, they saw the mule's ears appear above the water as it was drowning, and succeeded in reaching it; and finally, with much labor, in rescuing it from the water. But the burden it carried was left in the water. The two naked Bororó who were accompanying us, now became very useful to us. They are as much in their native element in the water as on the land. Diving, they explored the bed of the stream for some distance, searching for the lost baggage, but succeeded in finding one bag only of what had been sugar. It was now a sack of molasses.

Having, with much difficulty, gotten all our effects across the angry little stream, we pushed on two miles further to the nearest opening in the woods, where we camped for the night and tried to convert our bag of syrup into sugar again, and save this much from the wreck, for the loss was a serious one to us since we could not replace it. We got one of the Bororó to carry the bag of molasses on his bare back. This pleased him hugely, and he grinned from ear to ear as he trudged along scraping off with his finger and licking the sweetness that oozed through the bag. He was besmeared with treacle from head to foot when we reached our camping place.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

LIFE AMONG THE BORORÓ.—EYED CONSTANTLY BY A HORDE OF NUDE SAVAGES.—ASTONISHING MAKE-UPS.—PRIMITIVE HOUSEKEEPING AND SANITATION.—HORTICULTURE.—FOODS.—VEGETABLE COWS.—A WONDERFUL PALM.

[36] [133] AFTER nearly two months of horseback riding and camping, we arrived at the confluence of the river Pogúbu, or Ponte de Pedra, and the Rio Vermelho, which is about forty miles north of the junction of the former river with the São Laurenço. Here, we found a large Bororó village, called [103] the Tá Dáre Máno Páro—potato bank—where we remained [122] several weeks, camping in a stake-walled, palm-branch roofed hut that had been erected a quarter of a mile from the Indian village by my companion. We had to cross the river Pogúbu, which we did in a small, dugout canoe made by Senhor Antonio, and swam our horses over. It is about two hundred [133] yards wide at this point, deep, and has a strong current. A heavy rain storm broke just as we were within a few hundred yards of our destination, so we rushed our entire cavalcade right into the big, open hut.

[123] [152] When our arrival became known at the primitive metropolis, and it was known instantly, our hut began to fill with our nude and painted fellow beings of all ages and both sexes, who came to observe us and to examine all the marvelous things that we had brought from our wonderful, and to them, enchanted world. They flocked in upon us regularly at dawn

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each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [857]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would [516]
sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and distortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

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123 431 articles from us without offering us anything in exchange. One would say, "*Bororó*, headache—handkerchief, red"—Meaning, my head aches; give me a red handkerchief to tie around it. Or, "*Boé* sick—tobacco,"—I am sick. Give me a piece of tobacco to make me well. Or, again, "*Boé* pursue tapir—catch him not. Give tobacco." At other times, they sought to obtain things on credit, saying, "*Bororó*, bring"—I will bring you something. But they usually forgot "to bring." Sometimes they tried a little flattery. One day a chief man came to me saying: "Captain"—myself—"good—Captain very good. Bororó cry when Captain go away. Bororó ask Captain not go." But this was largely to pave the way to ask for something. When I had to refuse them and they seemed displeased, I said to them: "*Bororó*, good; *Bororó*, very good. Captain, bad—very bad." They always hastened to say in reply to this, "No, no; Captain, good—very good."

157 261 [433] [123] When fish became scarce and a hunting expedition had not resulted successfully, and they were, consequently, without food, they came to us acting as if they longed to become our slaves forever. After much self-abnegation, they would say, timidly, "*Boé tapira*,"—I like beef. *Tapira* is their word for cattle, cow, bullock or beef. But when they made a good haul of fish, their demeanor underwent an entire change, and seeming unable to recognize any one, they hastened to their huts without looking to the right or to the left. If spoken to, they feigned deafness. They do not wish many friends at such times as this as they would have to divide their catch with them. This is much like the civilized man, who, having acquired a fortune, is unable, longer, to recognize his less favored friends and relatives.

764 A death occurred in the village the day after our arrival, and as custom among these people forbids that any member of the family of the deceased should leave the village to fish, hunt, or to forage, until all the obsequies, which continue many days, are over, they must trust to the generosity of their [123] neighbors for food. Consequently, the father of the bereaved

family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My 123
child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged 764
for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red."

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized 301
brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from [304]
a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large.

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear 291
a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks 287
much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, [171]
but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them.

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn 301
constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, 237
six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck.

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope 301
ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human [283]
hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. [764]
The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained

Brazil.

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "bangs." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the 177 astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown children occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

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an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

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437 signs than by words. "*Caiba!*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Boé*, sick; *Boé*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of [281] the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day, [532] some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for [126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with super-000 stitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

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its obscure heart an exact image of anything it winks at, must be some wicked device of the *bopi*—demons. The savage believes that any one having his picture may practice some black art over it and bring evil upon the original: that, as one may do what he wishes with the image, he likewise has power over the real man. Moreover, if one is such a powerful conjurer that he can secure that image, What may he not do with the original? I had to bribe them with valuable gifts in order to secure a number of pictures.

The Bororó, like other South American tribes, dwell in gloomy palm-branch huts that resemble squatty, old hay-stacks huddled together in complete disorder in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees of the upland jungle. They are constructed by first planting two posts in the ground twenty or thirty feet apart, ten feet high, and terminating in a fork, to support the ridge pole, which is held in position by means of creepers from the forest, instead of nails. Against the ridge pole, are reclined and bound, the rafters, the feet of which are sunk slightly in the ground and the upper ends are bound to the ridge pole. Bamboo poles are next bound horizontally to these rafters, while upright stakes are set in at the gables; and finally, to the entire frame-work, are bound huge, feather-shaped palm-branches, to shed the rain, and exclude the light because of the flies. The primitive residence is now complete. The only light that enters is what filters through the palm-branches. To enter, one pushes aside the palm-branches at one end and enters in a stooping position.

These strange, uncouth dens of savagery, are dark, unclean, and ill-smelling, and so devoid of every object considered absolutely essential to a civilized human abode, that it is difficult to comprehend that they are the dwellings of true human beings—the homes of multitudes of real men, women and children; where they are born, reared and pass their days, and the only abodes they have ever known. Entering one of these human lairs, we find it more or less strewn with decaying food refuse, such as bones and other rejected parts of fish, mammals, birds and reptiles; shells, stones and peelings

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342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck
353 around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

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abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually 000
in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that 342
even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they 364
erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of 361
the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of 364
huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- 356
ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing 296
to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, 592
each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very 345
large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut [361]
is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling [342]
is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a [342]
bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; [589]
a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the [548]
men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is per- [562]
mitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts 000
in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

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five feet broad, which is partitioned off into a large number of apartments and occupied by an entire village of twenty or thirty families. It is a primitive tenement house.

231 The Bororó have no domestic animals whatever; and no captive wild creatures except the brilliant plumaged macaws and parrots, which are kept for their feathers, and for the pleasure of their companionship.

241 433 About the only agricultural work the Bororó do, in common with many other South American tribes, is to raise a little yellow corn, though they obtain but a mere handful of their annual food supply from this source. Agriculture is always carried on with extreme difficulty where the savages have no steel instruments with which to cut down the forest and prepare the soil. Those tribes that have secured axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives, sometimes plant considerable ground.

241 461 433 But the fact that all these tribes are communistic societies; that is, have all things in common, operates seriously, it seems to me, against their engaging in agriculture on a scale sufficiently large to produce their entire food supply. Their social arrangements are such that if any family should raise a quantity of produce, they would have to divide it with the rest of the community; so, after all their labor, they would find themselves without anything for tomorrow, and on a level with those who had not toiled. Consequently, there is but little incentive to provide food except as hunger drives them forth, in common with the other denizens of the wilds, to procure something for immediate consumption.

Therefore, the primitive man has knowledge of nearly everything in his savage world that is edible, whether it belongs to the animal or vegetable kingdom, and knows just when and where it is to be found, and how to obtain it. Some tribes look almost exclusively to the forest, others to the river, for their meat supply. Thus different tribes are either expert fishermen, or expert hunters. When fish become scarce, as they do at certain seasons, the fishermen tribes are forced to become vegetarians, largely.

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Brazil.

The palm-tree in its numerous varieties, is the never-failing 824
friend of the "children of the wilderness." It will provide 262
them with food of some kind every day in the year, even 252
when there is nothing else to be had. Every day, unfailingly, they may obtain the white, cheese-like heart of a kind that grows but six feet high. The outer rings are stripped off, leaving a vegetable like the solid part of a cabbage. I found it an excellent food, when cooked. The savages eat it raw. The spongy, fiberous trunk of another palm, when pounded and wrung out, yields a white, starchy liquid, like milk. This is boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm. It is considered good broth. Or, the uncooked liquid may be evaporated, and the starch thus obtained made into a kind of bread. The large, yellow, plum-like fruit of the burity-palm is eaten raw with a relish by the Bororó, though I found it far from palatable.

Another variety of palm furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose-egg. This nut is first thrown into the fire for a few minutes, then the thin outer shell is peeled off and a layer of an insipid substance, somewhat like slippery-elm, is scraped from it and eaten. Next, the nut, which is very thick, is split, and the small, white, woody kernel removed and eaten raw, or pulverized in a wooden mortar and made into a cake, which is wrapped in green leaves and baked in the ashes. The Bororó consider this a delicacy. Still other varieties of palm furnish the Bororó the 824
material for his bows and arrows, and cordage for fish-nets and harpoon lines, besides the material with which to build his hut.

Charles Darwin describes a very interesting palm found 000
on the Andean ridge. When fallen up hill and the top cut off, it yields an incredible quantity of sweet sap, from which syrup and sugar are made.

But the most remarkable tree is the famous "vegetable cow," found in Venezuela and in the Amazonian forests, which yields an amazing quantity of milk. Humboldt describes this wonderful plant in his book of travels in tropical America.

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Brazil.

He says: "Among the many curious phenomena which I saw in the course of my travels, I confess there were few which affected my imagination so powerfully as the cow-tree. * * * * * Magnificent forests, majestic rivers, lofty mountains clad in perennial snows, are not the objects which we most admire. A few drops of a vegetable fluid impresses us with the power and fecundity of Nature. On the parched sides of a rock grows a tree with dry and leathery foliage, its large, woody roots scarcely penetrating into the ground. For several months in the year, its leaves are not moistened by a single shower; its branches look as if they were dead and withered. But when the trunk is bored, a bland and nourishing fluid flows from it. It is at sunrise that the vegetable fountain flows most freely. At that time, the natives are seen coming from all parts provided with large bowls to receive the milk, which grows yellow and thickens at its surface. Some drain their bowls on the spot, while others carry them to their children. One imagines he sees the family of the shepherd who is distributing the milk of his flock."

Wallace describes another milk tree, the *Massrandúba*, which he saw near Para, saying: "It is one of the noblest trees of the forest, having a straight stem and rising to an enormous height. The wood is very hard, fine-grained and durable. It bears an edible fruit of excellent quality, the size of a small apple, and full of rich pulpy juice. The milk, which exudes when the bark is cut, is of the consistency of thick cream, and but for a slight peculiarity in the taste, can scarcely be distinguished from the genuine product of the cow. We cut several notches in the bark of some logs of this tree that had lain on the ground a month, and in a minute, the rich milk was oozing out in great quantities, some of which we collected in a basin, diluted it with water, strained it, and used it for supper and breakfast. The peculiar flavor of this milk seemed to improve the flavor of our tea, and gave it as good a color as rich cream. We had a custard made of it, which proved very good. This milk

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also makes an excellent and durable glue; in time it hardens and becomes like gutta-percha."

Another remarkable tree, found in Brazil, is the Carnaúba palm. From its roots, a tea is made equal to Sarsaparilla; a kind of straw grows on the stem, from which hats, baskets and brooms are made; the trunk can be pulverized and made into an excellent paper cloth, and building material; the cabbage-like heart of the stem, called *palmetto*, is a much-prized edible vegetable. In the stem also, a pith is found that can be used as cork, while the solid wood is valuable for making musical instruments, tubes and pumps. From the sap, vinegar, wine, saccharine and sago are made; the fruit of the tree makes a nutritious food for cattle; and from the seeds—nuts—a kind of coffee is made when real coffee is scarce. The tree also yields a white liquid, like cocoanut milk, which, when dried and pulverized, makes an excellent flour. Finally, its leaves yield large quantities of valuable wax. Three million pounds of this wax is exported annually from Brazil, while two million pounds are used at home.

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Chapter XXXIII.

WEAPONS.—THE BLOW GUN.—HUNTING.—MARVELOUS FISHERMEN.—THE MANO RACE.—THE WILD MAN'S EVENING ANTHEM.—WOMAN.—UNIQUE MARRIAGES.—FIGHTS.—PRIMITIVE ARITHMETIC.

411 The weapons of the Bororó, used both in war and in the chase, are huge bows that are longer than the archer is tall, spear-like arrows four or five feet in length, and two styles of clubs, made of iron-like wood, one of which is shaped like an enormous dagger.

[824] They obtain the wood for their bows from a certain palm-tree, and the fibre with which to make their bow strings [283] from the long, slender foliage of another plam. The fibre is stripped out of the green leaves by the primitive artisan, and twisted, or spun, by rolling between the palm of the hand and the leg above the knee as the spinner sits, cross-legged, on his palm-leaf mat, and lastly, these strands are twisted dexterously into cordage in the same manner. The bow is usually wound half its length with reserve string.

The arrows are made by skilfully fitting together three different pieces of wood. The point, or spear part, is made [824] either of taquara or palm-wood, and in a variety of forms, according to the use to be made of it. Broad blade points are used in hunting large game, and for war, while various styles of harpoon points are used for fishing. A special kind of arrow is made which is six feet in length and very

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heavy, and is shot with a line attached. It is really a harpoon, to be used in fishing. A big Bororó, with a bow six and a half or seven feet in length can launch an arrow with such force as to drive it through a tapir at close range; but he is not an accurate marksman beyond fifty yards. 411

A unique weapon, used by many of the aborigines of the Amazon valley, is the blow-gun. It resembles a gigantic pea-shooter ten or fifteen feet in length, or an enormously elongated bass clarinet, for the mouth-piece is made flaring like the bell of a clarinet. The wild man finds this weapon nearly ready made by Nature. It is constructed of the stem of a palm that grows but fifteen feet high, without joints, and two inches thick, and has a soft, pithy heart, which, when removed, leaves a smooth, polished bore. To make the gun, two of the straightest stems obtainable are selected, one small and the other large; and when the bores are cleared, the small tube is forced inside the large one, in order that one may counteract any slight crookedness in the other. A bell-shaped, or conical wooden mouth-piece is next attached, and sometimes the tube is wound spirally from end to end with the smooth, shiny bark of a creeper. 600

The needle-like arrows are made of the spinous processes of the patawa tree, having a conical tuft of cotton secured to the base, which fits snugly, but not tightly, into the bore of the gun. This projectile is hurled by a short, sharp puff of breath, like a boy shoots a pea, and has a range of forty or fifty yards. But it cannot be propelled with sufficient force to kill anything, so the points of several are dipped in a poisonous liquid just before they are to be used, which immediately stupifies and kills the victim, if only the skin is broken, though the animal may be restored if salt is at once rubbed into its mouth.

Since the blow-gun is noiseless, it is more useful to the primitive hunter than a firearm. With it, he is enabled to bring down monkey after monkey, for instance, until he has bagged an entire troop, whereas, with a firearm, all would be frightened away by the first shot. This weapon has been

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used with fatal effect against traders ascending narrow streams in canoes, for the savage manipulator, hiding behind the dense masses of trees and bushes that lined the bank of the river, stealthily launched his deadly darts without being discovered.

In war, the Bororó, like many other South American tribes, prefer a hand to hand attack with heavy clubs. If they can choose the hour of attack, they select a moment just before dawn, or else the evening just after dark. They yell fiendishly when making an attack.

The Bororó always build their villages near some important stream, for they look more to the water for their flesh food than to the forest, and are far more expert fishermen than hunters. Though when fish are scarce, which they are during several months each year, they scour the forest in search of game. At such times, entire families leave the village to wander far away through forest and jungle, remaining absent two or three months.

They bravely attack, hand to hand, even the most ferocious game—the jaguar. When this powerful beast attacks a man, it springs to within a few feet of him, then rises up on its hind feet, like a bear, and closes with him. It is remarkable that an animal of the cat family should assume this position; but perhaps it is suggested to it by the upright position of the man. When forced to meet the beast in close combat, the Brazilian hunter provides himself with a heavy bar of wood five or six feet in length and terminating in a fork. Grasping this with the left hand, he holds it inclined in front of him with the foot resting upon the ground, and parries the attack by receiving the brute in the fork, which gives him time to thrust into its vitals the long knife held in the right hand.

But the Bororó hunter rarely uses the fork, employing, instead, a still more dangerous method. Having wound fifteen or twenty yards of hair rope around the left arm, he presents it, doubled, to the great cat when it rises to attack him, and at the same instant, plunges a knife into its heart. I saw

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a Bororó whose arm had been crushed between the jaws of 224
a jaguar in a battle of this kind.

The great ant-bear is a much-prized game with the Bororó. Finding one, they do not kill it at once, but drive it to the village. This is easily done since the brute always runs straight away from its pursuers at a slow pace; hence it can be driven in any direction by the hunter appearing on one flank or the other. The savages make use of every part of its body—blood, flesh, skin, hair, bones and entrails.

The Bororó are marvelous fishermen. Their principal 226
method for catching fish is with a huge sack-like net which [286]
is made with large meshes and of the same kind of cordage as the bow strings. The mouth of the sack is secured to two parallel rods ten or twelve feet in length, which are bound together at the extremities; and the sack is opened by springing the rods apart. Equipped with these sack-nets, a group of the primitive anglers plunge into the river a few miles above [526]
the village and descend with the great, muddy current, swimming and diving, and exploring the depths of the river; and by the exercise of astonishing skill, succeed in bagging fish that weigh ten or fifteen, or even one hundred pounds. When the fish is once inside the sack, the mouth is allowed to spring shut, and the sack is then gradually rolled up by revolving the poles; and finally, when the fish is in such close quarters that it is helpless, and has been brought to the surface of the water, the fisherman seizes the small club which he has been trailing from the back of his neck, and pommels it until it is dead. The sack is now unrolled and the fish removed, strung on a cord and trailed behind with the club; then the almost amphibious man proceeds once more to explore the depth of the river for more fish. The whole operation of catching and disposing of the fish is performed in deep water; and when the savage angler finally lands at the village, he may drag after him half a dozen or more ten or fifteen-pound fish. Sometimes, four or five large fish are caught at one scoop. When the fisherman bags a fish nearly as large as himself, he is forced to call a companion to assist him.

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226 526 147 These men display amazing strength in the water. They have almost lived in the water from babyhood, and have learned the secret of just how to bring into play nearly every ounce of their great strength. An ordinary swimmer wastes the greater part of his strength in the water because he has not acquired the secret of how to apply it. A Bororó will roll over on his back, seize an object with both hands, and pull almost like a tug-boat.

226 When fish become scarce, part of the men of the village, taking their sack-nets, form a cordon across the river, then bellowing, screaming and diving, treading the water and making a great commotion, drive the scattered fish down the river, much as cowboys round up cattle; while the remaining men, with their sack-nets, form a line across the river two or three miles below to complete the round-up. Thus they corner and bag the fish.

[411] [229] Another method of fishing employed by the Bororó, is with a harpoon. The point, including the one or two barbs, is of bone, and detaches from the staff, which is eighteen inches in length. Fifty or one hundred yards of strong line is wound around the point part and one end secured to the detachable staff. Armed with this weapon, the fisherman dives very quietly to the bottom of the river at a spot which he knows to be the lurking place of a *jahú*, for instance, a fish that grows as large as a man. Espying one as it rests in the shadow of some rock, he approaches it with great stealth, lying, perhaps, motionless in the water and allowing the current to float him gently within reach of his prey. Then, suddenly, he plunges the harpoon into it, and retaining the staff in his hand, he rises quickly to the surface, lands, plays his game, and finally brings it ashore. This method of fishing is practiced when the water becomes less charged with earth.

[411] [229] Still another method of catching fish is with the bow and the large harpoon arrow with the line attached. Thus armed, the fisherman awaits his game at some shallow place, or where the fish pass near the surface of the water; or at a spot where they approach the edge of the river to feed upon certain

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fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches 226
of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men.

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon- [41]
pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes [227]
near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them.

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the [103]
river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie [136]
called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the [511]
natives are contented and grow fleshy.

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They [501]
have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them.

One of the most striking traits of character of these chil- 151
dren of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) 825
is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita-

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151 825 tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 [524] Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men [825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the saüba ants.

Early in the day, all the men of the village went up the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or [501] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high, [824] brought the material down the river on rude floats made of 616 bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Shcraidi* and the *Ta Nagarčda*.

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommeled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 616 But primitive men must do things decently and in order as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

Brazil.

Nagarìda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now 526
steps quickly over to the *Sheraidi* group, grasps a man by the 616
wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheraidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarìda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm.

The signal to begin the race being given, each team in- 526
stantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of *the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the* residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw [361]
down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the [345]
contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, [352]
who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows.

The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals— 533
if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. [512]
They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall [345]
nearly every evening just after nightfall.

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533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
825 evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
534 charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club
chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets
103 of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
114 at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the *bakororó* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sangerfest.*

535 Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

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like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the 533
notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, 825
growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its 151
bakororó, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures.

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting 533
expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages [224]
intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* [514]
is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune.

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the 532
savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space 224
of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, 825
especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals.

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these prim- 000
itive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state.

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

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000 food largely, or wholly, from uncultivated, unsubdued Nature, consuming much of it in a raw state; and instead of mastering Nature, Nature crushes him. Again, like the brutes, he scours forest and field to satisfy only for to-day the hunger of himself and his little brood, with no thought for to-morrow; and having secured an abundance of game, he eats enormously, then lies down contentedly to sleep, and rises up to play, until hunger again drives him forth in search of prey. Once more like his irrational neighbors, the object of his existence, apparently, is not to possess houses and lands and goods, but simply to have a mate, food for the moment, and to pass his days in childish amusements. When the sun is hot, he sleeps, or instinctively seeks the water that he may play in it and cool himself; when night comes, he arouses himself and sings his *bakororó* in common with all the frogs and toads, and other creatures. Lastly, like the wild animals, he is clothed only as Nature clothes him.

462 Imitating Nature, the social economy of these primitive people is, in important respects, the reverse of Christian civilization. Like irrational nature, the female is the principal, or most responsible food provider for the little family, or brood—
[301] not the male. Again, like the female in Nature, and unlike Christian civilization, the female does not adorn herself, nor sing or play; while the male, on the other hand, peacock-like, decorating his person, makes himself gorgeous and struts about in a lordly manner; and besides, like the male in Nature, produces all the music. Once more, the female performs all the heavy work and the drudgery, and is the servant and slave of her mate, while the light and fancy work, including ornament making, is done by the male. Woman in all ages and lands from the dawn of time, has occupied herself exclusively in the pursuits of peace. More gentle, affectionate and domestic in her nature than the man, she has remained by the fireside collecting and preparing fruit and vegetable foods without destroying life, making pots and pans and other necessary household utensils, preparing implements of husbandry and tilling the soil, loving peace, and reproducing and nourishing

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her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war- 462
like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer.

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, 222
may be seen going forth in various directions with huge bas- [482]
kets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their fore- [854]
heads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him.

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is con- 582
tracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age 584
of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken 839
for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Be- [584]
cause of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old.

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
584 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *Ta Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *Ta Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

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wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

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853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear
to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a
162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see
a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually
593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them,
586 especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes
dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then
leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of
the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêdo*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of
[674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less
147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a
484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a
482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the
462

dry season, the *arēda* carries all the family effects, and perhaps also a child four or five years old, while her lord marches a few paces in advance of her, carrying only his bow and arrows, and perhaps also a fire-brand. The party makes but short marches, however, halting frequently to rest for an hour or two around the little fire which they always kindle, and to roast and eat a bit of meat, if they should have it, or to nibble some vegetable food.

Some of the Rio Negro savages, mentioned by Wallace, subject their females to a terrible ordeal when they approach womanhood. At the first sign of puberty, the poor, innocent maiden is placed in seclusion in the family hut where she is kept a month and allowed only a small quantity of one kind of food, and water, as if she had committed a crime. When the time of her imprisonment is about to end, all the relatives and friends of the family are assembled, each of whom brings a yard or two of the stalk of a heavy climbing plant to use as a lash. The unhappy girl is now brought into their presence, entirely naked, and each and every person strikes her five or six heavy blows across the back and breast with his lash. Usually, she falls unconscious under this awful castigation, and sometimes dies. If she recovers, the flogging is repeated four or five times at intervals of about six hours. Each guest must strike hard, for it is considered an insult to the parents of the victim not to do so. Finally, when the castigation terminates, pots of various kinds of fish and game which have been prepared, are set before the company, into which each person dips his lash and passes it to the wretched girl to lick. She is now considered a woman, and may eat anything she wishes, or marry. Boys approaching manhood are subject to a somewhat similar ordeal, but not so severe, which initiates them into man's estate and allows them to witness the playing of the mystery instruments, which correspond to the roarer among the Bororó, and also to marry.

Among these savages, marriages seldom occur between relatives or near neighbors, but the swain seeks a wife at a distant village of his tribe, or even from another tribe. Having

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000 fixed upon a maiden, though without her knowledge, his father sends a message to the girl's father, saying that he with his son and relatives will visit him shortly. The recipient of this message readily surmises the object of the visit, and if the prospective marriage is agreeable to him, makes preparations for a grand festival. Finally, after the festivities have lasted two or three days, the bridegroom's party suddenly seize the maiden in question, hurry her away to their canoes and disappear, as if they had kidnapped her. But no attempt is made to prevent this act, or to pursue the apparently fleeing party, and the girl is henceforth regarded as married.

Some other tribes test the skill of their young men in archery before allowing them to marry; and if one does not prove to be a good marksman, the maiden whose hand he seeks refuses him on the ground that he has not the skill to shoot fish and game enough to sustain a family.

553 Resuming our story of life among the Bororó: A very interesting naming, initiation, or naturalization ceremony, suggesting a Romish baptism, is observed for all male children while still in early babyhood. Early in the morning, at the first [302] token of the approach of the "supreme power," the family and [304] friends of the little one, whose body has been decorated by smearing it with gum and coating it with crimson and white feathers, accompanied by a conjurer, take up a position on the highest ground in the vicinity of the village; and at the *meri ruhu*—sun rising—as the "supreme majesty and power" sweeps upward from behind forest and hill, bathing the earth in its glorious light, the conjurer pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument, made especially for the occasion, and beautifully ornamented with many-colored feathers, at the same time pronouncing, *Piadudu*, or the name of some other animal or object the name of which the child is to bear. *Piadudu*, softly repeat the family and friends; so *Piadudu*—humming-bird—a favorite name, becomes the name of the child. The Bororó, like most savages, [551] regard their names as deep secrets for religious or other reasons, refusing to reveal them to any person not a member of

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their tribe, and always responding *pardulu?*—I do not know, 551
who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony 553
is not performed for a female child.

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind 855
to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents [841]
seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should [597]
whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives.

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by 198
this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, 516
moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand.

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four; 802
therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands."

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mêdo* [262]
at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around.

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802 Next, he divided the quarters and again glanced carefully about him; and so continued until he had an equal portion for twelve or fifteen men, not forgetting to reserve a good hunk for himself.

805 821 To calculate time, the moon comes to their aid. It is their great natural calendar, as it has been for all the peoples of the earth from the earliest age.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

RELIGION—REVOLTING FUNERAL RITES.

SOME of the savage hordes of South America are cannibals. They feast upon their enemies with great pomp and ceremony, even rearing from infancy the offspring of the enemy in order that he may become, when full grown, the material for a grand, human barbecue. These cannibal banquets are "the religion, pride and joy of the Brazilian savage * * * the triumph of the captor, and an expiatory sacrifice to the spirits of their brethren who have been slain." A few tribes have, in times of famine, devoured their own aged and helpless ones; while in still other tribes, the children have eaten their aged parents, believing that in consuming and assimilating their bodies they honor them and perpetuate their existence—a crude form of the doctrine of transmigration of spirits. Other tribes, again, cut off the heads of their enemies, and embalm them by filling them with hot sand, and shrinking them until they are about the size of a grapefruit, preserving perfectly the form and features. Large sums of money have been paid by collectors for these ghastly trophies, which has doubtless inspired the head hunters with greater zeal. Some tribes are notorious for the revolting practice of abortion, which is brutally effected by jumping on the abdomen of the victim.

Religion, "the conception of the infinite," as Max Müller defines it,—the fixed belief that a world of spirits exists, which, though encompassing men in the flesh and pervading natural objects, yet is hidden from human eyes—occupies a supreme

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771 place in the thoughts and doings of the Bororó as it does in the
000 minds of all the peoples of the earth. Elucidating further, Prof. O. T. Mason says that, "In a general sense, religion is the sum of what is thought or believed about a spirit world and what is done in consequence of such thinking. What is thought about such a world constitutes *creed*, what is done or what a people does under its inspiration constitutes the *cult*. The *creed* and the *cult* together form the religion of any individual or people."

771 The religion of the Bororó is expressed chiefly by an elab-
775 orate system of diabolical rites and ceremonies for the placa-
782 tion of disembodied souls, or spirits, which they call *bopi*—demons; and a funeral is the occasion for the greatest display
764 of the savage ritual, or *cult*. It is a great *musical* pandemonium, savage dirge, or hell's concert; or a sort of wild man's opera or tragic play, enacted by a primitive male quartette, mixed chorus and orchestra, and lasts several days and nights, first with the body present, and a week later, with the bones present.

763 When a member of the tribe becomes so ill that the family
755 begins to fear for his life, one of the tribal priests, or sorcerers,
756 is summoned to his hut where he lies naked on a palm-leaf mat spread upon the ground, to declare whether he will live or die. This primitive ecclesiastic may think, inspired with wicked cunning, that the sick one will die naturally within a certain number of days. Or, he may hold a grudge against the stricken man, and may consider this a good opportunity to balance accounts. So, in announcing to the family the number of days the patient will live, he mentally resolves that if death should not occur naturally at the time he shall name, he will see to it that it occurs, nevertheless, in some other way. Or, again, he may feel that life in the village has long been very dull and monotonous, and that there is immediate and urgent need of a social function or festival of some kind; and what could be more entertaining to the savage public than a good funeral *bakororó!* In this case, also, he will see to it that the victim dies at the time he indicates. In any event, he will take steps to have his predictions "come true" to the letter, in

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order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance. 763 755 756 [802]

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the 764 [302] [301] [534]

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764 quartette and chorus, the men usually sitting cross-legged on palm-leaf mats on the ground, and the women standing. The male members of these outer groups are the orchestra, or band, composed of four or more pieces, in the manipulation of which the primitive musicians relieve one another from time to time. These instruments are of two kinds only, and of native manufacture. One kind is a sort of bass flute forty inches long and three inches thick in the outer half. It is made by splitting and hollowing a sapling, then binding the halves together into a rough tube by winding them from end to end with long strips of bark. The upper half of the instrument is but an inch or so in diameter. The second instrument is a sort of trumpet, made by gouging large openings in each end of several oblong calabash shells, five inches in diameter, and gumming them together, end to end, with beeswax. But one note can be produced with each instrument. The flute emits a snorting, snoring sound, the trumpet a barking, roaring, groaning, diapason note.

764 534

764 785 On one side of the corpse—which, at the rites I witnessed, was that of a child seven years old—crouched the bereaved father and brothers, who moaned, muttered and lamented continually in low tones. On the opposite side, kneeled the mother, sitting on her heels, her body completely besmeared with blood from having been slashed from head to foot with sharp-edged shells, while behind her crouched another female who, having first rubbed ashes into her scalp, slowly jerked out her hair, consuming five or six hours in the operation. At the same time, the poor, tortured creature wailed and moaned, and uttered lamentations, and jibbered and muttered, reciting the virtues of her beloved child. Meanwhile, female relatives [302] and friends of the stricken family, placing, each in turn, a foot upon the corpse, slashed their legs and arms scores of times, and sometimes their entire bodies, with jagged-edged shells—reminding one of the priests of Baal—and daubed their bodies from head to foot with a black substance, made chiefly from the genipapa fruit, all the while moaning, muttering and chanting. They do not intend to cut themselves more than

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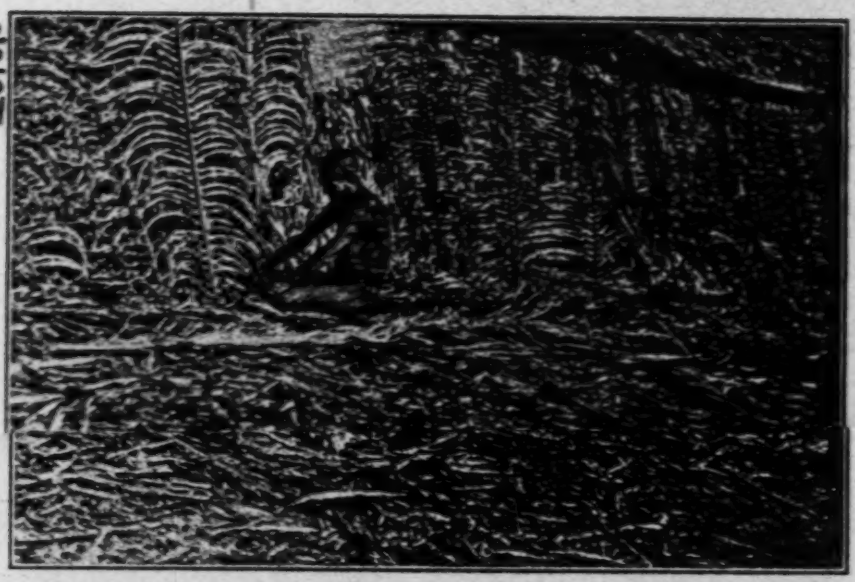
122

Camping in the Matto Grosso Wilds.

516
785
345
764



Bororó Funeral Ceremonies. The mother of the deceased, her hair jerked out and her body slashed from head to foot, is chanting just outside the great hut.

Facing 398]

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skin deep, but now and then they accidentally cut deep and 764
bleed profusely. The reader will have observed that the males 785
do not cut themselves, nor pluck out their hair. They are [562]
careful not to injure themselves. It is only the nearest female
relative of the deceased that has her hair jerked out.

Witnessing these hideous, uncanny and revolting scenes
of savagery, in the sickening atmosphere and dismal gloom of
the great hut, and listening to the pandemoniacal uproar or
medley of infernal noises, one could well imagine that he had
somehow been cast into the dungeons of the damned, and was
hearing their shrieks, and wails, and moans of unspeakable
anguish and despair. While this hideous drama, that only
savage tragedians are capable of interpreting, was being en-
acted, and pandemonium was singing and playing its hellish
hymns, and saying its mass, in this cavernous place; outside,
a tropical sun was silently inundating the earth with its glor-
ious effulgence, and all Nature, arrayed more beautifully than
Solomon in all his glory, sang for joy.

The first part of this horrid nightmare within the great hut 764
with the body present, continues night and day without inter-
mission, until the first sunset after death; then, as the king of
light sinks slowly and majestically behind the western wilder-
ness, and the shadows of night begin to gather, symbolical of
the closing forever of life's bright, happy day, and the ushering
in of the black, sad, hopeless night of the invisible world, the
savage choir, chorus and orchestra become hushed; and the
enwrapped remains are borne solemnly to the public play-
ground just outside the great hut, placed on top of the ground
and covered by a little mound of earth. Here the body lies for 765
a week or more in order that the flesh may decay and separate
from the bones. Each evening during this time, at the *meri de-*
códu—the setting of the sun—as the prince of day resigns the [533]
earth to the rule of night, the sorrowing family and sympathiz- [995]
ing friends, gather around the sacred mound, and with their
faces turned toward the dying light, murmur a low, mournful
chant, pleading the virtues of the lost one, and perhaps also
recommending him to the good offices of the "supreme power"

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[765] —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are be-
[533] lieved to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who,
[775] being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings. During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of
[533] the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday
[534] and holding a picnic in the woods. Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one
[775] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de-
[292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up
[535] and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

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entrances to the savage hall. Meanwhile, stepping outside the great hut, I saw, crouching close to the wall of the hut, the mother of the recently deceased, weeping, wailing and jibbering in a low, squeaky voice which was almost gone, her body emaciated, covered with gashes and besmeared with blood. She was a most pitiable appearing creature. How cruel are the customs of savagery! 765

The soul representative and his adjutants next danced and jerked themselves outside the great hut into the open air, then to the public playground on the edge of the village. Here, the trio, totally exhausted, sat on the ground, while an assistant proceeded to call the *bopi* in the persons of a few of his fellow savages who were to represent them, or act as the materialization of the demons. Standing in the center of the *ring*, he beckons and calls, offering perhaps a bit of tobacco to induce a few men to volunteer, while the remaining males of the village—for only the males participate in this part of the funeral rites—stand scattered about in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees beyond the *ring*. At length, a savage offers to represent the *bopi* by dropping on all fours and beginning to creep very slowly toward the caller, or ringmaster, uttering constantly abdominal squeaks, in imitation, perhaps, of the note of the tapir, or of the wild pig. Approaching the center of the ring, he springs up suddenly on his *hind feet*, and with upraised arms rushes to the caller, where he takes his stand upon a spot prepared for him. Another and another volunteers in the same way until five *bopi* representatives are in line in the center of the ring. Balls of clay mud are now produced and the five *bopi* impersonators are painted drab from head to foot, black rings are marked around their eyes, the black figure of a serpent is sketched coiled around the body of one or two, and a quantity of mud is massed into their hair. 765 775 [302]

The caller now places himself in the path leading to the village, and beckons and calls as before, and the *bopi* representatives again drop on all fours and begin to creep very slowly toward him, emitting continuously their weird notes.

Brazil.

765 At the same time, the remainder of the savage band break
775 forth instantly into a wild uproar, yelling and screaming, throwing up their hands, dancing and jumping in their mad, though mock efforts to drive the *bopi* into the village, suggesting a squad of men and boys trying to drive a herd of obstinate hogs. Suddenly, a horrible shriek rends the air just in advance of the materialized *bopi*. This appears to frighten them, for they turn and begin to creep away from the village. The drivers now become still more frantic, yelling and shrieking, bellowing, chattering and jumping fiercely. Soon, however, the *bopi* are again headed toward the village; and entering the path, all spring up suddenly on their *hind feet*, mount their horses—fellow savages—gallop into the village, dismount, and crouch around the mound where the body lies buried, and claw the earth slightly, as if about to unearth the remains. They now quietly retire, their part in the savage rites having ended for the day.

The soul representative, who had re-entered the village in advance of the *bopi* representatives, now seated himself astride
[789] of the grave, and the father of the deceased having crouched beside him, he performed over him some enchantments to route any evil spirit that might be threatening him, or to make him invulnerable to their assaults. This he did making passes over the bereaved man's head, and muttering and blowing in his mouth, nose and ears. Following this, the soul representative deposited all his rigging on the mound save the *pariko*, or fan of brilliant feathers that adorned his head.

765 We now witnessed the ceremony of the transference of the
768 personal effects of the deceased from this world to the spirit world, for the Bororó, in their peculiar way, believe firmly in "laying up treasures in heaven." A fire was kindled, around which the soul representative, accompanied by an adjutant, danced sidewise, stiff-legged, while each article that had belonged to the deceased was passed by the father to the adjutant, who, in turn, handed them to the soul representative, who cast them one by one into the fire until all were consumed. They were only a few dirty toys, some rude ornaments made

of feathers, or of the teeth and claws of beasts, and one or two 765
articles of wearing apparel made of bark. To us, they were 768
merely a heap of rubbish, but to the poor natives, precious
treasures. Having vanished in flame, the effects were con- [775]
sidered transferred to the invisible world, and so *transub-*
stantiated that they could be of service to the newly arrived
shade, or *bopi*.

One reason that the Bororó give for burning the belongings of the deceased is, that if they were allowed to remain in the hut, the family, constantly reminded by them of their lost ones, would be weeping, wailing and uttering lamentations continually, for it is their custom to cry and jibber loudly whenever anything revives the memory of their dead. An- [775]
other reason for burning the effects is, that if they should not be burned, and hence not transferred to the shadow land, the soul would return to haunt and injure the family.

It was now about sunset, and the ceremonies of the day 765
being concluded, all the men seated themselves cross-legged upon mats in two groups just outside the great hut, and a primitive banquet, or collation, was served. The banquet always forms an important part of every social function among savages.—Indeed, a social function among them is inconceivable without it. But do not banquets, suppers and buffet lunches constitute an important part, if not the most important part, of social events among civilized men? Yet civilized men do not usually have a banquet at a funeral, with the decomposing corpse lying but a few yards in front of them.

The chief items on the menu at this savage banquet were 765
big clay potfuls of a kind of broth made of a starchy liquid 262
wrung from the spongy stems of a dwarf palm and mixed with a sauce made from the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm, called *pyky* (peekee), *pyky* eaten raw, three kinds of wild potatoes, boiled or baked in the ashes, and a sort of cocoanut bread made by pulverizing in a mortar the meats of palm-nuts and baking the mass in the ashes. There were no condiments. As each pot or tray of food appeared, a cheer was given by the group for whom it was intended.

Brazil.

765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *bopi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from [237] the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

At the *méri rútu*—the birth of the sun—the following morning, the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus [533] [785] and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; [302] and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with [224] the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

Brazil.

When the immediate family of the deceased have howled, wailed and chanted until they can scarcely articulate, they drink clay water, asserting that this relieves the throat somewhat. 765 [271]

Finally, I saw the basket of bones taken by the mother of the deceased, and buried in the little cemetery two or three miles from the village, where, it was believed, the *bopi* would take possession of them in a few weeks. The sorcerer is believed to know when the *bopi* removes the bones. [775]

A day or two after the conclusion of the funeral rites I witnessed, the father of the deceased, sent by the village authorities, disinterred the basket of bones and brought it back to the great hut. Three of the chief men from a distant village had arrived on a visit, whom it was necessary to receive with honors and entertain with the best festival the village could get up. And what could equal for entertainment a good funeral *bakororó*? But how could they have a funeral *bakororó* without a corpse, or at least the bones? As soon as the basket of bones was again brought into the great hut, pandemonium was once more in session, and the rattling, roaring, groaning, squatting, snorting, barking, weeping and wailing continued all the rest of the day and all night. At daybreak, the following morning, an intermission was taken in order that the players and actors in this savage drama might go fishing. They fished and hunted all day that they might have something to feast upon, for, of course, a *bakororó* without a banquet would scarcely be a *bakororó*. But when the darkness of night again enshrouded the land, the hideous uproar of the savage horde again burst upon our ears and did violence to the peace and tranquillity of the night until the dawn, when it was once more hushed, and the basket of bones was again entombed. [574]

Some of the Indians of the Rio Negro, hereinbefore mentioned, a score or two of families of whom live in one immense hut,—a primitive "flat,"—always bury their dead inside this hut under a few inches of earth, depositing the tobacco, ornaments and trinkets of the deceased in the grave with him. Some days after burial, a large quantity of fermented liquor is

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prepared, and all the relatives and friends of the bereaved family are called together to mourn for the dead and to dance, sing and wail to his memory. The largest of these human hives have had more than one hundred graves in them; but where the hut is small, or becomes crowded with graves, interments are made just outside.

It is the custom of yet other tribes to disinter the corpse a month after burial, when it has reached an advanced state of decay, put it into a great pan, or oven, over the fire, and roast it until all the volatile substances are driven off, which operation fills the savage family hotel with the most dreadful stench. At length, nothing remains but a black, carbonaceous mass, which is pounded until reduced to a fine powder, then mixed in several large, wooden troughs of fermented liquor, and drank by the assembly of mourners until all is consumed. The savages believe that in this way the virtues of the deceased are transmitted to all who drink of this revolting beverage.

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Chapter XXXV.

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THE SORCERERS.—EXORCISING AND FRIGHTENING AWAY DEMONS.—THE MYSTERY INSTRUMENTS.

The souls of the departed are believed by the Bororó to 775
dwell, for a time at least, in the bodies of certain fish and 825
mammals. But they do not appear to identify the disembodied soul—*bopi*—with the creature it inhabits, as do those people who believe in what is known as "transmigration of the soul." The Bororó soul is simply a tenant in the body of the creature it inhabits, maintaining a separate, independent existence, and continuing forever, supposedly, without any change occurring in its personality or character; though it is doomed to suffer evictions everlastingly from its temporary fleshly abodes at the hands of the conjurer, or because of the natural death and destruction of the body of the creature it lives in. The Bororó say that the moment a newly disembodied spirit—the soul of a member of their tribe who has just died—enters the body of some creature, the bones of the soul's former self disappear from the cemetery. The evil-minded sorcerer, doubtless, is responsible for the disappearance of the bones—if they really disappear. The Bororó do not think that every wild creature is tenanted by some wandering *bopi*—soul—but only those that bear unusual markings, such as especially bright colors, or are very large, or have some other peculiarity. They much admire a fish called [262]
dourada by the Brazilians, part of the body of which is a bright,

775 825 262 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while 775 825 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir, 262 and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every 756 member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade 789 of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

775 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish, 825 for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the 756 entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been 789 deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 Corn also appears to have some connection with the 262 demons, or is under a *tabu*, for the Bororó will not, under any 756 789

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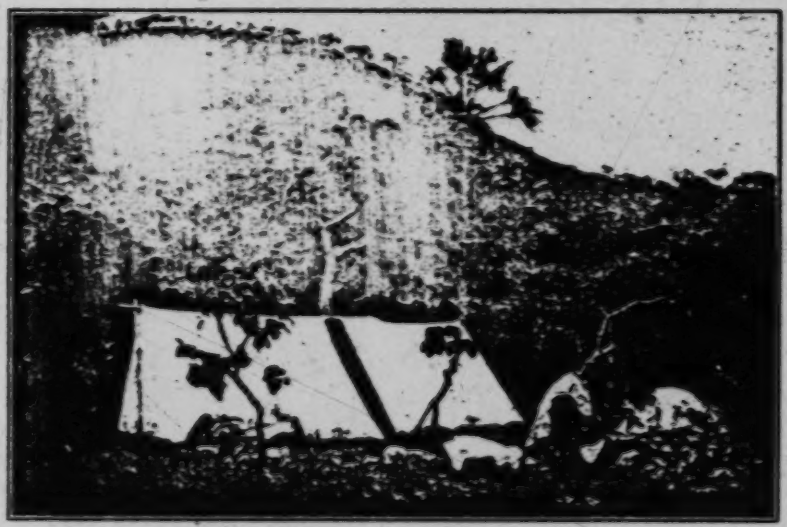
In the Heart of the Wilderness.



Camping in the Wilderness far away from the Haunts of Men.

[Facing p. 408]

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circumstances, eat corn from a field until a few ears have first been brought to the sorcerer that he may perform his incantations over them, biting into them, dog-like. After this, the corn from that field may be freely gathered and eaten without further ceremony. 241 262 756 789

The souls of the departed, the *bopi*, are believed also to haunt and plot evil against the living, who pass their days in almost constant fear, and even in terror, because of them. Every few days, one or another of these superstitious children of the wilds imagines he sees a ghost or spook skulking in the jungle, or some strange object or shadow, or peculiar movement of the branches of the trees, or hears an unusual or seemingly uncanny sound. In a frenzy, he hastens to report what he has seen or heard, and, instantly, the whole city of savagery is wildly excited. These spooks, or wandering souls are nearly always seen just as solemn, mysterious night is taking possession of the land. Sometimes, the scare is a pure invention of the sorcerer. 775

These sorcerers, or tribal priests, are not chosen or appointed by men, the Bororó say, but by the *bopi*. Their calling to the priestly office appears to be somewhat in this manner: Some day, a Bororó is taken with some kind of a fit, and the village sorcerer, is called in to declare the nature of the case, and to say if the patient will live or die. Having considered the matter cunningly, he may say to the family something like this: "Piadudu is in mortal combat with a *bopi*. If he surrenders to the demon he will become a sorcerer, but if he continues to resist, he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is thought that he has given himself up to the *bopi*, and therefore fully qualified for the priesthood. But it seems to me that the certificate of priesthood lies largely in the ability of a Bororó to throw himself at will into a savage ecstasy or trance; or he may possess some powers of "mediumship," or metaphysical powers believed to emanate from the *bopi*, together with a good degree of native cunning and ready wit. These sorcerers are the most depraved men in the tribe. They are the bane of tribal life. They must nurture the illusion 756

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756 that they have communications with and influence in the spirit world, and know what is occurring there; and have power to cause and avert evils and calamities. Hence, they are ever on the alert to seize upon every propitious occasion, and even to invent occasions to make merchandise of the superstitious fears of their fellow tribesmen for their own profit and aggrandizement.

800 As regards the ordinary civilized man, knowledge forces the mysterious, the unknown, the infinite, back from his immediate presence, compelling it to remain at a distance, thus enabling him to pass his days more or less unmindful of its existence. But to the primitive man, with his limited knowledge of the processes of Nature, the world about him is pregnant with mystery; it presses close upon him on all sides and he cannot be indifferent to it. The mysterious—that which is beyond his knowledge—the infinite—literally stares him in the face at every turn, and he is unable to fathom it. Ignorant of causes, he views with superstitious thoughts every event, and everything in Nature that is in any degree unusual or abnormal—everything that seems to project, never so little, beyond the dead monotony of natural phenomena. Indeed, his knowledge is so limited, and his imagination so easily inflamed, that he readily creates for himself all sorts of unusual occurrences and phantasms without any foundation. His imagination is most active during the hours of darkness. Like a timid child, he sees terrifying shapes everywhere. The thunder and lightning, the wind, the sun and the moon in their various phenomena, the cries of birds and beasts, and the direction from which they cry, all convey to his uncul-
787 tured mind some omen of good or evil. If the *kami* (a bird) utters its cry at evening from the east, it means that "white man come;" and if from the west, "Bororó die."

795 [123] Our Bororó friends who crowded about us during the whole of every day, always withdrew from our hut at sunset, retiring to their village, and we usually saw no more of them until daybreak. But late in the evening on two or three occasions, we heard a tramping of barefooted men approaching

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our hut, and immediately thereafter a horde of excited and 775
frightened savages swarmed in upon us. The cause of their alarm was quickly explained to us: One of their number had imagined he saw the forms of strange men moving about mysteriously in the jungle near the village, which was interpreted by some of his fellows to mean that the soldiers were coming to attack and carry them away. At another time, apparitions of the dead were thought to have been seen; [789]
so the following day the natives solemnly and mysteriously prepared the *roarers* in order to frighten away the threatening evil.

It is partly, or chiefly, to pacify departed souls by honoring 782
them and giving them a good send off, that the elaborate 775
funeral ceremonies already described, occur. And the fact that nearly all the rites and ceremonies of the Bororó are observed for the pacification of demons is the reason why the ritual is so hideous and diabolical. Men whose gods are devils only, can have nothing but a devilish ceremonial.

As already stated, the Bororó, like the Karayá, entertain 776
an anamistic conception of the world. They do not appear 771
to have any idea of a good spirit, or good spirits. Attempting to translate the word God into their language, or to communicate to them in a small degree the thought that this word stands for, we had to make use of the words, *Bopi camahina pîmêgâre irnducâre*, which is literally, Spirit, greatest, good, without equal. But this is quite unsuitable for a permanent translation and a word for God would have to be transliterated, or a new word coined.

Mingling with the Bororó, one somehow gets the impression that perhaps they once had a conception of a good spirit. But, as the good spirits never did them any harm, nor threatened them with evil, while numerous evil spirits are constantly menacing them, they came naturally to devote so much attention to the latter that they long ago forgot all about the former. Thus they have degenerated in mind and heart, it 000
would seem, with the result that in the whole outward expression of their lives, they have retrograded from a higher to a lower social and moral state.

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warning calls are given frequently for some hours in advance of the time when the instruments are to be brought into use. Hearing these warnings the females enter their huts, close the openings and hide their heads. The *roarers* are always manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush, and at openings in the forest. 534 562 788

Many other tribes have mystery instruments and practice demon music. Wallace, describing those of some Rio Negro tribes, says that their instruments are pipes, or tubes, like great bassoons or trumpets, and produce sounds somewhat like trombones or clarinets. One kind is made of bamboo or palm-stems, hollowed out, while others are made of bark, twisted spirally and have mouthpieces of leaves. Each instrument produces but one note, but several pairs are played at the same time, each pair being of the same size and emitting the same note. A simple tune is played, revealing unusual taste for savages; and though the music sounds strange and wild, it is somewhat pleasing. The musicians wave the instruments about in a peculiar manner, vertically and sidewise, while playing them, and accompany these movements with corresponding contortions of the body. These instruments are considered a great mystery. No female of the tribe must ever look upon them under pain of death. From the first moment this mystery music is heard, not a female, young or old, is to be seen for all have hidden themselves away in the woods. If a female should see one of these instruments, either accidentally or by design, she would be put to death, usually by poisoning; and a father will not hesitate to become the executioner of his own daughter, or a husband of his wife. Even where there is only a suspicion that the instrument has been seen by forbidden eyes, no mercy is shown. 534 562 171

I experienced difficulty in getting possession of two or three of the *roarers* for my collection. The Bororó were very reluctant to let me have them, fearing that their women might catch sight of them in some way. But they finally brought them to our hut, one at a time, under cover of darkness, after having borrowed blankets from us in which to roll them, and 126 534 562

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126 534 562 delivered them to me with a solemn, mysterious air. Even after the instruments were in our possession, these superstitious people manifested great solicitude in having us hide them away in the bottom of a box, and placing the box itself in an inaccessible place.

126 534 797 We also had difficulty in securing the big bass flutes used at the funeral *bakororó*. They were not kept hidden from any member of the tribe, yet the savages were loathe to part with them for some superstitious reasons. When I asked a captain to get me a pair, he looked solemn and mysterious, and said by words and signs: "The captain" (myself) "must not take this instrument away with him. It is a very bad instrument; whoever carries it away will never more return." In saying that it was "bad," he meant that it was "bad medicine," that it would bring "bad luck" to the possessor. Perhaps the old pagan was not far wrong after all, for contrary to my expectations, and to my great disappointment, I have not yet been able to return to their villages.

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Brazil.

776 [821] [756] [795] The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them, is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

789 534 Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons, or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarer*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

534 562 788 No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

FOLLOWING THE WILD MAN'S TRAIL.—LIFE IN A SAVAGE CLUB-HOUSE.—FLOATING DOWN THE RIO POGÚBU.

WHILE we had our headquarters near the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, we made a visit to the Kogi au Paro village of the same tribe some twenty miles distant.

We followed a trail used only by the savages, and over which no civilized man had ever before passed. It led largely through a forest which was so dense in many places, that the trail was like an opening through a thick hedge, or through a wall. This opening was just large enough to permit the naked wild man to pass comfortably. But we were mounted on mules, and had one mule carrying two boxes containing our cooking outfit and food. Consequently, we had to make the hole larger on all sides. Even after our muleteer, who led the way on foot, had enlarged the opening, we were compelled to practice rough riding continually to avoid being raked off our beasts, or having our limbs crushed. Besides, our passage was barred by many deep ravines, gulches, washouts and streams, the banks of which were often nearly vertical. Our mules were experts in descending the banks, for they would bunch up their feet, like mountain goats, and slide down. But, in many cases, they were unable to climb out on the other side until we had dug steps with a grubbing-hoe. There was often deep water in these places. We also encountered at nearly every step great bunches of wild pine-

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122 apple plants, to touch which was like running into a barbed-
[137] wire fence, for one's clothes would be torn and the flesh lacerated. This plant hooks into whatever touches it, even piercing one's boots. Moreover, swarms of flies of many
[136] varieties, the bites of which cause itching wounds, pursued us constantly; while various kinds of wood-ticks, some of which are nearly as large as the potato beetle, fastened themselves upon us. This insect has a fearful head-gear, but, somehow, one is never aware of its presence until it has taken firm hold; then if one tries to remove it by force, either its head will be left buried in the flesh, or a piece of flesh will be torn out. To add to our discomfiture, the heat was intense, and our thirst so insatiable that we wished our throats were mill-races.

We expected to have reached the Kogi au Paro village in one day, but so much time was consumed in enlarging the opening through the forest that we were still in the middle of the woods when night overtook us. Therefore, we suspended our hammocks under the trees, prepared and ate our supper, and tried to make ourselves comfortable for the night, hoping to secure restful sleep for we were excessively fatigued from struggling through the vegetable walls and entanglements. But in planning for a peaceful night, we had not reckoned with animate Nature. Animate Nature does not limit a day's work to eight or ten hours. In the Brazilian wildernesses she labors twenty-four hours each day. The "day
122 gangs" of insects that persecuted us had scarcely retired from
136 the field when the "night gangs" came on. The mosquitoes came in swarms, of all sizes and capacities, ready for every kind of work. Some of them were so small that they could fly through our mosquito netting with extended wings, but they could bite out of all proportion to their size. The ants were also in evidence. When the mosquitoes drove me out of my hammock and I set my feet on the ground, I stepped among army corps of foraging ants which swarmed over my feet, biting, or stinging, as they ran. Fleeing from them in the inky darkness, I accidently brushed my hand against a coat

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which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that 122
sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints 136
of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack.

All during the second day we continued to carve our way 122
through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling.

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au 609
Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidi*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity.

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, 361
and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open [621]
ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was [133]
between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, [103]
flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage 122
over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding 361
together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river

361 some distance before casting ourselves into the current.
[122] Missing the landing place, there was great danger of our losing, not only our effects, but our lives as well.

We found the cluster of huts situated about one mile back from the river, and in the heart of the densest and most impassable upland tangle that I have ever seen. The trees
[137] were fifty feet high and less, and almost numerous enough to form a thick forest, while below them, the whole country was overgrown by a terrible jungle of bushes, briars and coarse grass. A small, circular space, like a gigantic nest, had been cleared in the center of this forbidding thicket, in which fifteen or twenty palm-branch huts clustered in the usual disorder.
[187] This wild man's lair was approached by a serpentine path just wide enough to allow men to pass in single file. The village was hidden away in this manner in order that its position might not be known to enemies, or that it might be very difficult to assault.

122 We were conducted at once to the great hut, where we
345 were entertained while in the village, and in one corner of which we suspended our hammocks and made ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. But we found this a hot, stuffy, ill-smelling *hotel*, and in addition, the mosquitoes were very numerous and industrious.

622 As soon as we were settled, we asked to see the chief man of the village, who appeared. He was six feet tall, well proportioned, intelligent and dignified, and the finest appearing Bororó I had seen. He seemed to have more real authority, too, than any Bororó captain I had met. The Bororó have
622 no tribal chief. Each village governs itself, independently,
624 having a few elderly men who are captains, in a way, by reason of seniority, in whom the chief authority is vested. But their powers, and the obedience rendered them, seem to be variable and uncertain. A strong character may arise from time to time, and by favoring circumstances, reach a position where he may command the entire obedience of his village. But ordinarily, the chief men do not appear to possess much real authority, individually. Of course, when they go

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to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *areda* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-
[261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

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over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the 574
wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve 576
yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of 261
their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which 262
was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of 264
roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly [252]
devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from 122
the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook ooo
prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of [123]
Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the [461]
material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet ooo
long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

"keel," or foundation of our craft. On this we laid crosswise, and bound, bundles of bamboo poles eight feet long, and over these again we placed binding poles to make everything as strong and firm as possible. We had no nails, or spikes, or anything of this kind, or any tools beyond a straight-handled axe and long knives. We therefore bound our raft together with strips of the inner bark of a certain tree, which is tough and strong. But not having an auger with which to bore holes for wooden pins, we could not make the raft firm and seaworthy.

We experienced difficulty in launching it the next morning, for nearly all the Bororó had gone off on a hunting expedition, leaving but one or two to assist us. To get it into the water from the high bank where it was built, we had to work it down a steep, muddy place, and at the same time, avoid breaking it up, or turning it over. But finally, the launching was successfully accomplished. We were anxious to return to our headquarters as soon as possible as our pot of boiled, fried beef was nearly exhausted, and other food was scarce; moreover, life in the gloomy, stifling, insect-infested "club-house" of the wild men, was not attractive to us.

Having floated our raft, we cut two long bamboo poles with which to control it somewhat, and provided ourselves with an oar by cutting a small sapling terminating in a fork and weaving strips of bark between the prongs. We then embarked with our little baggage and pushed out into the current, our ship's company being Senhor Antonio, Senhor Guveia and myself. We were now afloat on the only craft that had ever carried men in these waters, and navigating a river that had never been navigated in its upper reaches. All went well for a few minutes and we were feeling proud of our good little ship that floated us so nicely, and congratulating ourselves on how easily and pleasantly we would return to our "ranch," thus escaping the dreadful travel through the jungle. But suddenly, as we swept around a bend, we saw with intense alarm, that the current was apparently bearing us, with irresistible force, straight into the branches of

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a big tree that stretched far out over the water and into it. We knew that if we struck that place, we and our baggage would be raked off into the water. We worked like Trojans, poling and paddling to clear the danger. But, we now discovered how unwieldy our craft was and how insufficient was our means of governing it, as it seemed not to respond in the least to our efforts. Worse, each of us thought he was captain, and one yelled "push this way" while another gave an opposite order. Happily, and greatly to our surprise, the current carried us inside the danger point, so we escaped with only a slight brushing. We now knew that all our excited efforts had really been to force ourselves into the danger instead of away from it. All went well again for a short time, when we once more swung around a bend and found ourselves bearing down rapidly upon a big snag in the middle of the stream. We knew that if we should strike it, our float would go to pieces. Again, there was great excitement and the captains shouted their opposing orders, but the pushing and paddling seemed wholly unavailing. Finally, as we were about to resign ourselves to apparently unavoidable fate, our good raft took a swirl and cleared the obstruction by several feet; and again we saw that our frantic efforts had tended to our destruction instead of our salvation. An Invisible Hand was evidently guiding us.

Experiences similar to these, figuratively speaking, occur frequently in the life of every person. Peering into the future with anxious distrustful thoughts, one sees, in imagination, numerous dangers and evils obstructing his path, toward which some mysterious force seems to be sweeping him unerringly. So, forgetting altogether the kind Heavenly Father who watches over all His creatures with infinite love and solicitude, tenderly guiding the bark of even the most lowly and most unworthy of them, he seeks to tear himself from God's loving hand; and struggling madly to escape these imaginary troubles which will never materialize, vainly dissipating his vital forces, he creates for himself anguish and

despair, totally unfits himself for life's real duties and privileges and shortens his days.

We now began to entertain anxious thoughts as to how we should make land at the second Kogi au Paro village, which was a little below our point of embarkation, where we were to complete our arrangements for descending the river. We seemed to be afloat on a perpetual motion which we were powerless to stop. The edge of the river was lined with dangerous obstructions and we dared not go too near. How, then, were we to run our unwieldy float into the narrow opening in front of the village? But the Hand of Providence guided us as before, and we succeeded in making land without damage. At the last moment, two Bororó, plunging into [123] the water, seized our raft, and pulling with great force, enabled us to get it to shore.

When we had finally made fast to the root of a tree by means of a bark line, Senhor Guveia, who had become thoroughly frightened, sprang ashore, declaring that nothing would induce him to navigate further on such a craft.

Having fried for the seventh time our pot of boiled beef and eaten the last of it with some green corn-cakes, which, after baking in the ashes, had been fried, we further strengthened our raft with bark rope, made another paddle and other arrangements, then continued our novel voyage down the pretty little river. In place of Senhor Guveia, who had decided 123 609 to return through the forest, we took with us two Bororó who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro village. They were delighted with the prospect of returning home so easily, and by means of such a strange conveyance. The entire Kogi au Paro village came down to the river to gaze at our strange craft and to see us "sail," for this was a most unusual event in their lives; besides, they were more friendly toward us, and not so fearful and exclusive as the upper village.

Getting our craft once more in motion, we did not meet with any dangers until we were more than half-way home. We were therefore finding our trip very enjoyable. The

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sun was a little clouded and the day charming, and a primitive forest, clothed in its beautiful robes of perennial green, lined both sides of our watery path. As we were borne along by the current, we came upon a Bororó fishing party. These bronze, entirely nude savages, standing upon the rocks at the water's edge, in the shadow of the great trees, the beautiful and luxuriant foliage of which formed a background, looked exceedingly picturesque and romantic. They eyed us with deep interest as we moved silently past them, having never before seen such an object on the river.

But as we proceeded, our Bororó companions caused us feelings of anxiety by continually pointing down the river and muttering, *canoa by*—canoe die, the raft will be wrecked—calling the raft by the Brazilian word for canoe, not having a word of their own.

At length, as we were swept rapidly around a bend, we saw a little island in the middle of the stream and the water dashing over the rocks that extended out from its head, while in the center of the only channel through which we might now pass, were other large rocks which churned the on-rushing waters into a foam. This left us but a very narrow gateway between the jaws of destruction. Could we strike this opening? We did not know just where the current was carrying us, but it appeared to be sweeping us straight onto the rocks, and we knew that if our raft should strike them, it would certainly *die*. We were in great alarm, and paddled and poled with all our strength, though without any apparent results. But the Unseen Hand had not forsaken us, and we slipped through the jaws of destruction in perfect security. Once more we saw that in our mad endeavors to escape the danger, we had done everything in our power to get into it.

All had gone well again for some time, though the Bororó still continued to point down the river and mutter ominously, *canoa by*, when, as we were borne quickly around another turn in the river, our hearts almost stood still at the sight of a chain of rapids that stretched entirely across the river, more than half the area of which was littered with boulders,

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000
[133]

over which the waters seathed and roared; and our float seemed to be making for the very worst place, despite all our efforts to work it over out of the zone of greatest danger. The outlook was dismal to the last degree, so we prepared ourselves to be wrecked. But once again it was evident that the Unseen Hand was guiding us, for we passed the rapids in perfect safety and without touching a rock.

Our Bororó companions now ceased to point down the river and to say *canoa by*, for we were nearing home. But how should we contrive to make a landing at our headquarters, was a question that gave us no little anxiety. There was only a narrow gateway through the snags that cumbered the edge of the river, into which we must slip quickly, though we needed a broad clear space into which to slowly work our unwieldy float. Senhor Antonio tried to get in at a port which was a long distance above our hut, but failed, though he nearly cast us upon the rocks, and we were in great danger for a few minutes. But God cared for us to the last; and getting as near the shore as we dared, we slipped in at the landing-place without striking even a snag. If we had missed this port, we would have been compelled to go a long way down the river before finding another.

We were glad to be again in our own hut where we were not troubled by insects, and could obtain an abundance of beef and milk—about our only food.

344

[Information on the "Great Hut" of the Bororo, which serves as a residence hall for the single men of the village, as a clubhouse, village workshop, and "public brothel", will be found in category 345.]

[Additional information on the bope or evil spirits (the souls of dead shamans who normally dwell in the sky but occasionally visit earth), may be found in category 776.]

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The

634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/288/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to
be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
824
284

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PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF MATTO GROSSO

An Account of Archaeological and Ethnological Field Work at the Headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, During 1931

By Vincent M. Petrullo

THIS account of my field work in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931, is offered to those interested in primitive peoples and especially in South American archaeology and ethnology, with the sole motive of making available source material. The paper is not intended as a critical study of the region with which it deals nor does it purport to be thorough in its treatment of the subjects that it discusses. To my critical readers I plead the fact that I was a novice in the South American field at the time that the material presented was gathered, and that I was among tribes that are either but slightly known or not at all, and that thus my difficulties were those to be met by the first workers. One handicap was lack of interpreters, limiting the field of my investigations to what was physically observable. However, it is intended that the paper give the fundamental setting of the cultures with which I came in contact for any analytical study that may be undertaken in the future. 114 121 [124]

The work was done under the auspices of the University Museum cooperating with the Matto Grosso Expedition and the Academy of Natural Sciences, whose representative was Mr. James A. G. Rehn. 122 121

Both archaeology and ethnology occupied my attention, my project being fundamentally in the nature of a survey of the possibilities that the country offers in both fields of research and to study the field conditions, rather than to bring back a conclusive and thorough study of some particular site or tribe. Though the unlooked-for acquisition of an amphibian airplane by the expedition aroused the hope that a prolonged stay with some tribe could be made, since the usual excessive amount of time spent in reaching the desired village could be saved by flying the distance in a few hours, the ultimate results were what had been originally planned for reasons that will appear in the narrative. 121 [122] 114

Briefly, my work included the locating of a number of archaeological sites and the partial excavation of two of them; visits to the Bororo da

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[82] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our year of residence there only three times did we hear loud laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

121 114 [53 29] realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8 Pobojari

Chapter VI

BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121 In discussing the sociology of kinship, a major problem is to determine the order in which the material should be presented. Relations within the family, the developmental cycle, the different social groups, marriage, residence--all of these, and still other subjects, can be meaningfully understood only in the light they throw on each other. To achieve this it would be necessary to make some kind of simultaneous total presentation. The requirements imposed by narrative preclude this. One is forced to choose, and to proceed through one door when many are open, always with doubt and a feeling that another way might have been more profitable. One tries to be as little repetitive as possible, yet one has to go back to the starting point over and over again in an effort to preserve some quality of unity.
128 One is confronted with still another pair of choices: whether to start with the general conceptual system and then pass to its realizations, or whether to start with particular social facts and to slowly construct out of them a picture of the whole. I will attempt to proceed in the latter manner, not because I think it is in any way better than the other, but I hope it will convey some of the processes that the ethnographer goes through in trying to make sense out of data.

The first matter to be discussed is the Bororo point of

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[596] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent; where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equivalence rule, which were required to account for the kinship system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fraternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers" are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and their wives.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter X

CHARACTERISTIC KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS

114 In a chapter of Tristes Tropiques (1970: 183-231) and
121 in two articles reprinted in Structural Anthropology (1969,
772 "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" pp. 132-163; "Social Structures of Central and Eastern Brazil" pp. 120-131), Lévi-Strauss discusses the dual organization of the Bororo, having found that there are, in fact, two kinds of dual organization, one concentric, the other diametric, and in addition, a triadic structure.

Christopher Crocker saw Bororo society as regulated by two organizational principles: "opposition between members of the same clan, or kinsmen, but solidarity between members of different moieties, or affines" (1969: 44). He continued:

> As I mentioned above, the Bororo consider each clan to possess a distinctive character and to be totally unlike any other clan. Since a single principle of comparison cannot be applied to all the clans, they are non-comparable and cannot be ranked. Monkeys and armadillos are two completely different creatures which contrast in all respects, and it is impossible to speak of one or the other, or of the clans they represent, as 'better,' 'smaller' or uglier.' But one may discuss older and younger monkeys, bigger and smaller armadillows, handsomer and uglier tapirs, and consequently the lineages may be compared and ordered through a hierarchy, or the sub-class be ranked as superior and inferior. The Bororo universe, which includes nature as well as society, expresses two principles of organisation: the inequality of like items related asymmetrically and the equality of unlike items related symmetrically. Such structures, as Bateson pointed out some

114 121 772

time ago (1936: 178-97), imply that the units involved in the first case exchange dissimilar objects or acts (e.g. obedience for leadership) while those in the second case relate through the exchange of similar or equivalent things (women for women). To establish the validity of this deduction for the Bororo and to relate it to the contradiction mentioned above requires the exposition of another dimension of Bororo normative order, that found in the two origin myths" (1969: 50).

121 772 There are, however, two other logically possible "principles of organization:" First, like items could be equal: one monkey could be just as good as another; second, unlike items could be unequal. Although Crocker says that monkeys and armadillos are non-comparable, he then proceeds to compare them by saying that they are equal. If they are comparable then they could also be unequal: tapirs could be better, bigger, or handsomer than monkeys. Thus, there exist four logically possible kinds of relationships:

	inequality ignored	inequality recognized
like items	A	B
unlike items	C	D

772 181 It is my belief that the structure of the Bororo society rests upon the first three "principles of organization:"

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
482 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier. /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/. Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

562 It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it 121 male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would 847 always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be: the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones: the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous impediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and especially of the future mother herself. If, for example, the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epidemics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe, which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Bororos, Rio de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/124 cont./

846 In different ways people have tried to explain the couvade,
• 121 the so-called post partum of the man, this very widespread custom, especially in South America, according which the father is obliged to lie down for whole days, not doing heavy work, and to abstain from many important foods. "Some authors consider the custom of the couvade, which is found among many primitive peoples, an intermediary degree between the matriarchal and the patriarchal family. This custom is regarded as an act /125/ symbolic of the public recognition of the paternity of the newborn child, although probably something religious co-operates in it too." (Illustrierte Völkerkunde, herausgegeben von Georg Buschan, /Illustrated Ethnology, edited by Georg Buschan/, 3. Auflage /3rd ed./, Stuttgart, 1922, t. I, p. 8.)

The results of more modern research indubitably show that the purpose of this custom is to protect from harm the child, who, in its early stages of life, is imagined to be in direct connection with the father, that is to say, as part of him. Today well-known ethnologists understand that the couvade signifies a precedence of the man, because the fact that certain customs are exclusively related to one sex proves, so they say, that this sex, by means of these customs, is placed above the other one.

846 Among the Bororo, father and mother fast for some days after the child's birth, not rarely, however, also up to two months, but both continue with their work. Consequently a true couvade did not exist among them. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 61) writes, concerning the fast: "For three or four days the mother abstains from meat, being content with some broths made with maize or roots and wild fruits, sweetened with wild honey, or sugar, if they are able to get it. It is customary for the husband to follow the diet of the woman in abstaining from meat; one can even say that his diet is stricter than that of the wife. He proceeds thus in order that the neonatus will grow strong and healthy and will be able to resist hunger and thirst without suffering."

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

[121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliny are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliny is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiago Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely, been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with
121 matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has
582 fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and
591 patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted
[586] in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children
586 remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the wife.

121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does the heavier and economically more valuable work has a position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier
462 or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den
222 Steinen (o.c., p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them, "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought by the women has greater importance because it is obtained with more regularity and in abundance. The women look for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the 'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/ and of the piquí, /Caryocar brasiliense/, etc."

462 The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians,
[224] hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow; in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in
462 many she also helps in the construction of the house. But,
141 considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps, be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

[171] 3. In contrast let there be indicated the following tribes described by Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, Rondonia, 3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): "Tembés -- Male stature, in general, shorter than the female. Women tall and thin; men short and fat. Mundurucús -- They are muscular. Men shorter than the

/149 cont./

562 the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this
114 opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced
797 of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man,
a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy
[593] of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same
state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles
in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have
now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the
Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in
the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever
by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the
individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity
of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his
natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already
born with him, a composition by which only the individual
is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes
himself from all the other individuals. Although the social
position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way,
seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it
seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the
relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage
is given its own and true configuration, or, said better,
its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals
who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very
pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in
the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the
boundary between the social and the individual being. How
many men are there among us who would like to be dominated
by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and
master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer
with his individuality the influence of the conventions created
by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

If we want to investigate the importance of the
121 adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask
562 first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with
[237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex.
[304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the
[856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.

[776] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[759] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
[171] misfortunes.

114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

/162 cont./

773 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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[262]

economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'úga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 849 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF MATTO GROSSO

An Account of Archaeological and Ethnological Field Work at the Headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, During 1931

By Vincent M. Petrullo

THIS account of my field work in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931, is offered to those interested in primitive peoples and especially in South American archaeology and ethnology, with the sole motive of making available source material. The paper is not intended as a critical study of the region with which it deals nor does it purport to be thorough in its treatment of the subjects that it discusses. To my critical readers I plead the fact that I was a novice in the South American field at the time that the material presented was gathered, and that I was among tribes that are either but slightly known or not at all, and that thus my difficulties were those to be met by the first workers. One handicap was lack of interpreters, limiting the field of my investigations to what was physically observable. However, it is intended that the paper give the fundamental setting of the cultures with which I came in contact for any analytical study that may be undertaken in the future.

The work was done under the auspices of the University Museum cooperating with the Matto Grosso Expedition and the Academy of Natural Sciences, whose representative was Mr. James A. G. Rehn.

Both archaeology and ethnology occupied my attention, my project being fundamentally in the nature of a survey of the possibilities that the country offers in both fields of research and to study the field conditions, rather than to bring back a conclusive and thorough study of some particular site or tribe. Though the unlooked-for acquisition of an amphibian airplane by the expedition aroused the hope that a prolonged stay with some tribe could be made, since the usual excessive amount of time spent in reaching the desired village could be saved by flying the distance in a few hours, the ultimate results were what had been originally planned for reasons that will appear in the narrative.

Briefly, my work included the locating of a number of archaeological sites and the partial excavation of two of them; visits to the Bororo da

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

to Messrs. Joseph Sencenda and John Doe, co-pilot and radio operator respectively; to Mr. John S. Clarke, Jr; to my Brazilian 'camaradas' and Bakairi canoemen, who followed me so courageously into a region that is not devoid of danger, and to whom a large share of the credit for the success of the venture is due; and to Mr. Giacomo Anzil.

To others not so intimately connected with my field work I am no less obligated. To Mr. Eldridge R. Johnson for his generosity in placing at my disposal the amphibian plane, without which my survey would not have been carried out over such a vast region, and which was instrumental in averting a tragic end to the Xingu venture; to General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who so courteously granted the expedition permission to enter the Indian country, favoring us with his personal interest and friendship and with countless kindnesses; to Major Ramiro Noronha for the infinite pains that he took to give us all the information at his disposal concerning the region that only he knows so well, and for his intimate interest in our welfare; to Dr. Benedicto Duarte Monteiro and Dr. Alvaro Duarte Monteiro of the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios.

I further wish to thank the following institutions and individuals that in some way or other helped me in my task: Dr. Jules Freund of the Henry Phipps Institute; Dr. Max Schmidt for his advice and mapping out for me many projects; Dr. E. Roquette-Pinto, the director of the Museu Nacional, and Dr. Heloise Alberto Torres, of the same institution; Dr. A. Amaral and the Instituto Butantan for numerous courtesies and supplying Dick test material; the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios; Mr. John Gordon Ramsey for his hospitality and permission to excavate at Descavaldos; Miss Eleanor M. Moore for making the six plates of drawings; Miss M. Louise Baker for drawing the map.

* * * *

Dr. E. Roquette-Pinto has expressed the opinion that to-day the most interesting groups of mankind are those to be found in the northern forests of Matto Grosso. Investigating the section of the state which he has called Rondonia, he found numerous tribes with a simple stone-age culture apparently unaffected by what has been happening on the continent of South America since the first arrival of European adventurers. Geographical barriers, and the fact that the surrounding peoples have

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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000 In the course of study and travel one accumulates many debts and many friends. I am grateful to these friends not only for their help but also because of the sense of responsibility I feel in trying to justify their trust. I give my thanks first to my adviser, Professor Floyd G. Lounsbury, whose influence will be quite obvious in the following pages. Equally important was a clear sense of direction and grasp of the meaning of ethnographic research, which I owe to Professor Harold Conklin. I am grateful to Professors Sidney Mintz and Leopold Pospisil for their friendship and encouragement, and to Professor Harold Scheffler for many useful comments made on the first draft of this thesis.

The warm welcome and assistance of Professor Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira made our first days in Brazil much easier. In Cuiabá the Summer Institute of Linguistics often gave us shelter. The Salesian missionaries, Padre Luiz and Padre

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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The Basin of a Primeval Lake, where the Rio Vermelho takes its rise, now the site of a Primitive Forest.

122

Eating Christmas Dinner.

[Facing p. 354]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars. 133 137

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of *college yells*, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females. 361 574 122

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, brightly painted, uncouth appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The 361 137 291 302 000 136

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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CHAPTER XXXII.

600 LIFE AMONG THE BORORÓ.—EYED CONSTANTLY BY A HORDE OF NUDE SAVAGES.—ASTONISHING MAKE-UPS.—PRIMITIVE HOUSEKEEPING AND SANITATION.—HORTICULTURE.—FOODS.—VEGETABLE COWS.—A WONDERFUL PALM.

361 [133] AFTER nearly two months of horseback riding and camping, we arrived at the confluence of the river Pogúbu, or Ponte de Pedra, and the Rio Vermelho, which is about forty miles north of the junction of the former river with the [103] São Laurenço. Here, we found a large Bororó village, called the Tá Dáre Máno Páro—potato bank—where we remained [122] several weeks, camping in a stake-walled, palm-branch roofed hut that had been erected a quarter of a mile from the Indian village by my companion. We had to cross the river Pogúbu, which we did in a small, dugout canoe made by Senhor Antonio, and swam our horses over. It is about two hundred [133] yards wide at this point, deep, and has a strong current. A heavy rain storm broke just as we were within a few hundred yards of our destination, so we rushed our entire cavalcade right into the big, open hut.

123 152 When our arrival became known at the primitive metropolis, and it was known instantly, our hut began to fill with our nude and painted fellow beings of all ages and both sexes, who came to observe us and to examine all the marvelous things that we had brought from our wonderful, and to them, enchanted world. They flocked in upon us regularly at dawn

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [857]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would [516]
sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and distortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trading, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain [431]

8: Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909 SP8 Bororo SP8

●122

Camping in the Matto Grosso Wilds.

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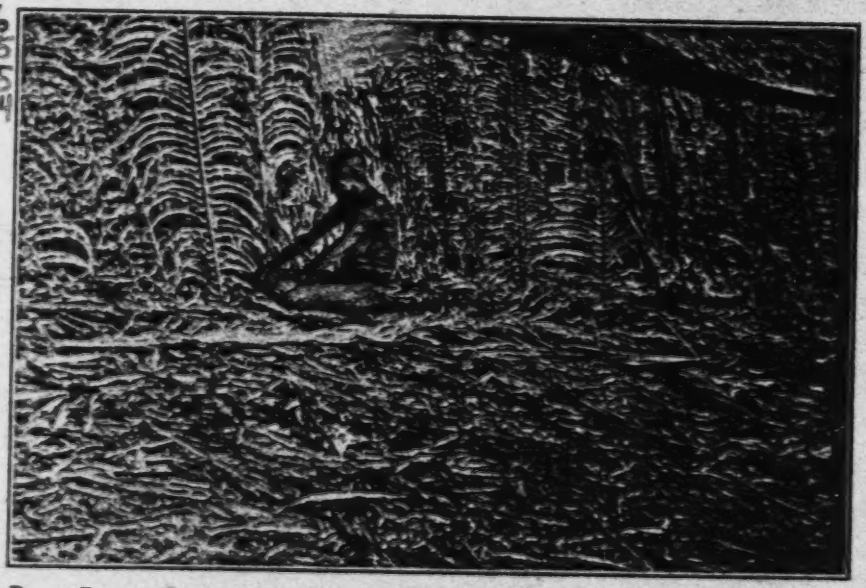

Bororó Funeral Ceremonies. The mother of the deceased, her hair jerked out and her body slashed from head to foot, is chanting just outside the great hut.

[Facing 398]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FOLLOWING THE WILD MAN'S TRAIL.—LIFE IN A SAVAGE CLUB-HOUSE.—FLOATING DOWN THE RIO POGÚBU.

WHILE we had our headquarters near the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, we made a visit to the Kogi au Paro village of the same tribe some twenty miles distant.

We followed a trail used only by the savages, and over which no civilized man had ever before passed. It led largely through a forest which was so dense in many places, that the trail was like an opening through a thick hedge, or through a wall. This opening was just large enough to permit the naked wild man to pass comfortably. But we were mounted on mules, and had one mule carrying two boxes containing our cooking outfit and food. Consequently, we had to make the hole larger on all sides. Even after our muleteer, who led the way on foot, had enlarged the opening, we were compelled to practice rough riding continually to avoid being raked off our beasts, or having our limbs crushed. Besides, our passage was barred by many deep ravines, gulches, washouts and streams, the banks of which were often nearly vertical. Our mules were experts in descending the banks, for they would bunch up their feet, like mountain goats, and slide down. But, in many cases, they were unable to climb out on the other side until we had dug steps with a grubbing-hoe. There was often deep water in these places. We also encountered at nearly every step great bunches of wild pine-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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122 apple plants, to touch which was like running into a barbed-
[137] wire fence, for one's clothes would be torn and the flesh lacerated. This plant hooks into whatever touches it, even piercing one's boots. Moreover, swarms of flies of many
[136] varieties, the bites of which cause itching wounds, pursued us constantly; while various kinds of wood-ticks, some of which are nearly as large as the potato beetle, fastened themselves upon us. This insect has a fearful head-gear, but, somehow, one is never aware of its presence until it has taken firm hold; then if one tries to remove it by force, either its head will be left buried in the flesh, or a piece of flesh will be torn out. To add to our discomfiture, the heat was intense, and our thirst so insatiable that we wished our throats were mill-races.

We expected to have reached the Kogi au Paro village in one day, but so much time was consumed in enlarging the opening through the forest that we were still in the middle of the woods when night overtook us. Therefore, we suspended our hammocks under the trees, prepared and ate our supper, and tried to make ourselves comfortable for the night, hoping to secure restful sleep for we were excessively fatigued from struggling through the vegetable walls and entanglements. But in planning for a peaceful night, we had not reckoned with animate Nature. Animate Nature does not limit a day's work to eight or ten hours. In the Brazilian wilder-
nesses she labors twenty-four hours each day. The "day
122 gangs" of insects that persecuted us had scarcely retired from
136 the field when the "night gangs" came on. The mosquitoes came in swarms, of all sizes and capacities, ready for every kind of work. Some of them were so small that they could fly through our mosquito netting with extended wings, but they could bite out of all proportion to their size. The ants were also in evidence. When the mosquitoes drove me out of my hammock and I set my feet on the ground, I stepped among army corps of foraging ants which swarmed over my feet, biting, or stinging, as they ran. Fleeing from them in the inky darkness, I accidently brushed my hand against a coat

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that 122
sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints 136
of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack.

All during the second day we continued to carve our way 122
through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling.

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au 609
Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidi*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity.

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, 361
and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open [621]
ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was [133]
between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, [103]
flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage 122
over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding 361
together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river

361 some distance before casting ourselves into the current.
[122] Missing the landing place, there was great danger of our losing, not only our effects, but our lives as well.

We found the cluster of huts situated about one mile back from the river, and in the heart of the densest and most impassable upland tangle that I have ever seen. The trees
[137] were fifty feet high and less, and almost numerous enough to form a thick forest, while below them, the whole country was overgrown by a terrible jungle of bushes, briars and coarse grass. A small, circular space, like a gigantic nest, had been cleared in the center of this forbidding thicket, in which fifteen or twenty palm-branch huts clustered in the usual disorder.
[487] This wild man's lair was approached by a serpentine path just wide enough to allow men to pass in single file. The village was hidden away in this manner in order that its position might not be known to enemies, or that it might be very difficult to assault.

122 We were conducted at once to the great hut, where we
345 were entertained while in the village, and in one corner of which we suspended our hammocks and made ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. But we found this a hot, stuffy, ill-smelling *hotel*, and in addition, the mosquitoes were very numerous and industrious.

622 As soon as we were settled, we asked to see the chief man of the village, who appeared. He was six feet tall, well proportioned, intelligent and dignified, and the finest appearing Bororó I had seen. He seemed to have more real authority, too, than any Bororó captain I had met. The Bororó have
622 no tribal chief. Each village governs itself, independently,
624 having a few elderly men who are captains, in a way, by reason of seniority, in whom the chief authority is vested. But their powers, and the obedience rendered them, seem to be variable and uncertain. A strong character may arise from time to time, and by favoring circumstances, reach a position where he may command the entire obedience of his village. But ordinarily, the chief men do not appear to possess much real authority, individually. Of course, when they go

over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the 574
wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve 576
yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of 261
their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which 262
was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of 264
roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly [252]
devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from 122 ●
the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook ooo
prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of [123]
Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the
material and getting it down to the water's edge, though [461]
there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet ooo
long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
199 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.
[152] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.
[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakaïrí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

●122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text continues on P. 553]

/449 cont./

122 only with grass. A single, but tall tree stood beside the little brook, whose banks were lined with many young buriti palms. It required courage to live and work here. Except for the farm walls at S. José, scarcely anything along the way reminded one of the struggles with the Bororó. Only we were occasionally struck by low, narrow arbors which had been made by putting together dwarfed sertão trees; they were attributable to the soldiers and had served for protection during the night. On 19 March, across terribly desolate grassy areas, we reached the first brooks flowing toward the S. Lourenço, which were as yet only a few meters wide. On the Ribeirão Prata we found a charming little landscape, which, with its woods and succulent meadow and the silver ribbon of the little source stream, vividly recalled our home to us. Only a few young palm trees argued against this, and the thermometer, which stubbornly measured 22.8° for the very refreshing, "ice-cold" water. On 21 March there followed the descent from the plateau terrace past picturesque red sandstone rocks, and in the afternoon we reached the orange groves of the military colony, where the beautiful forest-edged S. Lourenço flowed past at a width of 127 meters. We were very hospitably received by the commander, Captain Serejo.

361 On the next day we arrived at Thereza Christina. It is situated upstream, also on the right bank and not far below where the Prata empties, but the S. Lourenço makes great bends between the two colonies and the forest area is so swampy that one is forced to make a long detour inland.

[342] Above a bank a few meters high, an extensive forest clearing; on the open place covered with dry weeds, many massive old tree trunk still standing, and here and there hewn trunks lying about, a great many low, rectangular, in part long huts with gable roofs covered with palm straw which begin just above the door; everything prosaic and cheerless in the same grayish-yellow shade of straw and loam, surrounded by forest on three sides, the fourth bordered by a majestic, wide stream and beyond it a dark strip of luxuriant forest, above which appears an extended chain of flat hills -- that was Thereza Christina.

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
661 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuŝawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[237] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

●123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the
baitemannanage° was a veritable workshop, where all the men of
the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tušawa gave the order to fish. The whole
village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with
the women and children in the deserted houses.

His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the
[221] economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the
lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or
ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various
manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few
years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox,
and Tušawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the
disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active
part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him,
and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/
or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the
dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside
their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different
players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant
house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over
the negotiations from him (1).

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463
301

1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can
only be made by the chief. One of these

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 17 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MASCOI SKID
MATO GROSSO SP1

to round up cattle for the factory. In the brief time spent with them, no vestige of their own original culture could be discovered. Living in abject poverty under wall-less shelters made of strips of corrugated iron, bits of cloth, and grass, wearing filthy clothing which was hastily donned on our approach, they seemed to have retained nothing but their language. Some Chamacoco and Lenguas that were met presented the same degeneration. However, it is said that when they withdraw to the interior, which is done seasonally, they revert to their own ways. M; 105 177

Corumbá, which was reached in the middle of February, is a modern, comparatively busy port depending on commerce for its existence. The large boats from Buenos Aires or Montevideo leave their merchandise at Corumbá, where it is loaded on smaller wood-burning steamers, to be taken to S. Luis de Careres or to Cuyabá. It is also the real terminus of the railroad line running to the coast from Porto Esperança. [Plate II, 1.] M 504 633

An air line has for some years been established between Corumbá and Cuyabá, reducing a journey of several weeks to a few hours. M 509 484

While the expedition proceeded to Descavaldos in a small boat and three barges, I flew to Cuyabá, in order to present my credentials to the government and to arrange with the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios matters pertaining to my field work. The absence of Major Ramiro Noronha from Cuyabá did not make possible the achievement of my motive. However, since General Rondon, who had received me in Rio de Janeiro, had been good enough to send a telegram presenting me to the authorities at Cuyabá, the records of the Inspectoria were placed at my disposal. The presence of Professor Max Schmidt of Berlin at Cuyabá was a fortunate occurrence. So little is known about the interior of Matto Grosso that the opportunity of conversing with Professor Schmidt and of the Inspectoria field men was indeed a fortunate one. Later, on my meeting Major Ramiro Noronha, and on the reception of a telegram from General Rondon giving the desired permission to enter the Indian territory, Major Noronha, whom I found in Cuyabá on other visits, placed at my disposal and at the disposal of the expedition personal knowledge, especially of a geographical nature, which proved invaluable. B M 114

Perhaps a word ought to be said concerning the attitude of the Inspectoria in respect to foreign expeditions. On arrival at Cuyabá I discovered that it was forbidden to visit any of the aboriginal tribes M B 114 123

[text continues on p. 103]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

without special permission from the government. It developed that in recent years a number of foreign expeditions, under the guise of having scientific and humanitarian purposes, well supplied with credentials from pretentious scientific societies, membership in which can be had simply by subscribing to some publication, and often with political recommendations, have applied for entrance to the interior of Brazil. They have been received courteously and often every facility at the disposal of the government has been theirs. Subsequently have appeared sensational articles describing the terrible hardships encountered, and the scientific results have never been made public other than from the popular lecture platform, or have been published in some kind of adventure book. In many cases both the Brazilians and the aborigines have been maligned, and hardly ever is it mentioned that the Brazilian government did all in its power to help the expedition. This modern 'exploration racket' has justly aroused the ire especially of the Inspectoria de Proteção aos Indios, and the attempt is made to keep all foreigners out of the Indian country, unless it is proved without a doubt that the purpose is scientific. An expedition of the above kind which sensationally visited the country a few years ago was well remembered at Cuyabá, and its antics unquestionably caused us much delay. However, when the Inspectoria was convinced of our sincerity, it cooperated with great courtesy and sympathy.

M B 114 123

Archaeological Excavations at Descavaldos

B M 172

Early in April, I returned to Descavaldos, and immediately began excavating the first archaeological site on the west bank of the Paraguay river. The water was so high at this time that traveling overland was impossible. Descavaldos was literally an island, and the project of sampling numerous archaeological sites further inland, the location of which I had learned from the natives, had to be abandoned. Intermittent heavy rains threatened to destroy what was uncovered, and the untrained workmen made progress slow at first.

As soon as the water subsided somewhat, another site was opened some five miles away to the north of the first. This site was covered with jungle which had to be cleared. In the place of rains, we had to contend with peccarys and wild cattle. The site differed strikingly from the first in the types of burials.

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[289] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and
[171] weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of
128 labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 How much the sexual life is related to the social
562 position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in
123 Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

/143 cont./

833 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day:
562 "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down
123 one beside the other, because one day they will die and then
775 they are reunited."

864 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from
115 Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 From Naliki, old Tereno chief, I received the
171 following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayaki, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or
521 when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
152 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
593 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow." 114

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity. 114 123 [276] [262] [685]

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents 302 [142] 302 593

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priesthood seems to lie largely in the ability to throw themselves at 755
will into a savage ecstacy.

When a Bororó is ill, a priest is called to determine whether he will recover or die. On entering the hut and looking at his sick tribesman and concluding that he will probably die or should die, he will count his fingers, and each time he touches one finger will repeat, "Meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, bi," meaning that the sick man will see five suns, five days, and die, or he may say, "Nadua, nadua, nadua," etc., "bi," meaning sleep, sleep, etc., five days, and die. If at the end of this time he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the priest, will suddenly appear in the hut, sit astride his stomach, and strangle him to death, for the reputation of the priest must be maintained. The priests are probably responsible for not a few deaths. They are the bane of life in the tribe. They must nurture the delusion that they can communicate with and have influence in the other world and power to avert or cause evils and calamities. They are therefore on the alert to take advantage of any propitious occasion to prey upon the superstitious fears of their fellow-tribesmen. They are freely supplied with food by their tribesmen in order to retain their good will.

The Bororó seem to have no idea of God as the Christian under- 776
stands Him. They consider the sun as the fountain head of majesty and power and even of beneficence, and as the abode of the great priests who have passed to the spirit world and fear him. Bope means spirit or disembodied soul, but they seem to have no idea of a good spirit. The bope, who are evil spirits, must therefore not be offended though they must be driven away. To drive the spirits 755
off, they use a bull-roarer, a peculiar instrument made of a slab of 778
wood about half an inch thick, shaped something like a fish, and of varying size, hung by a long cord from the end of a stick like a fishing rod, and swung round and round through the air. As it swings and rapidly revolves, it sends forth loud sounds to a surprising distance, pitched from a sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek, the wail rising and descending the scale according to the rapidity of the swing or the size of the instrument. To hear several of these roarers at once certainly produces most unusual sensations, particularly when operated, as we heard them, during a tropical storm amid the play of the lightning, the crash and roar of thunder, the falling floods, and dismal gloom. No female is allowed to see this instrument under pain of death. New ones are made as occasion demands, and they are burned immediately after their need has passed. We entered the baehytu as some of these roarers were 778
123

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778 being made for the funeral prelude. There was deep silence, and
125 the word bope was whispered low and mysteriously. Certain warning calls are given some hours in advance of the time for bringing the roarers into use, and, hearing these warnings, the females enter their huts, close the openings, and hide their heads. The roarers are manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush. We had difficulty in securing examples of these instruments. They were brought to us at night securely wrapped and amid the greatest secrecy, every precaution being taken to make sure that we would keep them where there would be no possibility of a female seeing them. We also had much difficulty in obtaining the base flute which is played only over the bones of their dead. A captain said to me, "That is a very bad instrument; you must not take it. If you do you will never return."

481 The Bororó are expert swimmers and are fishermen of the highest
226 order. One mode of fishing is to swim out into the river, three or four miles above the village, with a net called buke, like a great bag, its mouth secured to two parallel rods nine to twelve feet long, bound together at their ends. When one or more fish are seen, the mouth of the sack is opened by springing the rods apart, and with wonderful dexterity the fish are bagged and the mouth of the net quickly closed by allowing the rods to spring together. The fisherman then plays the game, especially if it be large; gradually rolls the net over the rods till the fish cannot move, brings it to the surface and kills it with a club, which he trails by a cord from his neck. The fish is now taken from the net, strung on a cord, and floated along with the club. Sometimes two or more fish of twelve or fifteen pounds will be taken at one catch, or maybe one weighing as much as the man himself will be bagged in this way. A Bororó will remain in the water an hour or two continuously, and return ashore with six or eight large fish. They have learned to turn their bodily strength to the greatest account while in the water.

226 Another method of fishing is with a bone harpoon, to which is secured a long cord and a short detachable bamboo staff. With this the fisherman enters the water, and, finding a large fish in the shadow of a rock, following it with great expertness if it moves, he plunges the harpoon into it even at a depth of fifteen or twenty feet, while the staff detaches itself and remains in his hand with the end of the cord secured to it. The fisherman now returns to shore and plays the fish until he lands it.

Another method, when fish are scarce, is for one gang of men to enter the water with their sack nets, three or four miles above the

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evening anthem, which will be described in future pages. We 533
were at our camp at the time, a quarter of a mile distant from the savage chorus. It was indeed wild music, and an appropriate production of the wild ones and the wilderness. It was hard to believe that this fusillade of uncouth, alarming sounds issued from human throats. This savage music resembled, somewhat, the remarkable and uncanny sounds produced by coyotes when heard at night from a distance.

Doubtless these nude, unclean savages would appear ex- 114
tremely repulsive and unhuman to most civilized people, yet I could but regard them as simple, overgrown, neglected children; and finding myself again among such rude, needy beings, I experienced a pleasure and satisfaction which I cannot describe, and inwardly thanked God, Who, in His gracious providence, had led me again to their haunts after a long detention among a more advanced race. Could I be among them once more, my cup of joy would be full.

Two naked Bororó accompanied us as helpers during the [123]
remainder of our journey to one of the chief villages of the tribe. The world about us became more and more wild, rugged and inhospitable as we advanced, and the difficulties and dangers of travel increased. Moreover, the myriads of the insect 136
world seemed to resent our encroachment into their domains, and fell upon us with ever-increasing numbers and ferocity; while the elements, too, appeared to join forces with the rest of Nature, for storms occurred, not only daily, but several times [132]
during twenty-four hours. One night, we found ourselves encamped upon the "private grounds" of a colony of destructive foraging ants, which set to work promptly to cut us to pieces; and when we halted at noon for breakfast, some days, we were set upon by hordes of a stupid, sluggish, stingless bee, called "father of honey" by the Brazilians, but known to science as the *Melipona fasculata*, of which there are more than fifty varieties in Brazil. They were attracted to us by the perspiration of ourselves and our beasts, and also by the odor of our food. They did not attack us in a single swarm, but came to us individually and gradually, until quart

226 The savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
433 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
[593] She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The
302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in
593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum
301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

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CHAPTER XXXII.

LIFE AMONG THE BORORÓ.—EYED CONSTANTLY BY A HORDE OF NUDE SAVAGES.—ASTONISHING MAKE-UPS.—PRIMITIVE HOUSEKEEPING AND SANITATION.—HORTICULTURE.—FOODS.—VEGETABLE COWS.—A WONDERFUL PALM.

361 [133] AFTER nearly two months of horseback riding and camping, we arrived at the confluence of the river Pogúbu, or Ponte de Pedra, and the Rio Vermelho, which is about forty miles north of the junction of the former river with the [103] São Laurenço. Here, we found a large Bororó village, called the Tá Dáre Máno Páro—potato bank—where we remained [122] several weeks, camping in a stake-walled, palm-branch roofed hut that had been erected a quarter of a mile from the Indian village by my companion. We had to cross the river Pogúbu, which we did in a small, dugout canoe made by Senhor Antonio, and swam our horses over. It is about two hundred [133] yards wide at this point, deep, and has a strong current. A heavy rain storm broke just as we were within a few hundred yards of our destination, so we rushed our entire cavalcade right into the big, open hut.

123 [52] When our arrival became known at the primitive metropolis, and it was known instantly, our hut began to fill with our nude and painted fellow beings of all ages and both sexes, who came to observe us and to examine all the marvelous things that we had brought from our wonderful, and to them, enchanted world. They flocked in upon us regularly at dawn

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [857]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and dis- [516]
tortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

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123 431 articles from us without offering us anything in exchange. One would say, "*Bororó*, headache—handkerchief, red"—Meaning, my head aches; give me a red handkerchief to tie around it. Or, "*Boé* sick—tobacco,"—I am sick. Give me a piece of tobacco to make me well. Or, again, "*Boé* pursue tapir—catch him not. Give tobacco." At other times, they sought to obtain things on credit, saying, "*Bororó*, bring"—I will bring you something. But they usually forgot "to bring." Sometimes they tried a little flattery. One day a chief man came to me saying: "Captain"—myself—"good—Captain very good. Bororó cry when Captain go away. Bororó ask Captain not go." But this was largely to pave the way to ask for something. When I had to refuse them and they seemed displeased, I said to them: "*Bororó*, good; *Bororó*, very good. Captain, bad—very bad." They always hastened to say in reply to this, "No, no; Captain, good—very good."

157 261 [433] [123] When fish became scarce and a hunting expedition had not resulted successfully, and they were, consequently, without food, they came to us acting as if they longed to become our slaves forever. After much self-abnegation, they would say, timidly, "*Boé tapira*,"—I like beef. *Tapira* is their word for cattle, cow, bullock or beef. But when they made a good haul of fish, their demeanor underwent an entire change, and seeming unable to recognize any one, they hastened to their huts without looking to the right or to the left. If spoken to, they feigned deafness. They do not wish many friends at such times as this as they would have to divide their catch with them. This is much like the civilized man, who, having acquired a fortune, is unable, longer, to recognize his less favored friends and relatives.

764 A death occurred in the village the day after our arrival, and as custom among these people forbids that any member of the family of the deceased should leave the village to fish, hunt, or to forage, until all the obsequies, which continue many days, are over, they must trust to the generosity of their [123] neighbors for food. Consequently, the father of the bereaved

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family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 287 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

756 that they have communications with and influence in the spirit world, and know what is occurring there; and have power to cause and avert evils and calamities. Hence, they are ever on the alert to seize upon every propituous occasion, and even to invent occasions to make merchandise of the superstitious fears of their fellow tribesmen for their own profit and aggrandizement.

000 As regards the ordinary civilized man, knowledge forces the mysterious, the unknown, the infinite, back from his immediate presence, compelling it to remain at a distance, thus enabling him to pass his days more or less unmindful of its existence. But to the primitive man, with his limited knowledge of the processes of Nature, the world about him is pregnant with mystery; it presses close upon him on all sides and he cannot be indifferent to it. The mysterious—that which is beyond his knowledge—the infinite—literally stares him in the face at every turn, and he is unable to fathom it. Ignorant of causes, he views with superstitious thoughts every event, and everything in Nature that is in any degree unusual or abnormal—everything that seems to project, never so little, beyond the dead monotony of natural phenomena. Indeed, his knowledge is so limited, and his imagination so easily inflamed, that he readily creates for himself all sorts of unusual occurrences and phantasms without any foundation. His imagination is most active during the hours of darkness. Like a timid child, he sees terrifying shapes everywhere. The thunder and lightning, the wind, the sun and the moon in their various phenomena, the cries of birds and beasts, and the direction from which they cry, all convey to his uncul-
787 tured mind some omen of good or evil. If the *kowá* (a bird) utters its cry at evening from the east, it means that "white man come;" and if from the west, "Bororó die."

775 [123] Our Bororó friends who crowded about us during the whole of every day, always withdrew from our hut at sunset, retiring to their village, and we usually saw no more of them until daybreak. But late in the evening on two or three occasions, we heard a tramping of barefooted men approaching

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the 574
wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve 576
yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of 261
their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which 262
was eaten without any condiments whatever; a bushel of 264
roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly [252]
devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from 122
the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook 000
prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of [123]
Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the
material and getting it down to the water's edge, though [461]
there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet 000
long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

000 despair, totally unfits himself for life's real duties and privileges and shortens his days.

We now began to entertain anxious thoughts as to how we should make land at the second Kogi au Paro village, which was a little below our point of embarkation, where we were to complete our arrangements for descending the river. We seemed to be afloat on a perpetual motion which we were powerless to stop. The edge of the river was lined with dangerous obstructions and we dared not go too near. How, then, were we to run our unwieldy float into the narrow opening in front of the village? But the Hand of Providence guided us as before, and we succeeded in making land without damage. At the last moment, two Bororó, plunging into [123] the water, seized our raft, and pulling with great force, enabled us to get it to shore.

When we had finally made fast to the root of a tree by means of a bark line, Senhor Guveia, who had become thoroughly frightened, sprang ashore, declaring that nothing would induce him to navigate further on such a craft.

Having fried for the seventh time our pot of boiled beef and eaten the last of it with some green corn-cakes, which, after baking in the ashes, had been fried, we further strengthened our raft with bark rope, made another paddle and other arrangements, then continued our novel voyage down the pretty little river. In place of Senhor Guveia, who had decided 123 609 to return through the forest, we took with us two Bororó who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro village. They were delighted with the prospect of returning home so easily, and by means of such a strange conveyance. The entire Kogi au Paro village came down to the river to gaze at our strange craft and to see us "sail," for this was a most unusual event in their lives; besides, they were more friendly toward us, and not so fearful and exclusive as the upper village.

000 Getting our craft once more in motion, we did not meet with any dangers until we were more than half-way home. We were therefore finding our trip very enjoyable. The

/452 cont./

177 291 evening; several women, especially those who happened to be carrying on intimate relations with the gentlemen, were distinguished by shirts, jackets, and skirts in large floral prints, but the ones who were more or less clothed were only exceptions for both sexes. The men wore the hip cord and the straw cuff, the women a hip cord or a bark strip with bast band. Both sexes loved neck and chest ornaments. I shall discuss the details later. I gave Moguyokuri a choice piece that he heartily approved of: a brick-red Turkish, wide-sleeved woman's jacket embroidered with colorful arabesques, which had once been used in the Paint-Box masquerade at the Düsseldorf concert hall. In this elegant fancy-dress costume the ever happily smiling giant was a sight for the gods.

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[142 302]

Fig. 126. Bororó girl.

"What shall we do?" complained Captain Serejo in the military colony. "When the large crowd embarked for Cuyabá, 430 suits were provided. Many more were added in Cuyabá. And when the Indians returned, there was nothing left of all that." First, because the merchants had furnished miserable trash, thin, badly woven material that they could not otherwise sell, then because the clothes were too tight and too short, the shirts did not even come together over the broad chests and the unmentionables ripped, but, finally, because the Bororó treated the gifts of civilization with terrible negligence. As soon as they felt inconvenienced, they would toss off the clothing; as soon as they needed a bag, for example, to carry away meat or fish, they would use their blankets and shirts. They wrapped their grease-smeared bodies

/452 cont./

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
291 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

● 123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/453 cont./

177 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of
648 the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

●123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are
[192] sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly
[273] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

/462 cont./

115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
[123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
[145] important elements of the language; they were extremely wide awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/, and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of
[193] the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
115 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent. He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there immediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

/489 cont./

732 Sometimes Dyapokuri gave a performance. The men were far from regarding the feeble-minded one, who could only babble, as a superior creature. He liked to portray the quarreling of the women by launching into the most enraged gestures and vigorously demonstrated the mutual scratching and hair-pulling. He flew into frightful agitation himself, however, when a soldier teased him on account of his setting out to pursue the Kayapó (page 568) and, a stick over his shoulder, hitched along with huge, lunging strides: the poor devil foamed at the mouth with indignation, threw his burning chunk of wood at the mocker, and, since he did not know what else to do, snatched up a few wood chips from the ground and, with a teeth-baring grimace and unintelligible sounds of rage, depicted -- the mustache of the soldier. After a while he calmed down again and, for the funeral ceremony, practiced rattling with two rattle gourds and the rhythmic aróe grunts.

● 123 The hours in the ranchão were instructive and agreeable. There was only one thing that was intolerable, the incessant begging for tobacco. My pipe traveled from one man to another. The men dictated pages of Bororó to me, each one having to present in sentences whatever was going on at the moment, listened to me repeat it, and then laughed, just as gratified [157] as the Bakaïrí. The more intimate we became, the more striking was the agreement in temperament and character with the Kulisehu Indians. On a post in the men's house, after we had taken the anthropological measurements, /490/ my height was also indicated. A piece of charcoal was crushed with the teeth, pulverized with saliva in the hand, and above my head a black ring was painted around the post.

433 Food; "consecration." According to Clemente's report, in spite of all the hunting, the plant food obtained by the women is of the greatest importance, because it comes in more regularly 222 and abundantly. The women look for roots with a pointed stick, climb up the palm trees with great agility, among which preference is given to the oaussú and akurí, gather the nuts, cut the "palm cabbage" in the crown, look for jatobá and pikí fruits, 292 and so forth. The palm nuts are roasted or pounded in a mortar 574 and mixed with water to make a thickish drink, the refreshing

/500 cont./ One day The men permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "afdye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

/505 cont./

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton. In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained,
[533] during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in-between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parfko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

[302] Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[301] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parfkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF MATTO GROSSO

An Account of Archaeological and Ethnological Field Work at the Headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, During 1931

By Vincent M. Petrullo

THIS account of my field work in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931, is offered to those interested in primitive peoples and especially in South American archaeology and ethnology, with the sole motive of making available source material. The paper is not intended as a critical study of the region with which it deals nor does it purport to be thorough in its treatment of the subjects that it discusses. To my critical readers I plead the fact that I was a novice in the South American field at the time that the material presented was gathered, and that I was among tribes that are either but slightly known or not at all, and that thus my difficulties were those to be met by the first workers. One handicap was lack of interpreters, limiting the field of my investigations to what was physically observable. However, it is intended that the paper give the fundamental setting of the cultures with which I came in contact for any analytical study that may be undertaken in the future. 114 121 [124]

The work was done under the auspices of the University Museum cooperating with the Matto Grosso Expedition and the Academy of Natural Sciences, whose representative was Mr. James A. G. Rehn. 122 121

Both archaeology and ethnology occupied my attention, my project being fundamentally in the nature of a survey of the possibilities that the country offers in both fields of research and to study the field conditions, rather than to bring back a conclusive and thorough study of some particular site or tribe. Though the unlooked-for acquisition of an amphibian airplane by the expedition aroused the hope that a prolonged stay with some tribe could be made, since the usual excessive amount of time spent in reaching the desired village could be saved by flying the distance in a few hours, the ultimate results were what had been originally planned for reasons that will appear in the narrative. 121 [122] 114

Briefly, my work included the locating of a number of archaeological sites and the partial excavation of two of them; visits to the Bororo da

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

same term that she used for them, all those traced through father were divided in two groups according to sex. The informant again overgeneralized some particular rules. Mother and child had different terms for mother's father (iyogwa and iyedaga respectively) except in the system of address where he was called iyogwa by both. Female Ego and her mother will call mother's brother's daughter and son by the same terms (irago and iyagedu), but male Ego will call them itonaregedu. Of the terms traced through father, father's father and father's father's brother did not fit into my informant's theory, they were called iyedaga instead of iyogwa.

Another informant used to construct sets of terms based on relative age, and to attribute these sets to various genealogical positions. The longest set he proposed was the following:

mother's sister younger than Ego:	iviye
mother's sister younger than mother:	ituye
mother's sister older than mother:	imuga
mother's sister much older than mother:	imarugo

This set also does not predict classification without error. ituye in addition to being younger than mother should also be older than Ego. Only the mother's sister who assumes all the mother's responsibilities in relation to Ego will be called imuga. She can be older or younger than Ego's own mother. Finally, the only mother's sister who will be called imarugo is the one who proposed Ego's name, regardless of her age.

The Bororo made all these errors in theoretically dis-

*601 cussing how some kin-types should be designated, or the pro-
114 cedure of finding out how to designate it. In practice they
124 made no mistakes, and they would explain any unusual appli-
cations of terms by some other system connected with death, naming, and so on. The native theories about how the system works have been of great help in the analysis of the Bororo referential system presented above, but I cannot say that the analysis is "psychologically valid."

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation—employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense—gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

613 list some names that nobody else did, we must suppose that their family tradition was a little different from the rest of the community. The placement of Koge (Enogwa) Tabowu is very interesting. Some included it among the Red Ivagududoge, others among the Black, and one said that it was neither Red nor Black, it was in between: boyadadawu. Thus, the members of this lineage can choose their ornaments and songs from either of the subclans.

I did the same kind of analysis for the other clans, and the result was the following list (Table X) of the most im-
[124] portant Bororo lineages. It should be noted that no informant would give the same list, but the majority of them would include all of the lineages mentioned in the list.[1]

[128] [622] The order given to the lineages around the village circle (see table XI) follows the Bororo usage; and I started with Badajebage Chebegiwuge because this is the order followed by the chief in calling out clan members for the evening meeting on the village plaza. But when they talk about lineages or when they sing clan songs, the Bororo may start with whatever lineage or clan they prefer and then proceed either clockwise or counterclockwise until they have

[Text Continued On Page 123]

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[115] [128] [1] When I concluded my analysis and made the list, I asked my wife, whose primary interest in the field had not been Bororo social organization, to tell me the names of the lineages she considered to be most important. She mentioned 24 of them, all included in the list, leaving out Kurugugwari Pijiwu and Aturua. This shows how much these important lineages are part of the Bororo daily talk.

613 The Bororo are very reluctant to talk about the ances-
827 tors of certain lineages because they are not proud to be the descendants of those ancestors. They are mentioned only in
124 quarrels as an insult. I was able to collect some of these
613 examples only by provoking one of my informants. He was from
827 the Kurugugwa lineage of the Apiborege clan, and I told him that there was a rumor that the true Kurugugwa had died long ago and the present members of the Kurugugwa lineage were just impostors. Furthermore, I said, the Bororo were saying that the Apiborege could not take care of one of their younger brothers, so the Ivagududoge (in which clan I was named) had had mercy upon him and accepted him as one of their own. My informant gave me his theory about what had really happened in this case and then went on to say that my own clan had a lot of things to hide. An example:

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> "Meri defecated on some stones. His feces changed into a goatsucker (mokureabo), nay, a true Ivagududoge. Therefore their (Ivagududoge's) mouths are big, and their heads are big. And the[1] people say that their village lies on the rocks."

As we see from this example, alleged characteristics of people in the different clans are explained by relating them to traits of their animal ancestors. Another example:

[825]

> "People say that the Kiye originated from the monkeys; therefore their arms and legs are skinny; therefore their skin is black; their

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1 "Awu meri pegodure pariri keje. Ure nowu pore mokureabodo pudumi. Boe kimorema iya Ivagududoge rabode. Duwugere eya kurichigore, etaya boa kurichigore. Duwugere boe egore 'ewororo paduye pariri keje'."

/449 cont./

114 Duarte's representative, who received us with great kindness and cordiality, was the "Cadet" Eliseo Pinto d'Annunciação. In Brazil cadets are aspiring officers, usually sons of officials or officers, /450/ who rise from the ranks and whose advancement depends largely on protection. Our Eliseo had the rank of sergeant and thought he would promptly become lieutenant if I put in a good word for him in Rio. He was a good and conscientious man and would have been able to accomplish something useful if he had had the right to act according to his judgment. A second cadet with the rank of noncommissioned officer was called Caldas, a young man, musical, and, for additional pay, schoolmaster of the Bororó boys. He had also put together a vocabulary and was thus the representative of art and science. Then there was another cadet, Joaquim, the apothecary, and the administrator, Ildefonso. By far the most important individual for me, however, was Clemente, who had lived in Bororó captivity for 13 years and was now about 28 years old. His father, Manoel Pedroso de Alvarenga, lived on the Peixe de couro, a small tributary of the Piquiry emptying into the S.
721 Lourenço. In September 1873, the Bororó attacked five children who were bathing there; two were killed, one escaped, two were
727 taken along, Clemente and a younger brother. He said they tied their hands in front of their eyes and carried them to the village on their backs five days without stopping. His brother soon died.
•124 In 1886 Clemente was freed by the Bororó. Meanwhile, however, he had become a Bororó himself. He not only went about in their dress with bow and arrow, he had not only forgotten almost all his Portuguese, but he had, as I learned to my advantage, experienced a purely Indian training in his thinking and knowledge. On the other hand, he had relearned enough of his mother tongue in the meantime to be able to assist me as a useful interpreter. Unfortunately, he left Thereza Christina before we did, because, he said, he "is learning nothing" there. The officers themselves did not know anything, he said. Near his home village there lives a man who can cure all the sick and open any lock.

/515 cont./

821 searchingly, squirted into their faces, pzü pzü, and, with the
789 hollow of their hands held against their mouths, again uttered their threatening vóu or a shrill hahahó, not forgetting to smoke up their bundle as they did so. The chorus had in general remained grave and quiet; only now and then did it break out in a one-part huhá and now triumphantly repeated it at the end as the two doctors, teeth chattering and murmuring a shivery tédede tedéte, retired. Aróe singing was heard all night long.

[276] The tobacco smoke had been used here in exactly the same way as the puffing against the thunderstorm, and I gained the impression that the doctor's smoking was very similar to a fumigation. Perhaps, for the original meaning of the method of curing, this should not be underestimated.

755 Domingo had an attack of weakness two days after the meteor conjuration. On the third day, 17 April, he was ill and apparently had a very ominous feeling. He crept about anxiously, his hands tied up in rags and his head and face covered so that he would not be recognized. Since we left the colony on 18 April we were unfortunately unable to find out whether this remedy helped him.

773 Ancestor legend. Arigá-Bororó is the tribal ancestor of the Indians. He had a wife. The puma is called arigá. Later, two men and two women came /516/ to the earth east of the baruparu river (cf. page 646) and reached the S. Lourenço. I was unable
[124] to learn anything more. Clemente was quite useless here; he himself did not know anything and, on the basis of his knowledge of Brazil, interpreted those statements as meaning that the Bororó came from Rio de Janeiro. As far as I was able to understand, the Bororó lived on the source rivers of the S. Lourenço since the time they left heaven, and this origin from the east has nothing to do with tribal migrations, but is again only the result of the very natural reflection that the sun was in the possession of the oldest people and that the oldest people therefore lived where the sun originates.

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
661 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuxawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the population. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the
[221] economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

/297 cont./

614 designate the Áróre ̆ę̆bege^{w}ō (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Aréme, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

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1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive.

[764]

The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." After interminable

• [126]

negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

to Messrs. Joseph Semeeds and John Due, co-pilot and radio operator respectively; to Mr. John S. Clarke, Jr; to my Brazilian 'camaradas' and Bakairi canoemen, who followed me so courageously into a region that is not devoid of danger, and to whom a large share of the credit for the success of the venture is due; and to Mr. Giacomo Amell.

To others not so intimately connected with my field work I am no less obligated. To Mr. Eldridge R. Johnson for his generosity in placing [122] at my disposal the amphibian plane, without which my survey would not have been carried out over such a vast region, and which was instrumental in averting a tragic end to the Xingu venture; to General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who so courteously granted the expedition permission to enter the Indian country, favoring us with his personal interest and friendship and with countless kindnesses; to Major Ramiro Noronha for the infinite pains that he took to give us all the information at his disposal concerning the region that only he knows so well, and for his intimate interest in our welfare; to Dr. Benedicto Duarte Monteiro and Dr. Alvaro Duarte Monteiro of the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios.

I further wish to thank the following institutions and individuals that in some way or other helped me in my task: Dr. Jules Freund of the Henry Phipps Institute; Dr. Max Schmidt for his advice and mapping out for me many projects; Dr. E. Roquette-Pinto, the director of the Museu Nacional, and Dr. Heloise Alberto Torres, of the same institution; Dr. A. Amaral and the Instituto Butantan for numerous courtesies and supplying Dick test material; the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios; Mr. John Gordon Ramsey for his hospitality and permission to excavate at Descavaldos; Miss Eleanor M. Moore for making [126] the six plates of drawings; Miss M. Louise Baker for drawing the map.

* * * *

Dr. E. Roquette-Pinto has expressed the opinion that to-day the most interesting groups of mankind are those to be found in the northern forests of Matto Grosso. Investigating the section of the state which he has called Rondonia, he found numerous tribes with a simple stone-age culture apparently unaffected by what has been happening on the continent of South America since the first arrival of European adventurers. Geographical barriers, and the fact that the surrounding peoples have

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate cap- 301
tain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's 179
riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufac- 437
ture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various [126]
sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of [822]
which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a [103]
distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them [411]
beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

437 signs than by words. "*Caiba?*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Boé*, sick; *Boé*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth [281] and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day, [532] some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for [126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with super-000 stitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

its obscure heart an exact image of anything it winks at, must be some wicked device of the *bopi*—demons. The savage believes that any one having his picture may practice some black art over it and bring evil upon the original: that, as one may do what he wishes with the image, he likewise has power over the real man. Moreover, if one is such a powerful conjurer that he can secure that image, What may he not do with the original? I had to bribe them with valuable gifts in order to secure a number of pictures.

The Bororó, like other South American tribes, dwell in gloomy palm-branch huts that resemble squatty, old haystacks huddled together in complete disorder in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees of the upland jungle. They are constructed by first planting two posts in the ground twenty or thirty feet apart, ten feet high, and terminating in a fork, to support the ridge pole, which is held in position by means of creepers from the forest, instead of nails. Against the ridge pole, are reclined and bound, the rafters, the feet of which are sunk slightly in the ground and the upper ends are bound to the ridge pole. Bamboo poles are next bound horizontally to these rafters, while upright stakes are set in at the gables; and finally, to the entire frame-work, are bound huge, feather-shaped palm-branches, to shed the rain, and exclude the light because of the flies. The primitive residence is now complete. The only light that enters is what filters through the palm-branches. To enter, one pushes aside the palm-branches at one end and enters in a stooping position.

These strange, uncouth dens of savagery, are dark, unclean, and ill-smelling, and so devoid of every object considered absolutely essential to a civilized human abode, that it is difficult to comprehend that they are the dwellings of true human beings—the homes of multitudes of real men, women and children; where they are born, reared and pass their days, and the only abodes they have ever known. Entering one of these human lairs, we find it more or less strewn with decaying food refuse, such as bones and other rejected parts of fish, mammals, birds and reptiles; shells, stones and peelings

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

warning calls are given frequently for some hours in advance of the time when the instruments are to be brought into use. Hearing these warnings the females enter their huts, close the openings and hide their heads. The *roarers* are always manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush, and at openings in the forest. 534 562 788

Many other tribes have mystery instruments and practice demon music. Wallace, describing those of some Rio Negro tribes, says that their instruments are pipes, or tubes, like great bassoons or trumpets, and produce sounds somewhat like trombones or clarinets. One kind is made of bamboo or palm-stems, hollowed out, while others are made of bark, twisted spirally and have mouthpieces of leaves. Each instrument produces but one note, but several pairs are played at the same time, each pair being of the same size and emitting the same note. A simple tune is played, revealing unusual taste for savages; and though the music sounds strange and wild, it is somewhat pleasing. The musicians wave the instruments about in a peculiar manner, vertically and sidewise, while playing them, and accompany these movements with corresponding contortions of the body. These instruments are considered a great mystery. No female of the tribe must ever look upon them under pain of death. From the first moment this mystery music is heard, not a female, young or old, is to be seen for all have hidden themselves away in the woods. If a female should see one of these instruments, either accidentally or by design, she would be put to death, usually by poisoning; and a father will not hesitate to become the executioner of his own daughter, or a husband of his wife. Even where there is only a suspicion that the instrument has been seen by forbidden eyes, no mercy is shown. 534 562 171

I experienced difficulty in getting possession of two or three of the *roarers* for my collection. The Bororó were very reluctant to let me have them, fearing that their women might catch sight of them in some way. But they finally brought them to our hut, one at a time, under cover of darkness, after having borrowed blankets from us in which to roll them, and 126 534 562

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

126 534 562 delivered them to me with a solemn, mysterious air. Even after the instruments were in our possession, these superstitious people manifested great solicitude in having us hide them away in the bottom of a box, and placing the box itself in an inaccessible place.

126 534 777 We also had difficulty in securing the big bass flutes used at the funeral *bakororó*. They were not kept hidden from any member of the tribe, yet the savages were loathe to part with them for some superstitious reasons. When I asked a captain to get me a pair, he looked solemn and mysterious, and said by words and signs: "The captain" (myself) "must not take this instrument away with him. It is a very bad instrument; whoever carries it away will never more return." In saying that it was "bad," he meant that it was "bad medicine," that it would bring "bad luck" to the possessor. Perhaps the old pagan was not far wrong after all, for contrary to my expectations, and to my great disappointment, I have not yet been able to return to their villages.

BO /249 cont./
171 extremities look like a shimmering whitish painting. The eye and
532 the spotted markings of the skin were indicated with dark sand. Since the figures were at least life-sized, they gave a surprisingly lifelike impression in the evening twilight; it looked as though huge, shimmering and glistening skins were spread out on the ground.

B Pencil drawings. Even in 1884 we let the Suyá draw with
*171 pencil in our notebooks. They themselves were amused by it;
532 they were not awkward, and only at first did they superfluously
BO hold the pencil point into the flame, being accustomed, for their
171 part, to drawing with resin-saturated sticks. They drew rhombus-
532 shaped designs, similar to those on their gourd bowls, which at that time I dismissed with the label "geometric figures." This time
B we had them draw a series of persons and objects which turned out
BO to be extremely instructive. On the four plates, 16-19 /see pp.
[126] 265-268/, these artistic productions, which could still be considerably improved, have been reproduced with painful accuracy; there are portraits of the members of the expedition, especially of me, and furthermore two jaguars and a woman's triangle with the accompanying topography done by Kulisehu Indians, as well as a soldier, a woman, a pipe, a whizzer stick, two jaguars, a tapir pursued by a dog, a monkey, a hummingbird, and three turtles by the Bororó. The animal pictures of the Bororó, like the sand drawings covered with ashes, are filled with black inside the outline and show that these artists already had higher aspirations, although in their sparse ornamentation they did not achieve more than is shown by the whizzer stick.

000 At first the pencil drawings vividly remind one of the pictures in the copybook of little Moritz. In fact, in the interesting little book by Corrado Ricci, l'arte dei bambini /The Art of Children/, Bologna, 1887, which reports on studies of many children's drawings, there are many correspondences, and more than the author himself assumes when he considers the drawings of primitive peoples. Children describe a human being, instead of reproducing him artistically, "just as they would describe him with words." In their first attempts they are satisfied with the most

/498 cont. /

000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
984 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

● 126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
984 founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.

/304 cont./

591 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tǔǎwa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[M3] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębege^{w}ōge.

● 127
128

Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

000 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is,
552 of families or groups of families, living in the same house and
592 styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the
614 household always involves, among other things, the name of the
616 clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(čåbōge^{w}ō half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori čåbōge^{w}ō
4. Kōge Čera-Bokodori baiaddada^{w}

(čębege^{w}ō half)
5. Bokodori Čera čębege^{w}ō
6. Ki kujagoreõ
7. Ki
8. O Čera čębege^{w}ō
9. O Čera
10. Bādejeba čębege^{w}ō
11. Bādejeba čębege^{w}ō baiaddadawō (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddada^{w}ge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bādejeba čębege^{w}ō bo'pokęje^{w}ō

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Ārŏre čębege^{w}ō
14. Ārŏre čębege^{w}ō
15. Ębwāguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębege^{w}ō
16. Ębwāguddu bo'pokeje^{w}ō čębege^{w}ō
17. Ębwāguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaāge
18. Ębwāguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čābōge^{w}ō (cābōge^{w} ō half)
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Ārŏre čābōge^{w}ō baiaddada^{a} (1)

●[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Ārŏre čābōge^{w}ō
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Ārŏre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ębwāguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
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Bādejeba Čębege$^{\omega}$ō clan were only occupied by some old men,
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[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[713] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębege$^{\omega}$ōge.

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121 realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings
114 of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship
[53] system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with
[29] ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

128 mother and child, older brother and younger brother, and father and son, which are seen as the models for three kinds of relationships which pervade Bororo culture. The opposition between culture and nature provides yet another model used by the Bororo to order their universe. Finally, the three kinship-based relationships and the culture-nature opposition provide a basis for examining the processes of adaptation of Bororo society as a whole to newly arising circumstances and demographic changes, and for studying a single individual as he passes through different stages of his life.

these boundaries, but most of the time for genealogically more distant kin they will switch to extragenealogical extensions and apply criteria different from those used in referring to genealogically close kinsmen.

The test of the rules, i.e., the reduction of kin types to their class foci will be found in the Appendix.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter VI

BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121 In discussing the sociology of kinship, a major problem is to determine the order in which the material should be presented. Relations within the family, the developmental cycle, the different social groups, marriage, residence--all of these, and still other subjects, can be meaningfully understood only in the light they throw on each other. To achieve this it would be necessary to make some kind of simultaneous total presentation. The requirements imposed by narrative preclude this. One is forced to choose, and to proceed through one door when many are open, always with doubt and a feeling that another way might have been more profitable. One tries to be as little repetitive as possible, yet one has to go back to the starting point over and over again in an effort to preserve some quality of unity.
128 One is confronted with still another pair of choices: whether to start with the general conceptual system and then pass to its realizations, or whether to start with particular social facts and to slowly construct out of them a picture of the whole. I will attempt to proceed in the latter manner, not because I think it is in any way better than the other, but I hope it will convey some of the processes that the ethnographer goes through in trying to make sense out of data.

The first matter to be discussed is the Bororo point of

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[273] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
[553] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
562 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

613 list some names that nobody else did, we must suppose that their family tradition was a little different from the rest of the community. The placement of Koge (Enogwa) Tabowu is very interesting. Some included it among the Red Ivagududoge, others among the Black, and one said that it was neither Red nor Black, it was in between: boyadadawu. Thus, the members of this lineage can choose their ornaments and songs from either of the subclans.

I did the same kind of analysis for the other clans, and the result was the following list (Table X) of the most im-
[124] portant Bororo lineages. It should be noted that no informant would give the same list, but the majority of them would include all of the lineages mentioned in the list.[1]

[128] [622] The order given to the lineages around the village circle (see table XI) follows the Bororo usage; and I started with Badajebage Chebegiwuge because this is the order followed by the chief in calling out clan members for the evening meeting on the village plaza. But when they talk about lineages or when they sing clan songs, the Bororo may start with whatever lineage or clan they prefer and then proceed either clockwise or counterclockwise until they have

[Text Continued On Page 123]

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[1] When I concluded my analysis and made the list, I asked
[115] [128] my wife, whose primary interest in the field had not been Bororo social organization, to tell me the names of the lineages she considered to be most important. She mentioned 24 of them, all included in the list, leaving out Kurugugwari Pijiwu and Aturua. This shows how much these important lineages are part of the Bororo daily talk.

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

---

[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

APPENDIX

TEST OF THE RULES

(REDUCTION OF KIN TYPES TO CLASS FOCI)

128 *601 In this chapter all of the kin types listed in Chapter II are reduced to their class foci. As the rules are not ordered any applicable equivalence rule is repeatedly applied until a focal type is reached. For sake of brevity I will label the equivalence rules as follows:

1. the skewing rule;
2. the merging rule;
3. the female parallel collateral rule;
4. the half-sibling rule;
5. the step rule;
6. the naming rule;
7. the marriage rule;
8. the neutralization rule.

*601

1. <u>iyedaga</u>

FF: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ <u>iyedaga</u> (by definition).

MF: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ <u>iyedaga</u> (by definition).

FFB: → FF (by the merging rule);
∴ <u>iyedaga</u> (by definition).

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[288] [71] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I
128 visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 How much the sexual life is related to the social position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to
562 me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in
123 Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

/162 cont./

773 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source: see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1964) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

114
128

All the villagers gather round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152 304] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 826 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

/453 cont./

177 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of
648 the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

● 128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a
[192] wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly
[273] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

/500 cont./ One day The men Permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

●128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[199] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Otuké SF18 Bororo SP8

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sapotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pinarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Cocoreka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jauré, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçaes* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jauré River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1886, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1894, Baldus (1906) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1951, Petrullo (1952) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacaini SP7

Ba
Bo
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[Facing P. 180-A]

[Plate XXV-A]

Ba
Bo
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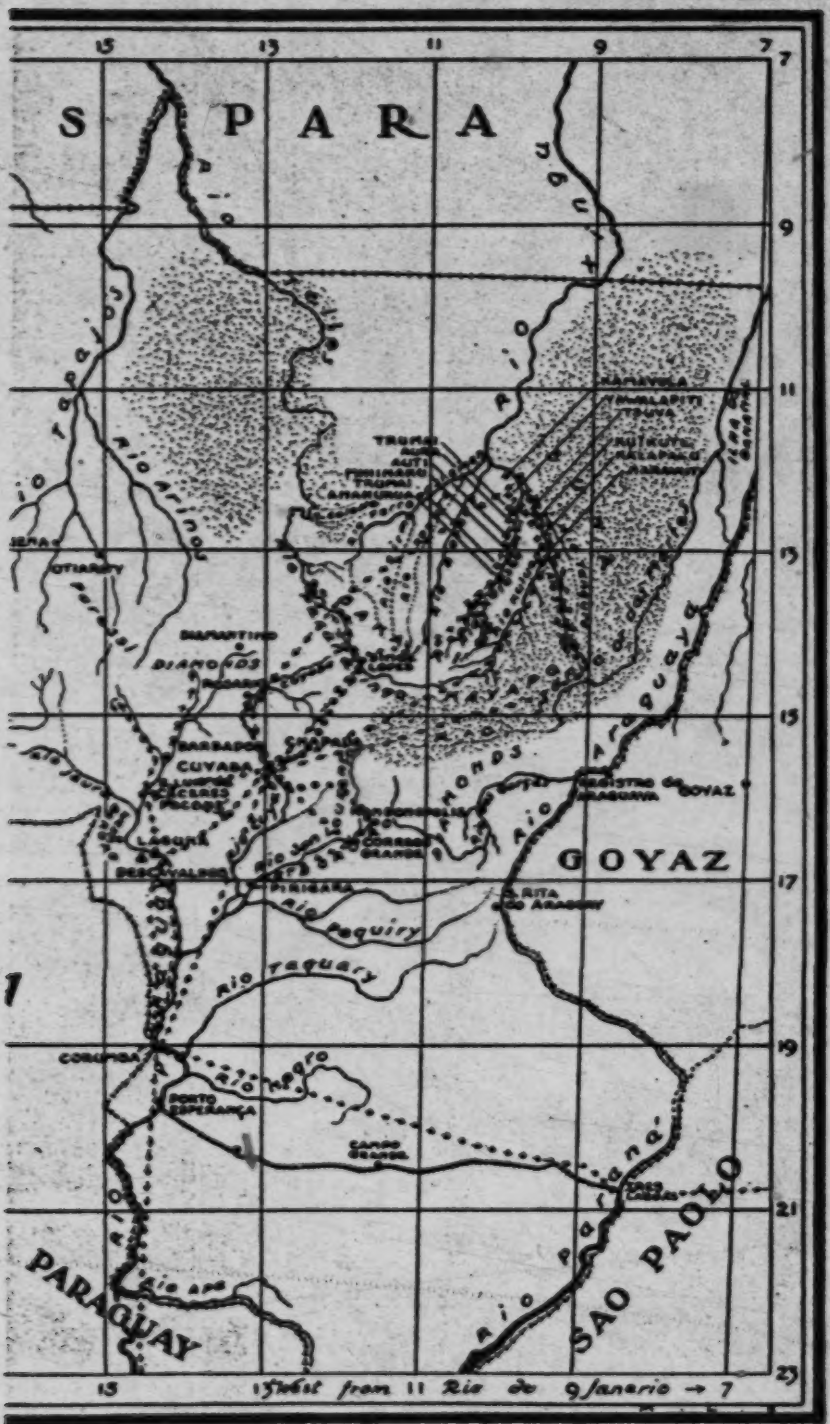

[Plate XXV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, ex-
tending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only
about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas,
one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[71] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becom-
ing smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken
by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice.
However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively
little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees
and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest;
weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the
ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but
they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools
and ornaments or just chatting.

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 175 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and [648] [181] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

22 But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering people. They spent only three months of the year, more or [241] less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back 167 by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo. 797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that 131 time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924, as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in /114/ January of 1926, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of 1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26, 37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
241 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane, vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
162 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
[161] only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri, that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44 children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
[131] which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
[797] of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[134] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca.1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

ritual practices accompanying death 764
are often among the most elaborate
and impressive ceremonies to be found
in the primitive world. No more spec-
tacular funerary ceremony is known
to ethnology than that of the Bororo
Indians of Brazil.

The Bororo now living on the São 131
Lourenço River in the state of Mato 101
Grosso call themselves *Orarimogo-*
dogue—Fish People. Their settlement 361
consists of a number of large thatched
houses arranged in a circle around an
open dance plaza. Each hut is occupied 592
by a group of closely related women,
together with their husbands and chil-
dren.

[p. 39-E]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet 609 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing [291] nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the [302] time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were 533 no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

/440 cont./

P 173 was born on the Matihurizá, "where there is neither land nor forest," that is, no shore, "and he went far upstream." The Matihurizá is the Tapajoz, if it does not represent the Amazonas itself. Thus, if the main movement of the Karaiben tribes was in the direction from south to north, at least this part of the Nu-Aruak group moved from north to south.

To be sure, the good people are not concerned about the slight contradiction that Uazale came from the far north and that his grandmother Maisõ made the Rio Cuyabá as the first of all rivers!

/441/

Chapter XVII.

On the Bororõ.

I. Historical. Founding of the Colonies.

Bororõ da Campanha and do Cabaçal. "Coroados" = Bororõ. Confusion in the literature. Little Sebastian. Martius. Ending of warfare and catechesis. Pillage in the colonies.

B 101 Two groups of Bororõ are distinguished in the Mato Grosso: the "Bororõs da Campanha," or of the plains, and the "Bororõs Cabaçaes," or of the Rio Cabaçal. The Bororõs da Campanha B 131 live in small settlements below Villa Maria, on the right bank 133 of the Paraguay and Jaurú, toward Bolivia, the Bororõs do 361 Cabaçal *not far from them in the north, along the banks* and in the source region of the river of the same name as well as of the Jaurú, both of which empty into the upper Paraguay from the right, the former at Villa Maria, the latter somewhat farther south.

B 175 These Bororõ were not infrequently visited by travelers; in [114] 1827 they came into contact with the Langsdorff Expedition; in the same year the Austrian naturalist Natterer gathered an abundant collection among them, now in the Vienna Hofmuseum; Count Castlenau and his companion Weddell, who stayed in the Mato Grosso during their famous crossing of South America in

/442 cont./

175 The colonization history of the province tells us about other Bororó, even in the earliest epoch. In 1742 Antonio Pires set out with a band of Paulistas and 500 friendly Bororó to subjugate the Kayapó /Cayapo/ in the southern part of the province; he took more than 1000 captive, established a few military posts, and left behind "a garrison of Bororó" there.

131 All these Bororó originally come from the region of the Rio S. Lourenço; from its lower part these nomadic hunters spread out into the region between it and its tributary, the Cuyabá, as well as along the right bank of the Paraguay lying opposite its mouth, whereas the ones originating from the upper part of the S. Lourenço are encountered by us in the eastern and southeastern part of the province along the source rivers of the Araguay /Araquaia/, the "Contravertenten" /contraflows/ of the S. Lourenço, as neighbors and enemies of the no less strong Kayapó.

114 It is difficult to understand why such great confusion has prevailed and still prevails about the Bororó among the people of the Mato Grosso themselves as well as in the literature. We
101 learn from Castelnau that the Bororó of the Cabaçal were at that time still called "Porrudos"; "the old name of the Rio S. Lorenço, which it still bears in its upper part," as the geographer Melgaço states (Rev. Trim., Vol. 47, p. 459), is now "Rio dos Porrudos."**

** Porra means "penis" in Portuguese; the penis-cuff of the Bororó suggested the name. Since the same costume, widespread throughout Brazil, did not call forth this name elsewhere, one suspects that here where the people said that they were called "Bororó" the Paulistas were moved to make a bad pun.

The Indians of the S. Lourenço are today called "Coroados," the shorn ones -- a name that positively invites confusion. We could have called the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians "Coroados" too; there were Coroados especially in the river basin of the Paraná

/444 cont./

114 have joined them, they have changed their language to a thieves' idiom (!). In Cazal (Corografia brasilica, p. 302) two hordes of [101] Bororós are mentioned: the Coroados, or shorn ones, and the [113] Barbados, bearded ones. The former are not navigators, but [131] nomadic hunters who are said to dwell to the south and southwest of the city of Cuyabá in inaccessible wildernesses on the sources of the Rio de S. Lourenço and the Rio dos Mortes, a tributary of the Araguaya." These statements by Cazal are perfectly accurate and true, and he, too, thus recognized the "Coroados" as Bororó. By /445/ "Barbados," Martius goes on to say, perhaps the Guató are to be understood, they sometimes attacked caravans traveling from Goyaz to Cuyabá and extended their raids as far as Diamantino. [101] The Guató, however, have never come into this region, they live as water nomads in the upper Paraguay region; those "Barbados" were probably Kayapó or even Bororó.

114 101 Martius, of course, explains the name Bororó according to the lingoa geral, either, if coming from the neighbors, = "warriors, enemies," or, if they themselves say it, = "we, the masters of the soil." The Bororó, however, know nothing about the lingoa geral and they call themselves this.

997 I shall now drop the name "Coroado" altogether; I shall report some things about the so-called "catechesis" or conversion of this Bororó tribe, which was attempted in vain for many years, but could scarcely have succeeded because the attempts were carried out in the most topsy-turvy manner. A military colony [648] set up on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, which was established toward the end of the 'seventies by Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira, served as the base.

648 In 1878 one Captain Alexander Bueno with 70 Terena Indians, a tribe belonging to the Guaná group, undertook an expedition "to drive out the Bororó." He had been secretly instructed, as I was assured, to shoot to death as many as possible and was favored by success to such an extent that he was able to show the President a bag full of ears. Of living ones he brought along two women and two children.

/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
199 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.
[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.
[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakaïrí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text Continues On P. 553]

2: Steinen--655E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guana SK7
Terena
Bororo SP8
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II. The Mato Grosso Tribes according to Cuyaban Records.

Since the fate of the "Archives" of the Directoria dos Indios discussed in the footnote on page 467 is very uncertain, I regard it as necessary to give my excerpt. I shall start with the tables for 1848 and 1872.

			1848		1872
1	Caiuás		?	Vicinity of Rio Iguatimy (1)	?
2	Chamococos . . .		200	Paraguay on the right near Bahia Negra	200
3	Cadiuéos . . .	Guaicurús	850	Paraguay below Coimbra	850
4	Beaquéos . . .	Guaicurús	500	East of the Paraguay and south of Miranda	100
5	Cotoguéos . . .	Guaicurús		Lalima (2) near Miranda	– (4)
6	Guatiedeos . . .	Guaicurús	130	Albuquerque	– (5)
7	Guanaz	Guanás	200	Albuquerque and near Cuyabá	– (6)
8	Kinikináos . . .	Guanás	1000	Matto grande near Albuquerque-Miranda	–
9	Terenas	Guanás	2000	Miranda	–
10	Laianas	Guanás	300	Miranda	–
11	Guachís		?	Miranda	– (7)
12	Guatós		500	Paraguay and S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba and Uberaba	50 (8)
13	Bororós da Campanha		180	West of the Paraguay near the Marco do Jaurú (3)	180

1. The Rio Iguatemy is a tributary of the Paraná, into which it empties somewhat above the Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas.

2. Six leagues south of Miranda.

3. Tributary of the Paraguay. The Registro or Registo (cf. 14), the customs station, lies on the road between Cuyabá and Matto Grosso.

4. Missing in the list.

5. Missing in the list.

6. Were brought to Asuncion by the Paraguayans and all died there.

7. Missing in the list.

8. Are almost extinct as a result of the Paraguay War and smallpox.

2: Steinen--656 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7 Bororo SP8 Nambicuara SP17 Paressi SP19

/548 cont./

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		1848	1872
14 Bororós Cabaçaes . .	110	Registo do Jaurú and Campos da Caiçara	40
15 Cayapós	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba	400
16 Coroados	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
/549/			
17 Bacahirís	200	Source region of Paranatinga	200
18 Cajabís	?	Source region of Paranatinga	?
19 Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecíz	400
20 Pariciz	250	Campos and Serra dos Parecíz	250
21 Maimbarés	400		400
22 Cabixís	500		500
23 Nambiquarás. . . .	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos)	600
24 Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (brook) dos Tapanhunas (to the Arinos)	800
25 Apiacaz	2700	Arinos and Juruena	2700
26 Mequens	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guarayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Cautarios	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacáz.	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Cenabós	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés	?		
32 Caripunas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33 Aráras	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		8670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

GO /550 cont./
105 Guató with five or six canoes full of women and children. Usu-
175 ally they have two wives, some are content with one. Here
[595] and there they cultivate a little maize, mandioca, and fruit, but more as delicacies than for subsistence. They also gather the wild rice (arroz silvestre), which grows there in abundance, but only for the needs of the moment. Very skillful with bow and arrow; engage in jaguar hunting with spear and javelin. Friendliest barter. The men starting to wear shirt and trousers, the women petticoats. Are faithful, upright, harmless, but have occasionally shown that they are capable of offering resistance and avenging injuries. Very inclined to drunkenness. Most of them understand our language and many adults speak it.

[Report 1872: This tribe is almost extinct.]

BO 13 Bororós da Campanha. Two groups: 1) Village in Bolivia
105 near Salinas, 2) village opposite Escalvado on the right bank of
175 the Paraguay, one league from the river. Are peaceable, carry
[131] on agriculture, have pigs and chickens. Cotton hammocks.
[101] Some speak Portuguese. Have often brought slaves and deserters from Bolivia into the garrisons. 150-200.

[In 1858 it is said: one part lives in the Campanhas de Marco and another beyond the Corixa Brook.]

BO 14. Bororós Cabaçaes. Two hordes, until recently savage,
[101] one on the sources of the Jaurú, the other on those of the Cabaçal.
[131] Made numerous attacks on the road from Cuyabá to Matto Grosso,*

* The later name for Villa Bella on the Guaporé.

so that troops were often sent out against them and killed many, irrespective of age and sex. They themselves did not want to take captives, but killed as many as they could, irrespective of sex and age. Nourish themselves on the fruits which the earth yields freely and, at the most, plant some pururuca maize which they eat unripe, batatas, and bananas. No industry. /551/ Have bows and arrows, poor pots, straw plaiting with which they in part cover their nakedness. In 1842 the Reverend Curate of Matto Grosso, José da Sa Fraga, succeeded through persuasion and gentleness

BO /551 cont./
105 and by means of gifts to lure them to a fazenda of his in the
175 Registo do Jaurú; there they all stayed, 177 in number, from 1 April 1843; today they have dwindled to 81. During these five years they showed little inclination for agriculture and lived only by bow and arrow.

C 15. Cayapós. Between Paraná and Paranahyba and in the
105 source region of the S. Lourenço and Taquary. Some are settled
175 in the Destakament /detachment of troops/ on the Piquiry,
[131] others in the Porto do Paranahyba on the road to S. Paulo, others live independently. Hunting, fishing, cultivation of maize, rice, mandioca, batatas, and sugar cane. Make some rapadura (raw sugar boiled down). Have pigs, chickens, even a few cows and horses. Speak Portuguese in large part. Many hire themselves out. Some robberies which are attributed to the Coroados are probably carried out by them.

BO 16. Coroados. On the sources of the various tributaries of
105 the S. Lourenço. Of their numbers and their characteristics
175 [131] little is known; they flee or are hostile. Set fires up to 20 leagues from Cuyabá; hence troops are sent out against them every few years, who kill adults and take children captive, which in no way promotes converting them.

B 17. Bacahiris. Sources of the Paranatinga and upper course
105 of the Arinos. Are distinguished by a peaceful disposition.
175 Flee from the attacks of their enemies, the Nambiquáras, Tapanhunas, and Cajabis. Live on hunting and fishing, plant maize, mandioca, batatas, cará, garden beans, broad beans, and sugar cane. Their implements for agriculture are made of stone or heartwood. Their industry: hammocks with meshes of cotton or tucum, plaited sieves, and small baskets. Only a very few (muito poucos) understand our language, although they wish to. Senhora Donna Feliciana Guerobina Pereira Coelho, a well-to-do landowner in the district of the upper sierra* has a

* According to Antonio, near Lagoinha.

A friendly interest in them, gives them gifts, and speaks favorably
105 about their easy conversion. They are enemies of the
175 18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the Salto.

2: Steinen--661 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Pareciz SP19
Brazilian Indians SL4
Bororo SP8
Barbados

/551 cont./

000 18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the salto.

19. Barbados. Only one settlement on the slope of the Serra
BO dos Pareciz near the sources of the Rio Vermelho, a tributary of
105 the Paraguay, along which they roam as far as the Paraguay
175 itself. Maize, mandioca, batatas, cará. Implements of stone
[131] and heartwood. No animal husbandry or industry. Are not at war with others; flee from the Brazilians, but are treacherous and twice have attacked travelers between Diamantino and Villa Maria.

P 20. Pareciz. 200; once famous and warlike. Various
105 groups in the sierra and the Campos dos Pareciz between
175 Diamantino and the district of Matto Grosso. Sometimes pay visits and bring, as barter goods, sieves, baskets, hammock ropes, feathers, drinking bowls, and the tobacco greatly prized by smokers, which they prepare and wrap in urumbamba.**

** Desmoncus rudentum, Desmoncus macranthus Mart., climbing palms.

Few speak and understand Portuguese. They do not commit open hostilities, but occasionally join the Cabixis to commit outrages.

[Report of 1858: Considerably decimated by the slave hunts of the Paulistas. The founding of the village near the city of Diamantino is of recent date. In 1856 they received the first presents.]

BI 21. Maimbarés. More numerous than the Pareciz, with whom
105 they have contact and in whose company they occasionally ap-
175 pear in family groups in the wildernesses of the Campos dos Pareciz. Hunting, cultivation of maize, mandioca, bananas, batatas, cará.

/552/

P 22. Cabixis. Numerous in various villages, 15-20 leagues
105 northwest of the Arraial de São Vicente. Hostile; with robbery
175 and fire they go as far as the vicinity of Matto Grosso, so that
[131] occasionally troops are called out against them.

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8 ●
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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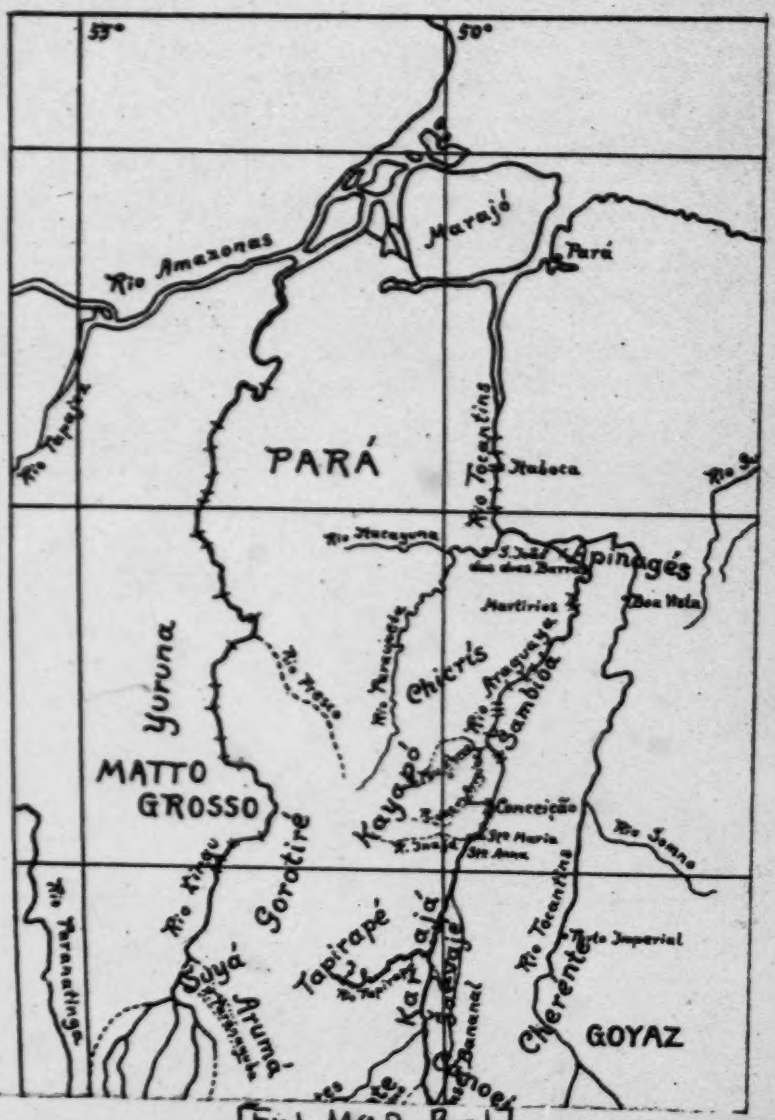
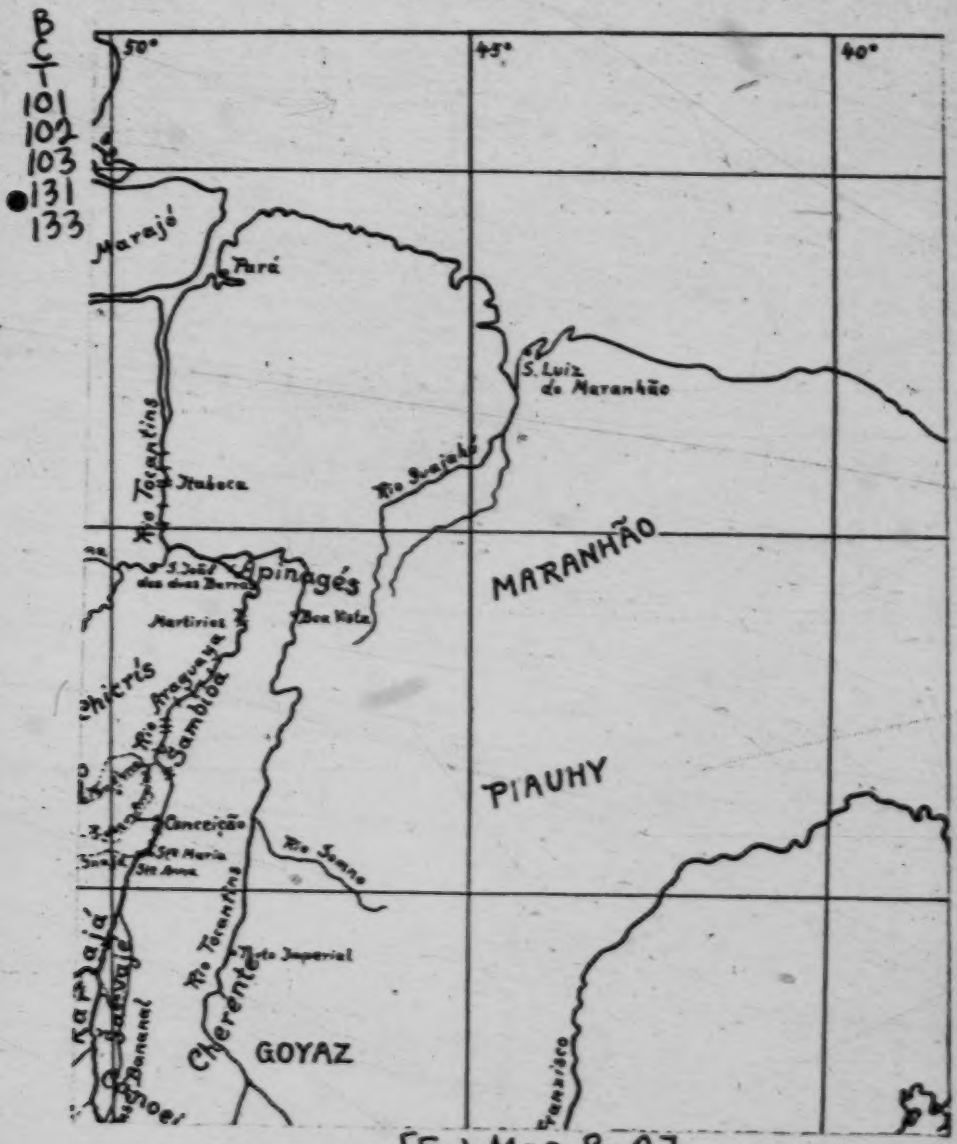
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.



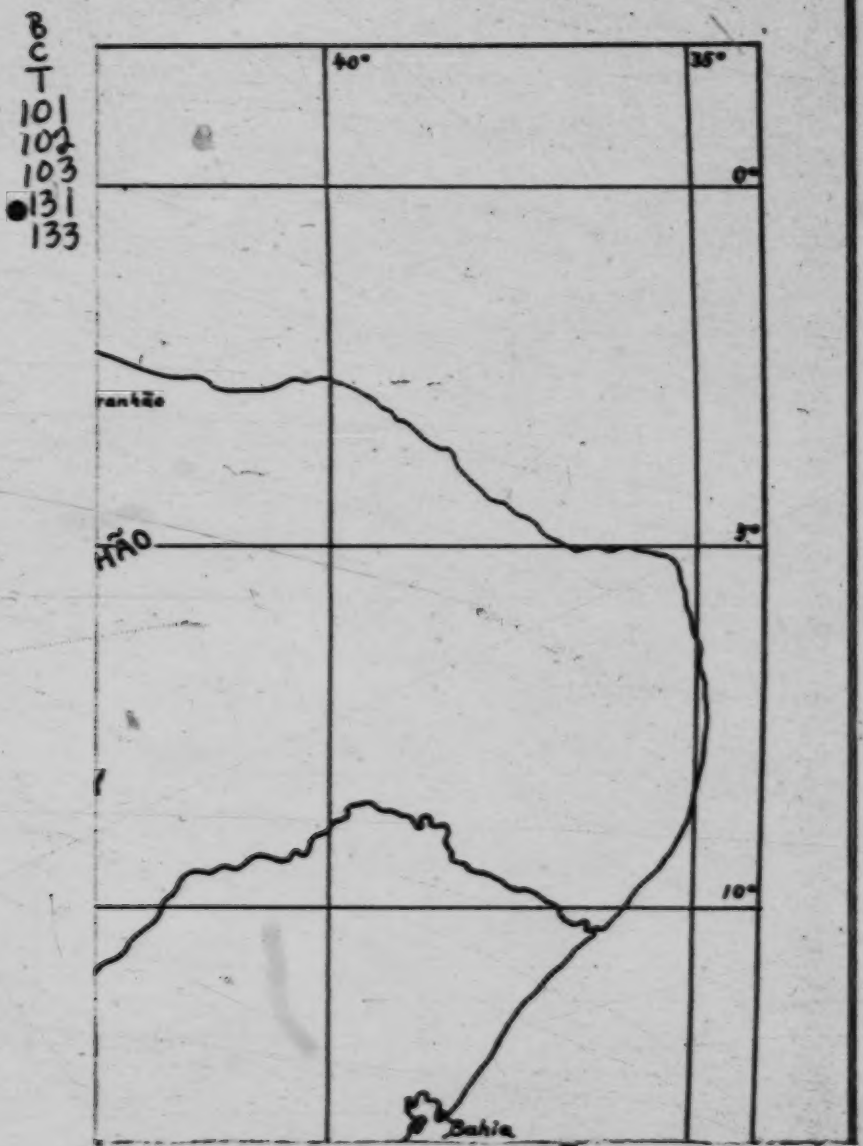
[End Map B-1]

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22



[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP82



[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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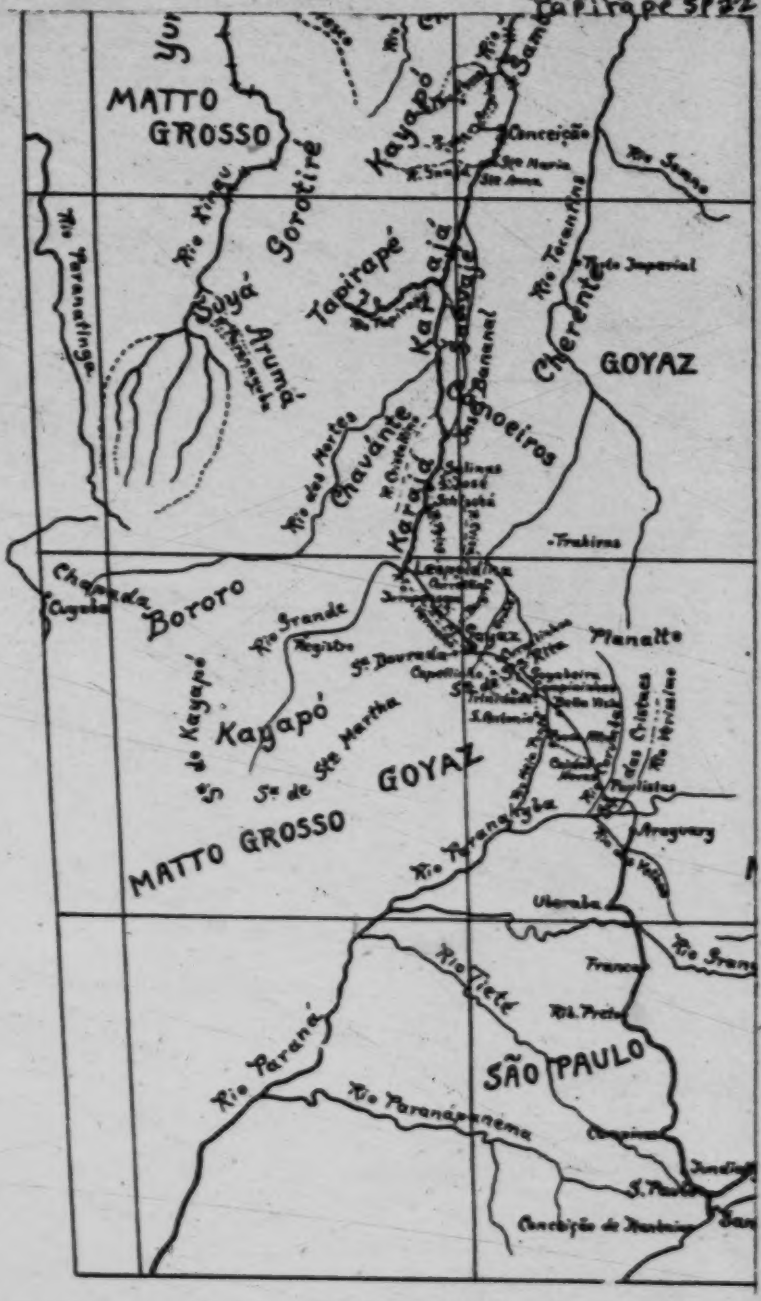

The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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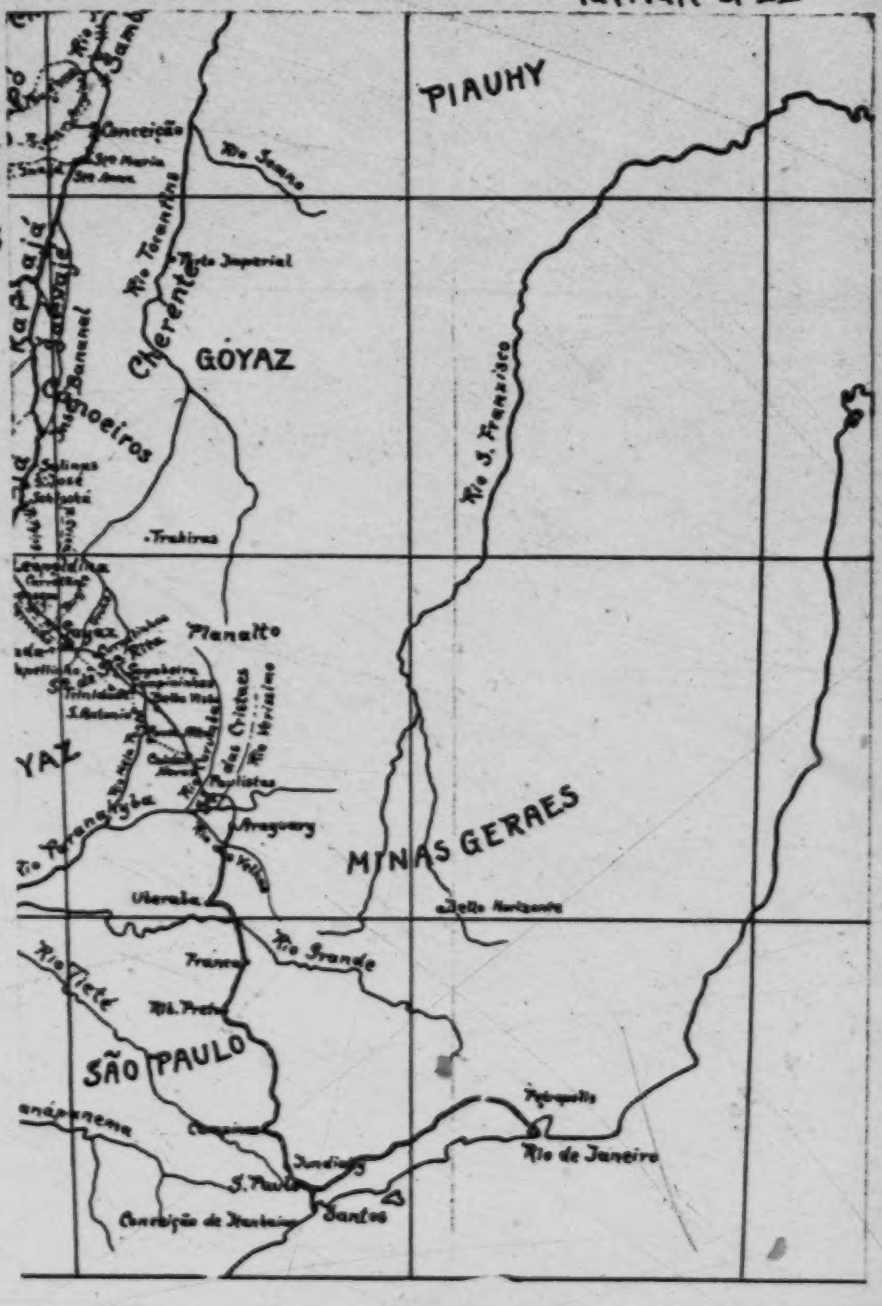
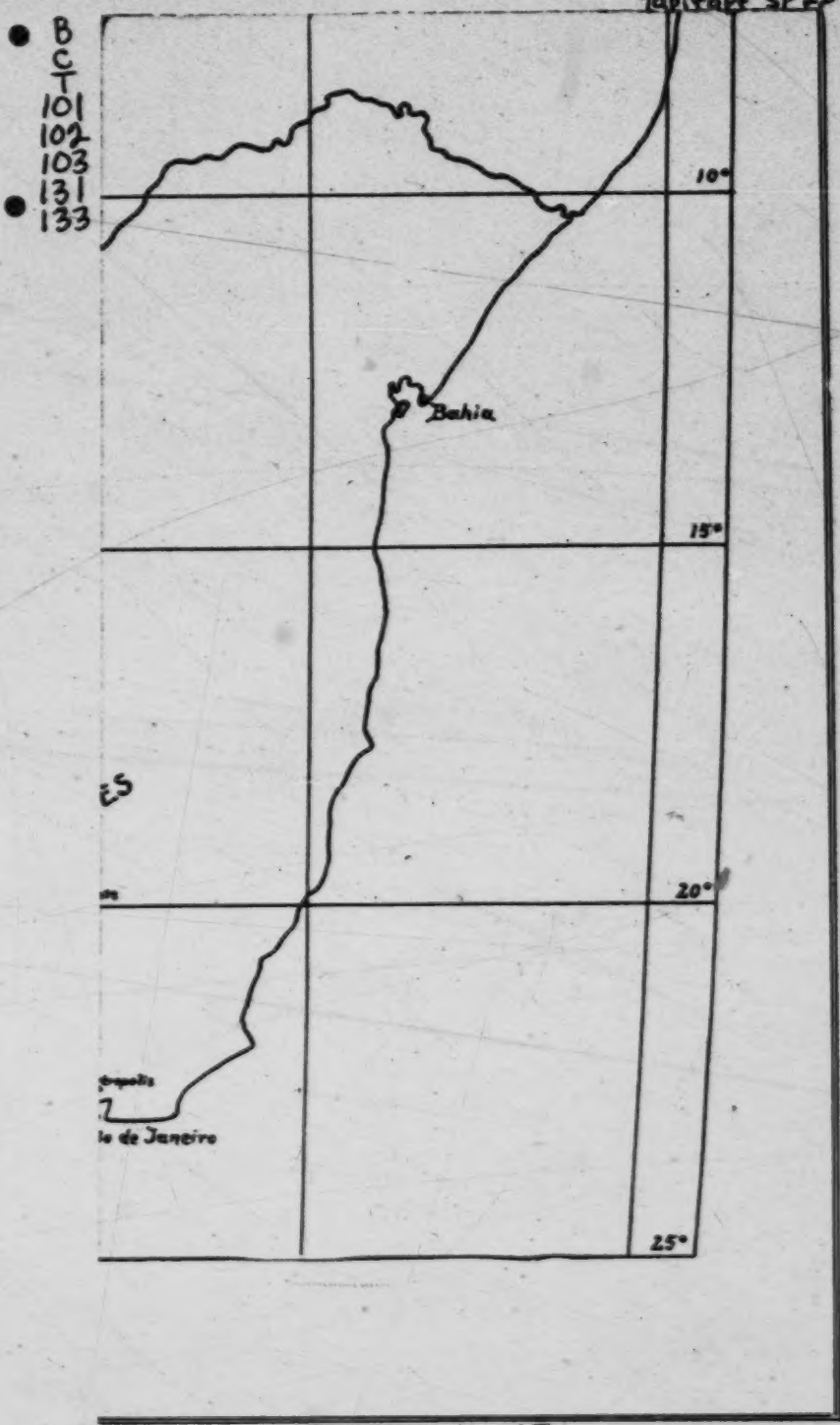


[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22



[End Map B-6]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184 Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type
142 kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*nuktimo*) was built on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
621 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on the ground. The husband kept a fire going all
[374] night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made from woven cotton. Like the men, the women
304 had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
●132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

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132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
291 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane, vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

162 In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
[161] 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934 only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri, that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44 children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
[131] which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
797 of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet 609 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing [291] nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the [302] time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were 533 no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

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evening anthem, which will be described in future pages. We 633
were at our camp at the time, a quarter of a mile distant from the savage chorus. It was indeed wild music, and an appropriate production of the wild ones and the wilderness. It was hard to believe that this fusillade of uncouth, alarming sounds issued from human throats. This savage music resembled, somewhat, the remarkable and uncanny sounds produced by coyotes when heard at night from a distance.

Doubtless these nude, unclean savages would appear ex- 114
tremely repulsive and unhuman to most civilized people, yet I could but regard them as simple, overgrown, neglected children; and finding myself again among such rude, needy beings, I experienced a pleasure and satisfaction which I cannot describe, and inwardly thanked God, Who, in His gracious providence, had led me again to their haunts after a long detention among a more advanced race. Could I be among them once more, my cup of joy would be full.

Two naked Bororó accompanied us as helpers during the [123]
remainder of our journey to one of the chief villages of the tribe. The world about us became more and more wild, rugged and inhospitable as we advanced, and the difficulties and dangers of travel increased. Moreover, the myriads of the insect 136
world seemed to resent our encroachment into their domains, and fell upon us with ever-increasing numbers and ferocity; while the elements, too, appeared to join forces with the rest of Nature, for storms occurred, not only daily, but several times [132]
during twenty-four hours. One night, we found ourselves encamped upon the "private grounds" of a colony of destructive foraging ants, which set to work promptly to cut us to pieces; and when we halted at noon for breakfast, some days, we were set upon by hordes of a stupid, sluggish, stingless bee, called "father of honey" by the Brazilians, but known to science as the *Melipona fasculata*, of which there are more than fifty varieties in Brazil. They were attracted to us by the perspiration of ourselves and our beasts, and also by the odor of our food. They did not attack us in a single swarm, but came to us individually and gradually, until quart

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 66.—Bororo country and house. Top: Air view of the Cuiseuda, north of Cuiabá. Below: Bororo palm-thatched hut. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-A]

M 175 pleted its work. There still are many regions to be explored, and many tribes to be pacified.

* * * *

B M 133 Straddling as it does the Amazonian and Paraguayan drainage systems, Matto Grosso does not form a geographic unit, but is divisible topographically into three sections, each differing from the others in important geographic features. The south, drained by the Paraguay system, is low flat country subject to yearly floods which convert it into a veritable lake dotted with a few islands to which animal and human life retreats. At the height of the dry season this same plain becomes so arid that habitation is limited to the borders of the larger streams or the larger water holes. For the most part it is open grass country, with islands of jungle and palm groves to which the wild life withdraws during the day. Bordering the streams is found the thick and almost impenetrable jungle, presenting two solid walls of green vegetation transformed in season to walls of flowers. In this country, bird life is rich and varied; mammalian life is plentiful and attains unusual size, especially in the cat family, one member of which, the jaguar, attains the size of a female Bengal tiger; tapir, capivara, deer, peccary, and otter abound, as well as various species of reptiles which crowd the banks of the rivers during the dry season; fish of many kinds, including the notorious piranha, crowd the rivers. [Plates II, 2; III, 1; IV, 1.]

B M 136

M 1B The central plateau area, the chapadão, is in direct contrast with the southern portion, the pantanal. It rises abruptly from the pantanal to some twenty-five hundred feet in a series of steps [Plate IV, 1]. It is an undulating, open, sandstone table-land, cut into segments by numerous jungle-bordered streams that are the fountains of the Paraguay and southern affluents of the Amazon. Flat-topped escarpments, constantly being undermined by the streams, break the monotony of the vast open expanse. These sandy and open wind-swept moorlands are covered with grasses, shrubs and dwarf palms. Though many species of plants may be found, there is no luxuriant vegetation. Likewise, animal life, though it may be varied enough, is not abundant.

Where the Amazonian waters begin to assume the proportions of rivers, the Amazonian forest belt begins. Conditions in certain features approximate those of the pantanal. Bird life is richer than in the

[text continues on p. 98]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

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Mato Grosso SP1

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FIGURE 1. THE PORT OF CORUMBÁ

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FIGURE 2. THE PARAGUAY RIVER AT DESCAVALDOS

[P. 97]

[Plate II]

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Figure 2. The Jaguar Dance of the Bororo in Campinha.

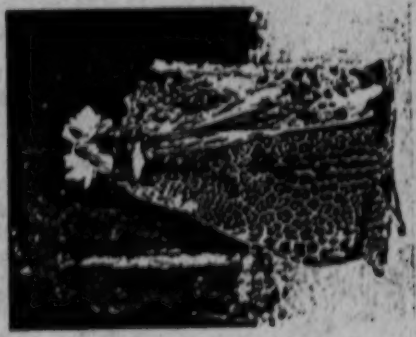

Figure 4. Back View of the Jaguar Costume.

[133]

Figure 1. An View of the Pigment Painters.

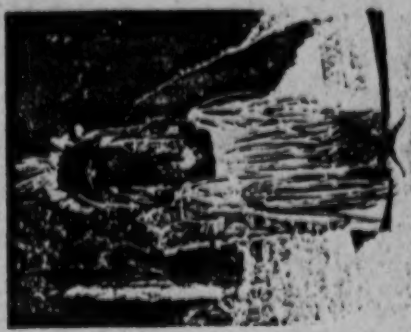

Figure 3. The Impersonator of the Jaguar

[P.99]

[Plate III]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

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With the exception of the hills of Dourados, the country between Corumbá and S. Luis de Caceres is pantanal, with here and there a hill or range of hills rising abruptly from the level lowlands. Between Dourados and the Jauru river, the Bolivian border and the Paraguay river, is the vast ranch of Descavaldos, which is larger than Belgium in area, with many thousands of cattle roaming its meadows and an insignificant number of people to testify to its existence as a reclaimed land. Wild life is more abundant than the cattle, demonstrating its great tenacity in comparison to human life. Its original human inhabitants have gone, and new ones, Brazilian, Paraguayan, Bolivian, German and American, have taken their place. A mere handful of Bororo, who are so only in name, remain where there were once thousands.

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But the ranch is rich in archaeology. Its aboriginal population planted in the ground some phases of its culture which have withstood the action of water and other destructive elements. There are numerous localities where the archaeologist can recover some of the products of the arts of the now-extinct tribes. The newcomers to the land have not left these undisturbed. In the making of caña and in keeping it afterwards the large funeral urns that can be so easily gotten from the ground have been found to be excellent receptacles. In the making of new pottery, it has been discovered that the clay of the old mixed with the fresh preparation, gives it a better temper. The result of these two useful discoveries has been the ruthless excavation of a number of sites in a most destructive way. Fortunately the area is a vast one and the population very sparse, and archaeology is to be found everywhere, so that the scientist can still tap fresh and undisturbed sources.

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It has been known that urn fields are plentiful in the region, and Max Schmidt also discovered petroglyphs in the hills of the Morro do Triompho near the Ilha de Caracaras. The natives also report the presence of mounds or tumuli, from one of which at Agua Verde, located on the Descavaldos ranch, the specimen shown in Plate XIX, 3 is supposed to have come, according to the lessee of the territory. It had been planned to visit the Morro do Triompho and the hills of Dourados to search for petroglyphs, and also to excavate one of these mounds. Climatic conditions interfered, causing the abandonment of these projects, for when the waters were high it was impossible to reach the desired localities, and when they had withdrawn, ethnology was occupying my attention.

[text continues on p. 106]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1
MB 133 172

FIGURE 1. AIR VIEW OF DESCAYALDOS SHOWING LOCATIONS OF THE CEMETERIES

MB 172

FIGURE 2. A SECTION OF CEMETERY II

[P. 114]

[Plate VIII]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

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[Facing P. 180-A]

[Plate XXV-A]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8

Bacairi SP7

PLATE XXV

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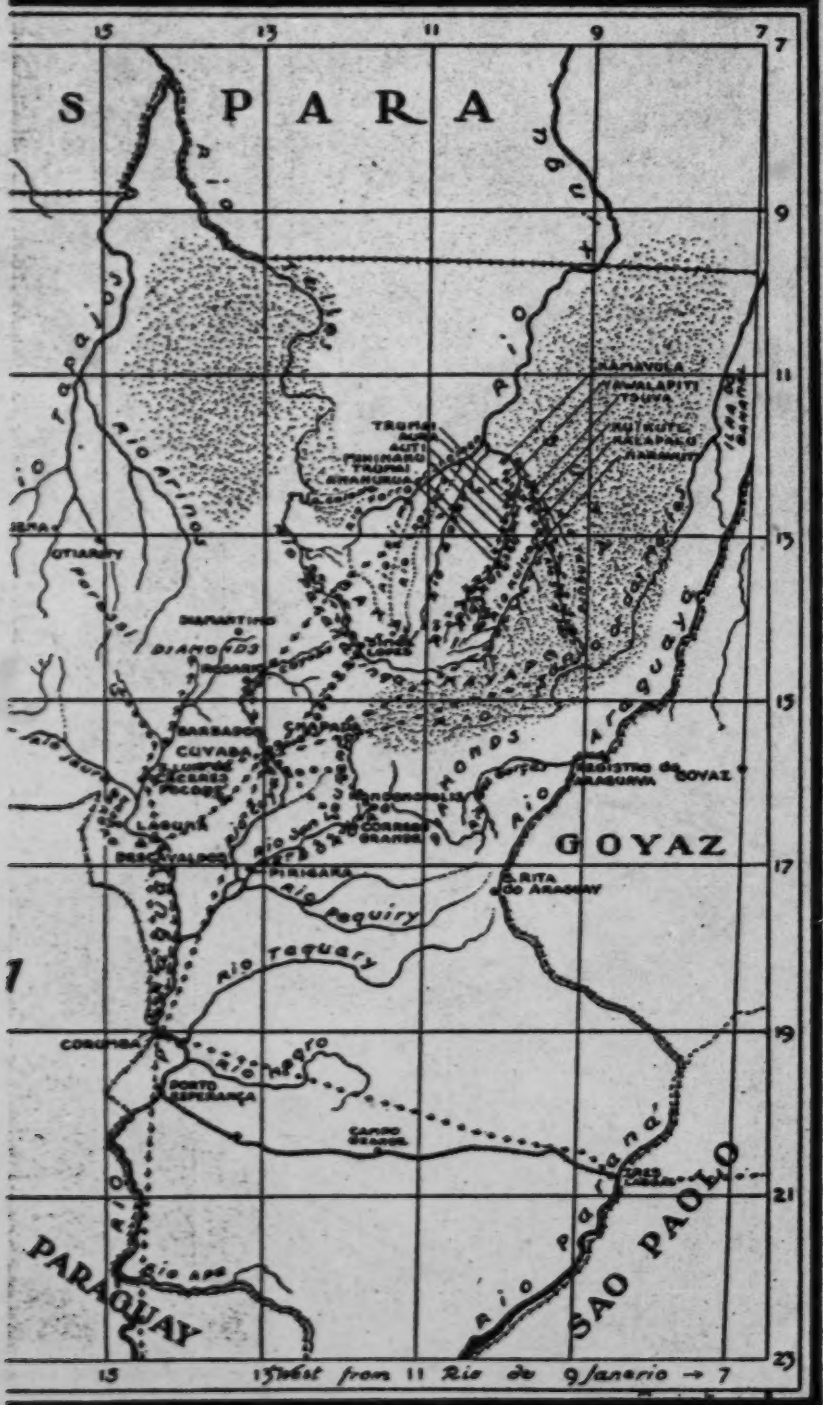

[Plate XXV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
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[797] of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

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The Basin of a Primeval Lake, where the Rio Vermelho takes its rise, near the site of a Primitive Forest.

122

Eating Christmas Dinner.

[Facing p. 354]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

The following day, we turned aside from the trail to visit a beautiful cascade where the water descended about one hundred feet in seven jumps.

The Christmas season came and went while I was on this expedition. What a remarkable Christmas it was! How almost infinitely removed it was from the Christmas seasons I had passed in other days, the memory of which seemed like a strange dream! We were in the height of summer, and vegetation, displaying abounding life, was growing with marvelous luxuriance. The world of natural life, arrayed in its magnificent bridal robes, was certainly in harmony with the birthday of the Prince of Life.

Early in the day, I rode several miles over splendid grazing lands to visit a charming waterfall in the heart of the forest, the trees joined hands across it, forming an arbor of dense foliage beautifully draped with climbing vines, and the little stream flowed ever in eternal shadows. Enveloped in the shadows of a primeval forest at this delightful spot, a paradise of Nature, and listening to the soft music of splashing waters, far away from the haunts of men, we seemed to have left the careworn, excited world forever behind us.

My Christmas dinner, consisting of a fish, caught at the foot of the little falls just described, and a whole rib of beef together with a part of the backbone, was eaten at sunset while sitting on a box outside of our tent.

Near our camp was another pretty little waterfall. About five feet below the edge of the ledge over which the water dropped in a broad, thin sheet, a bench of rock jutted out just right for one to stand upon and take a delightful pour-bath, which was indulged in twice each day.

An incident occurred Christmas morning that gave us some feeling of insecurity. A venomous reptile killed a valuable dog of ours within one hundred feet of our tent. It was bitten on the neck, and had apparently fallen at once.

Leaving here, we followed for about one hundred miles the lofty plateau dividing the great river systems of the north and of the south. The edge of this great table is nearly

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet 609 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing [291] nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the [302] time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while 533 here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars. 133 137

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of *college yells*, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females. 361 574 122

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, brightly painted, uncouth appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The 361 137 291 302 000 136

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Chapter XXXII.

800 LIFE AMONG THE BORORÓ.—EYED CONSTANTLY BY A HORDE OF NUDE SAVAGES.—ASTONISHING MAKE-UPS.—PRIMITIVE HOUSEKEEPING AND SANITATION.—HORTICULTURE.—FOODS.—VEGETABLE COWS.—A WONDERFUL PALM.

36 [133] After nearly two months of horseback riding and camping, we arrived at the confluence of the river Pogúbu, or Ponte de Pedra, and the Rio Vermelho, which is about forty miles north of the junction of the former river with the [103] São Laurenço. Here, we found a large Bororó village, called the Tá Dáre Máno Páro—potato bank—where we remained [122] several weeks, camping in a stake-walled, palm-branch roofed hut that had been erected a quarter of a mile from the Indian village by my companion. We had to cross the river Pogúbu, which we did in a small, dugout canoe made by Senhor Antonio, and swam our horses over. It is about two hundred [133] yards wide at this point, deep, and has a strong current. A heavy rain storm broke just as we were within a few hundred yards of our destination, so we rushed our entire cavalcade right into the big, open hut.

123 When our arrival became known at the primitive metrop- 152 olis, and it was known instantly, our hut began to fill with our nude and painted fellow beings of all ages and both sexes, who came to observe us and to examine all the marvelous things that we had brought from our wonderful, and to them, enchanted world. They flocked in upon us regularly at dawn

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FOLLOWING THE WILD MAN'S TRAIL.—LIFE IN A SAVAGE CLUB-HOUSE.—FLOATING DOWN THE RIO POGÚBU.

WHILE we had our headquarters near the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, we made a visit to the Kogi au Paro village of the same tribe some twenty miles distant.

We followed a trail used only by the savages, and over which no civilized man had ever before passed. It led largely through a forest which was so dense in many places, that the trail was like an opening through a thick hedge, or through a wall. This opening was just large enough to permit the naked wild man to pass comfortably. But we were mounted on mules, and had one mule carrying two boxes containing our cooking outfit and food. Consequently, we had to make the hole larger on all sides. Even after our muleteer, who led the way on foot, had enlarged the opening, we were compelled to practice rough riding continually to avoid being raked off our beasts, or having our limbs crushed. Besides, our passage was barred by many deep ravines, gulches, washouts and streams, the banks of which were often nearly vertical. Our mules were experts in descending the banks, for they would bunch up their feet, like mountain goats, and slide down. But, in many cases, they were unable to climb out on the other side until we had dug steps with a grubbing-hoe. There was often deep water in these places. We also encountered at nearly every step great bunches of wild pine-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that 122
sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints 136
of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack.

All during the second day we continued to carve our way 122
through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling.

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au 609
Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidi*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity.

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, 361
and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open [621]
ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was [133]
between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, [103]
flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage 122
over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding 361
together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

sun was a little clouded and the day charming, and a primitive forest, clothed in its beautiful robes of perennial green, lined both sides of our watery path. As we were borne along by the current, we came upon a Bororó fishing party. These bronze, entirely nude savages, standing upon the rocks at the water's edge, in the shadow of the great trees, the beautiful and luxuriant foliage of which formed a background, looked exceedingly picturesque and romantic. They eyed us with deep interest as we moved silently past them, having never before seen such an object on the river.

But as we proceeded, our Bororó companions caused us feelings of anxiety by continually pointing down the river and muttering, *canoa by*—canoe die, the raft will be wrecked—calling the raft by the Brazilian word for canoe, not having a word of their own.

At length, as we were swept rapidly around a bend, we saw a little island in the middle of the stream and the water dashing over the rocks that extended out from its head, while in the center of the only channel through which we might now pass, were other large rocks which churned the on-rushing waters into a foam. This left us but a very narrow gateway between the jaws of destruction. Could we strike this opening? We did not know just where the current was carrying us, but it appeared to be sweeping us straight onto the rocks, and we knew that if our raft should strike them, it would certainly *die*. We were in great alarm, and paddled and poled with all our strength, though without any apparent results. But the Unseen Hand had not forsaken us, and we slipped through the jaws of destruction in perfect security. Once more we saw that in our mad endeavors to escape the danger, we had done everything in our power to get into it.

All had gone well again for some time, though the Bororó still continued to point down the river and mutter ominously, *canoa by*, when, as we were borne quickly around another turn in the river, our hearts almost stood still at the sight of a chain of rapids that stretched entirely across the river, more than half the area of which was littered with boulders,

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

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over which the waters seathed and roared; and our float seemed to be making for the very worst place, despite all our efforts to work it over out of the zone of greatest danger. The outlook was dismal to the last degree, so we prepared ourselves to be wrecked. But once again it was evident that the Unseen Hand was guiding us, for we passed the rapids in perfect safety and without touching a rock.

Our Bororó companions now ceased to point down the river and to say *canoa by*, for we were nearing home. But how should we contrive to make a landing at our headquarters, was a question that gave us no little anxiety. There was only a narrow gateway through the snags that cumbered the edge of the river, into which we must slip quickly, though we needed a broad clear space into which to slowly work our unwieldy float. Senhor Antonio tried to get in at a port which was a long distance above our hut, but failed, though he nearly cast us upon the rocks, and we were in great danger for a few minutes. But God cared for us to the last; and getting as near the shore as we dared, we slipped in at the landing-place without striking even a snag. If we had missed this port, we would have been compelled to go a long way down the river before finding another.

We were glad to be again in our own hut where we were not troubled by insects, and could obtain an abundance of beef and milk—about our only food.

/440 cont./

P 173 was born on the Matihurizá, "where there is neither land nor forest," that is, no shore, "and he went far upstream." The Matihurizá is the Tapajoz, if it does not represent the Amazonas itself. Thus, if the main movement of the Karaiben tribes was in the direction from south to north, at least this part of the Nu-Aruak group moved from north to south.

To be sure, the good people are not concerned about the slight contradiction that Uazale came from the far north and that his grandmother Maisõ made the Rio Cuyabá as the first of all rivers!

/441/

Chapter XVII.

On the Bororó.

I. Historical. Founding of the Colonies.

Bororó da Campanha and do Cabaçal. "Coroados" = Bororó. Confusion in the literature. Little Sebastian. Martius. Ending of warfare and catechesis. Pillage in the colonies.

B 101 Two groups of Bororó are distinguished in the Mato Grosso: the "Bororós da Campanha," or of the plains, and the "Bororós Cabaçaes," or of the Rio Cabaçal. The Bororós da Campanha B 131 live in small settlements below Villa Maria, on the right bank 133 of the Paraguay and Jaurú, toward Boliwia, the Bororós do 361 Cabaçal not far from them in the north, along the banks and in the source region of the river of the same name as well as of the Jaurú, both of which empty into the upper Paraguay from the right, the former at Villa Maria, the latter somewhat farther south.

B 175 These Bororó were not infrequently visited by travelers; in [114] 1827 they came into contact with the Langsdorff Expedition; in the same year the Austrian naturalist Natterer gathered an abundant collection among them, now in the Vienna Hofmuseum; Count Castlenau and his companion Weddell, who stayed in the Mato Grosso during their famous crossing of South America in

/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
199 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.

[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.

[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakaïrí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text Continues on P. 553]

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Canaja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirapé SP22

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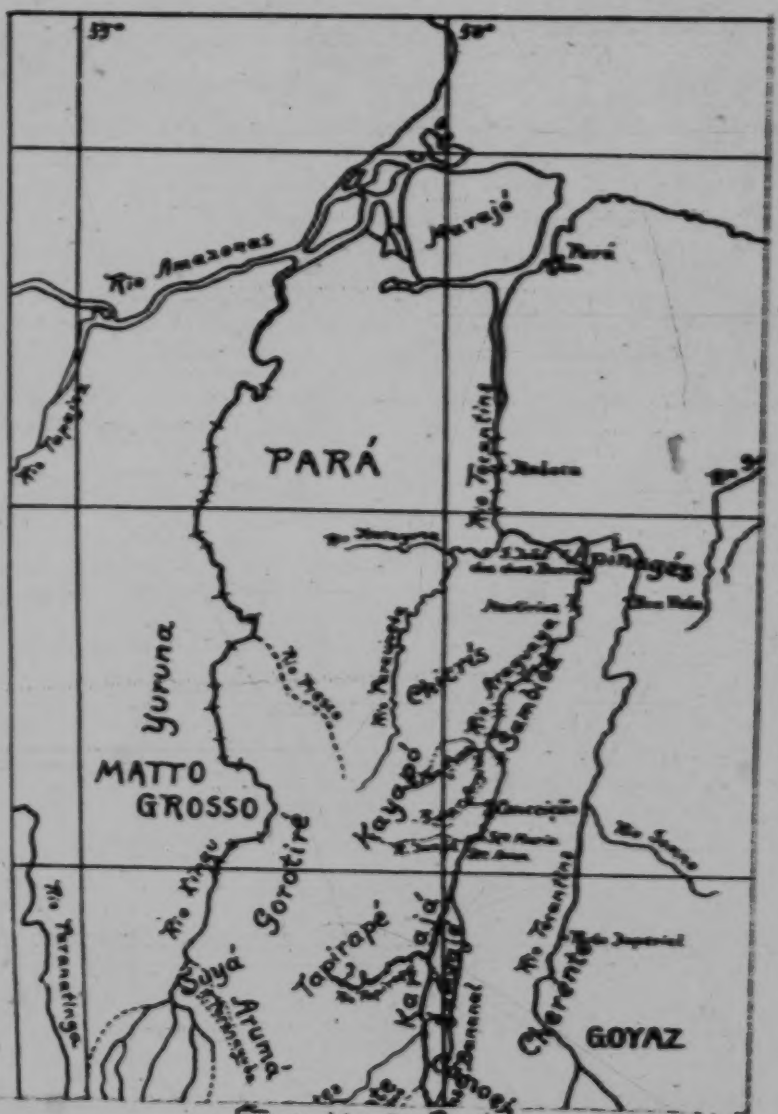
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.



[End Map B-1]

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

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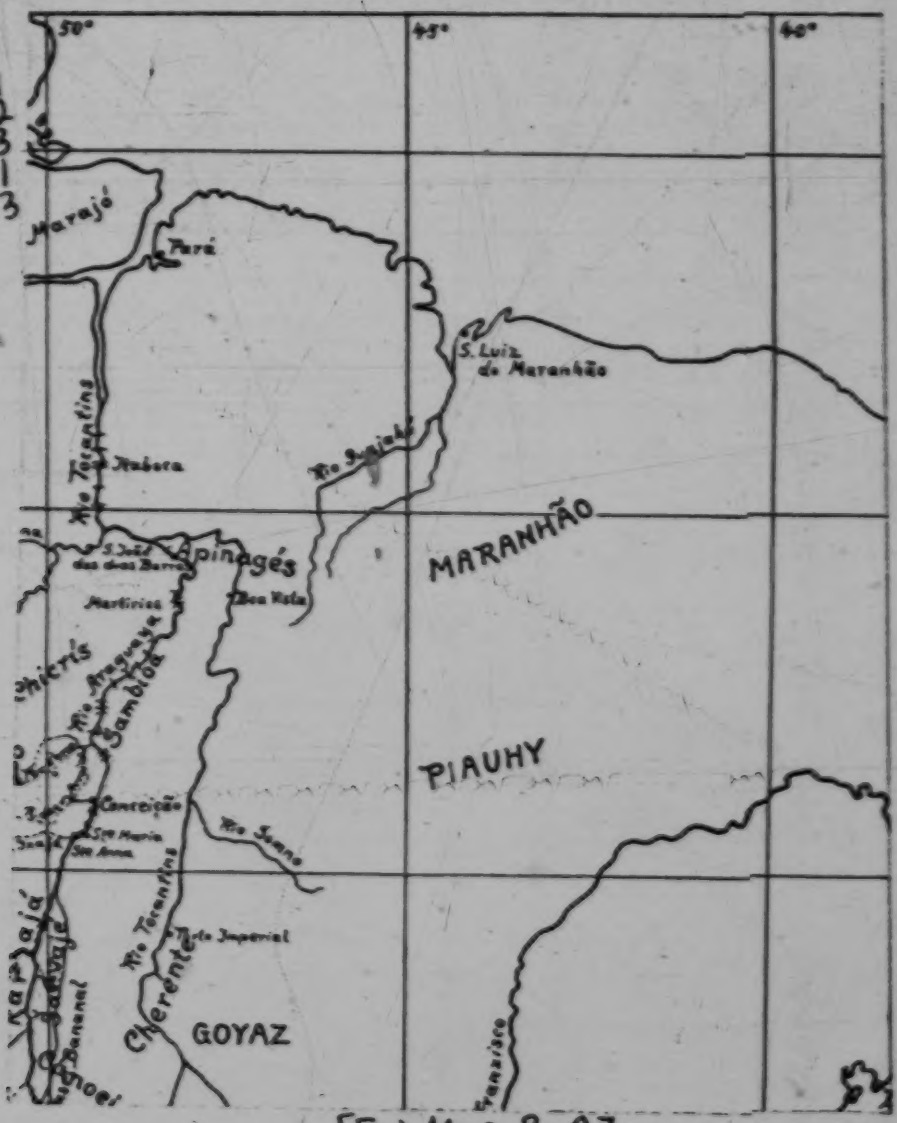
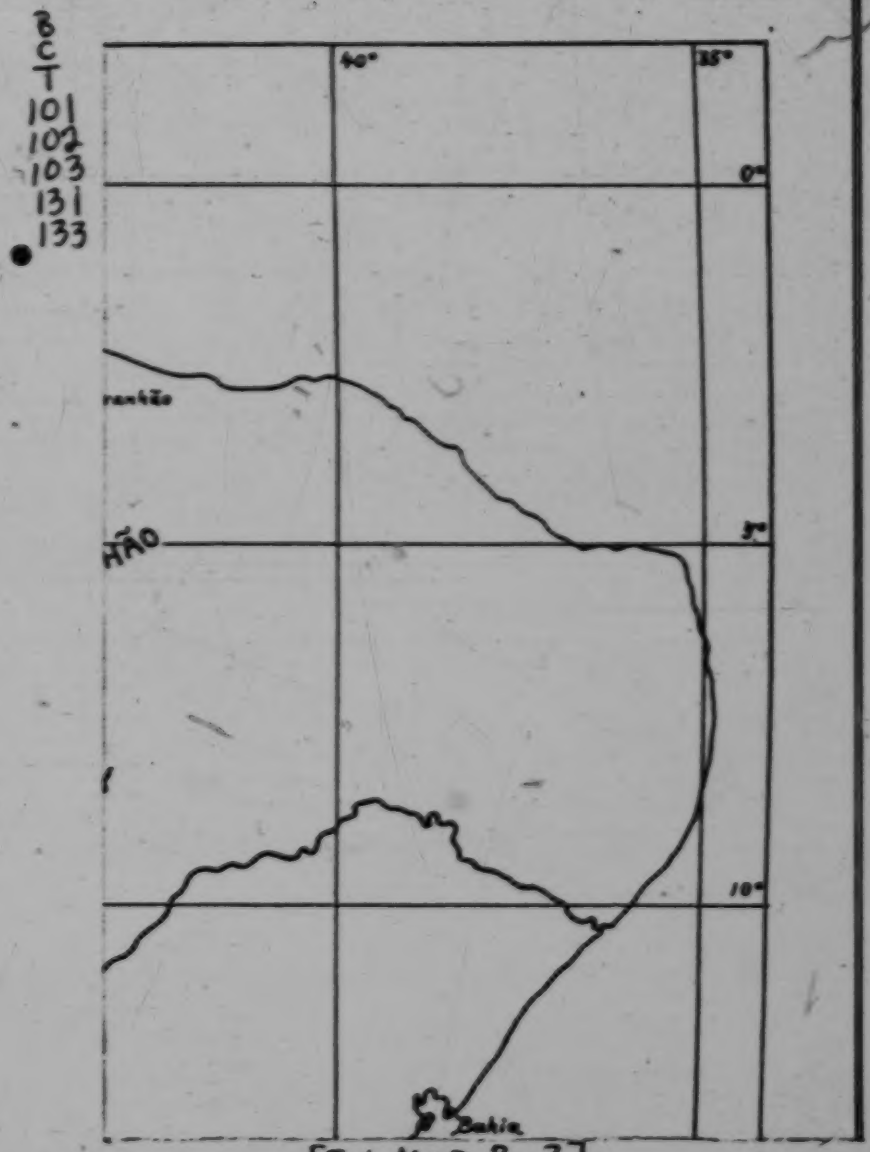


[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tupirape SP2



[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Bororo SP8 Tapirape SP22

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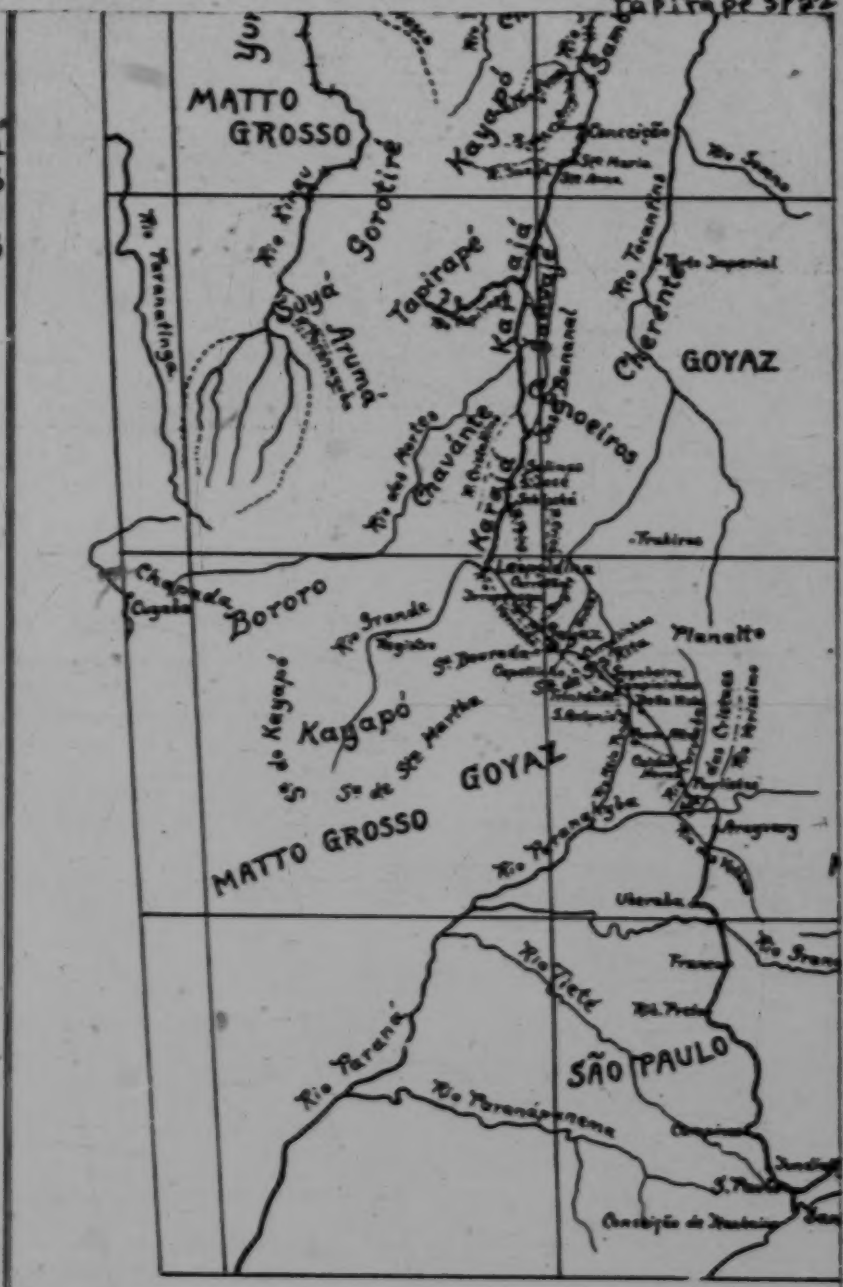

The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP 80
Tapirape SP 22

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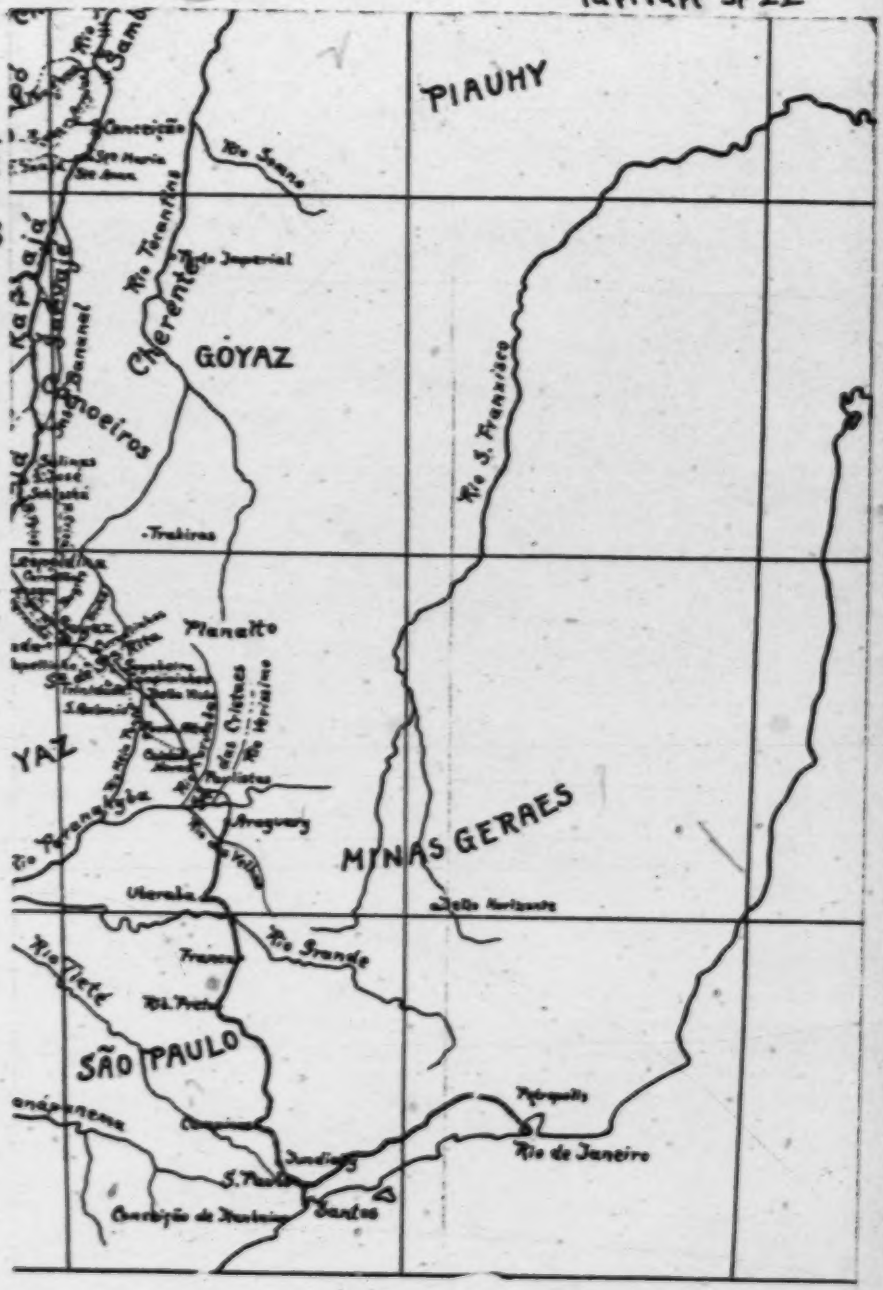
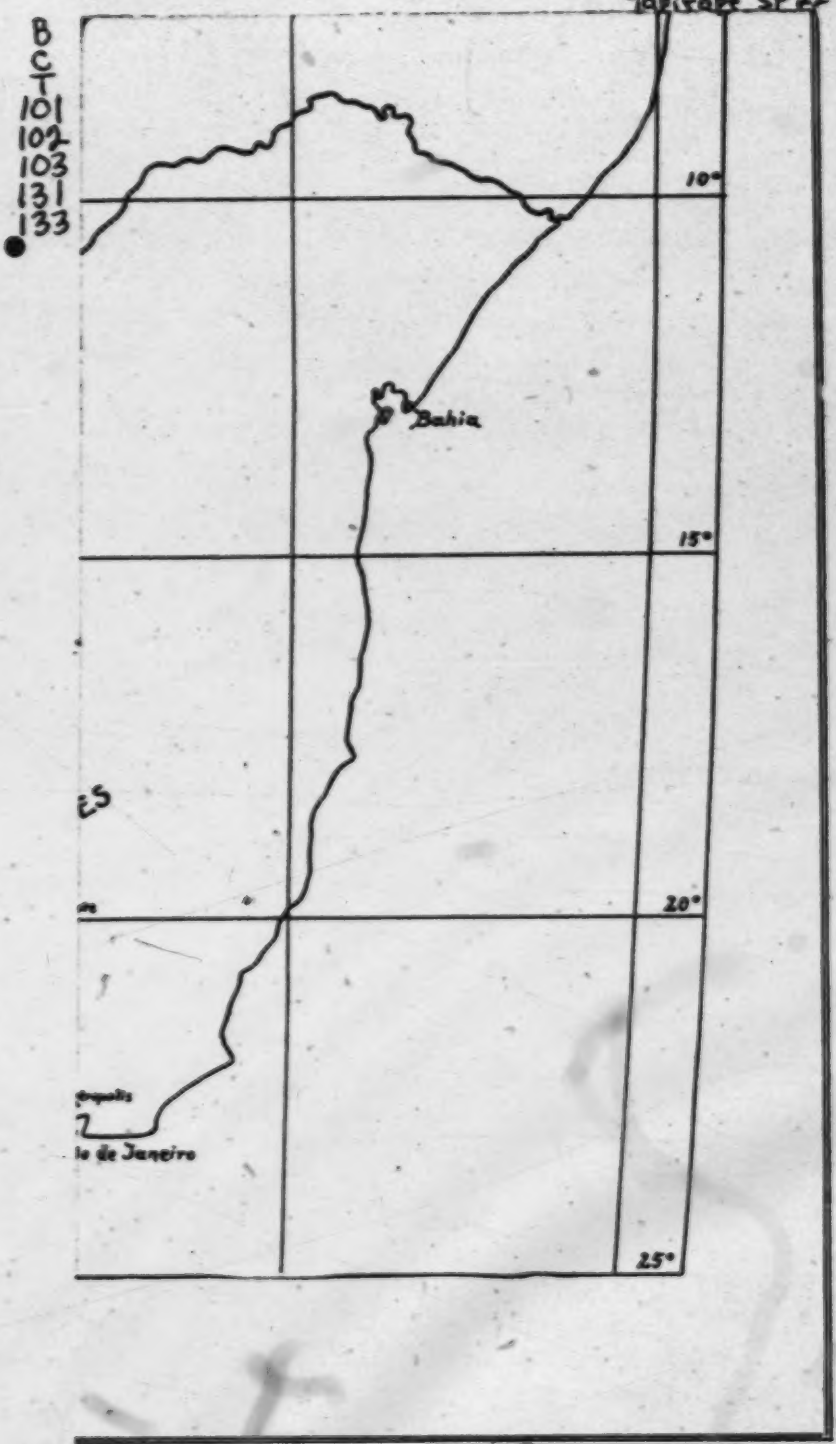


[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Bororo SP8 Tapirape SP 22



[End Map B-6]

/152 cont./ They say that this metal
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• [135]
[306]
was gold, news not very hard to accept because the Bororo occupied regions in which gold appears frequently even today. Nowadays, the earrings reproduced here in natural size are made of the metal from cartridges. They are called meriri-kiga-réu and are made firm by means of an annular brass wire in the

[613]

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

M 175 pleted its work. There still are many regions to be explored, and many tribes to be pacified.

* * * *

B M 133 Straddling as it does the Amazonian and Paraguayan drainage systems, Matto Grosso does not form a geographic unit, but is divisible topographically into three sections, each differing from the others in important geographic features. The south, drained by the Paraguay system, is low flat country subject to yearly floods which convert it into a veritable lake dotted with a few islands to which animal and human life retreats. At the height of the dry season this same plain becomes so arid that habitation is limited to the borders of the larger streams or the larger water holes. For the most part it is open grass country, with islands of jungle and palm groves to which the wild life withdraws during the day. Bordering the streams is found the thick and almost B M 136 impenetrable jungle, presenting two solid walls of green vegetation transformed in season to walls of flowers. In this country, bird life is rich and varied; mammalian life is plentiful and attains unusual size, especially in the cat family, one member of which, the jaguar, attains the size of a female Bengal tiger; tapir, capivara, deer, peccary, and otter abound, as well as various species of reptiles which crowd the banks of the rivers during the dry season; fish of many kinds, including the notorious piranha, crowd the rivers. [Plates II, 2; III, 1; IV, 1.]

M 1B The central plateau area, the chapadão, is in direct contrast with the southern portion, the pantanal. It rises abruptly from the pantanal to some twenty-five hundred feet in a series of steps [Plate IV, 1]. It is an undulating, open, sandstone table-land, cut into segments by numerous jungle-bordered streams that are the fountains of the Paraguay and southern affluents of the Amazon. Flat-topped escarpments, constantly being undermined by the streams, break the monotony of the vast open expanse. These sandy and open wind-swept moorlands are covered with grasses, shrubs and dwarf palms. Though many species of plants may be found, there is no luxuriant vegetation. Likewise, animal life, though it may be varied enough, is not abundant.

Where the Amazonian waters begin to assume the proportions of rivers, the Amazonian forest belt begins. Conditions in certain features approximate those of the pantanal. Bird life is richer than in the

[text continues on p. 98]

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[538] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[196] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP6 Bororo SP6

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles.

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[534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over.

[152]
[304]

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[602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition.

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To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows.

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[136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community.

[278]

[251]

[p. 41-A]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

evening anthem, which will be described in future pages. We 633
were at our camp at the time, a quarter of a mile distant from the savage chorus. It was indeed wild music, and an appropriate production of the wild ones and the wilderness. It was hard to believe that this fusillade of uncouth, alarming sounds issued from human throats. This savage music resembled, somewhat, the remarkable and uncanny sounds produced by coyotes when heard at night from a distance.

Doubtless these nude, unclean savages would appear ex- 114
tremely repulsive and unhuman to most civilized people, yet I could but regard them as simple, overgrown, neglected children; and finding myself again among such rude, needy beings, I experienced a pleasure and satisfaction which I cannot describe, and inwardly thanked God, Who, in His gracious providence, had led me again to their haunts after a long detention among a more advanced race. Could I be among them once more, my cup of joy would be full.

Two naked Bororó accompanied us as helpers during the [123]
remainder of our journey to one of the chief villages of the tribe. The world about us became more and more wild, rugged and inhospitable as we advanced, and the difficulties and dangers of travel increased. Moreover, the myriads of the insect 136
world seemed to resent our encroachment into their domains, and fell upon us with ever-increasing numbers and ferocity; while the elements, too, appeared to join forces with the rest of Nature, for storms occurred, not only daily, but several times [132]
during twenty-four hours. One night, we found ourselves encamped upon the "private grounds" of a colony of destructive foraging ants, which set to work promptly to cut us to pieces; and when we halted at noon for breakfast, some days, we were set upon by hordes of a stupid, sluggish, stingless bee, called "father of honey" by the Brazilians, but known to science as the *Melipona fasculata*, of which there are more than fifty varieties in Brazil. They were attracted to us by the perspiration of ourselves and our beasts, and also by the odor of our food. They did not attack us in a single swarm, but came to us individually and gradually, until quart

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

136 measures of them had massed themselves upon our saddle blankets, and upon whatever else took their fancy. They did not bite, but lit upon us and dragged themselves, worm-like, over our flesh, down our necks and up under our hats, into our eyes, ears, noses and mouths, and dropped by threes and fours into our food as we were taking a mouthful. To kill them had no effect in reducing their numbers, and it was impossible to escape them. When crushed, their bodies exhaled an offensive effluvium, or a nauseating taste, if masticated. We were therefore compelled to make haste in preparing and eating our food, else we would have been driven nearly to madness. We were told that there are places where it is almost impossible to take food during daylight because of these pests.

137 Our route led us more and more into primeval forests, where, in the eternal shadows, we were completely engulfed in the endless masses of thorny, tangled undergrowth, dripping with water. Though my companion had previously cut a trail through here, it was largely taken possession of again by the forest; therefore, we were continually curried and harrowed from head to foot, and had to perform constantly acrobatic feats, or practice rough riding, in order to escape being dragged from our horses, while our clothing reverted rapidly to lint, and big, ugly *carapatos* clung to our boots by dozens.
136 Moreover, hornets had built their nests, Chinese-lantern-like, thickly along the trail; and when we disturbed these nests—for we were seldom aware of their presence until we had disturbed them—the infuriated insects invariably inspired our beasts with renewed energy, besides touching us up a little. Therefore, owing to these and other reasons, we sometimes finished the day's march feeling exhausted and low spirited.

One day, as we emerged from the woods into an open swail, we came suddenly upon a family of eight rheas—an old father and mother and six children. They squatted first into the grass to hide themselves, but conscious at once that they were not sufficiently hidden, they sprang up again on their long legs and made off rapidly, the old folk hanging in the rear until the children were safe.

Brazil.

The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars. 133 137

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of *college yells*, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females. 361 574 122

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, brightly painted, uncouth appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The 361 137 291 302 000 136

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men. 226

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon-pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them. [411] [227]

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the natives are contented and grow fleshy. [103] [136] [511]

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them. [501]

One of the most striking traits of character of these children of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita- 151 825

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

122 apple plants, to touch which was like running into a barbed-
[137] wire fence, for one's clothes would be torn and the flesh lacerated. This plant hooks into whatever touches it, even
[136] piercing one's boots. Moreover, swarms of flies of many varieties, the bites of which cause itching wounds, pursued us constantly; while various kinds of wood-ticks, some of which are nearly as large as the potato beetle, fastened themselves upon us. This insect has a fearful head-gear, but, somehow, one is never aware of its presence until it has taken firm hold; then if one tries to remove it by force, either its head will be left buried in the flesh, or a piece of flesh will be torn out. To add to our discomfiture, the heat was intense, and our thirst so insatiable that we wished our throats were mill-races.

We expected to have reached the Kogi au Paro village in one day, but so much time was consumed in enlarging the opening through the forest that we were still in the middle of the woods when night overtook us. Therefore, we suspended our hammocks under the trees, prepared and ate our supper, and tried to make ourselves comfortable for the night, hoping to secure restful sleep for we were excessively fatigued from struggling through the vegetable walls and entanglements. But in planning for a peaceful night, we had not reckoned with animate Nature. Animate Nature does not limit a day's work to eight or ten hours. In the Brazilian wildernesses she labors twenty-four hours each day. The "day
122 gangs" of insects that persecuted us had scarcely retired from
136 the field when the "night gangs" came on. The mosquitoes came in swarms, of all sizes and capacities, ready for every kind of work. Some of them were so small that they could fly through our mosquito netting with extended wings, but they could bite out of all proportion to their size. The ants were also in evidence. When the mosquitoes drove me out of my hammock and I set my feet on the ground, I stepped among army corps of foraging ants which swarmed over my feet, biting, or stinging, as they ran. Fleeing from them in the inky darkness, I accidently brushed my hand against a coat

which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that 122
sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints 136
of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack.

All during the second day we continued to carve our way 122
through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling.

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au 609
Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidi*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity.

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, 361
and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open [621]
ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was [133]
between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, [103]
flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage 122
over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding 361
together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river

757 /476 cont./
237 has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-
301 strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like
[302] a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face,
[302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed
765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeletonized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamentation of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú
531 /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any
237 implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on
136 the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize
302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was
[237] mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing
[386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing, but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

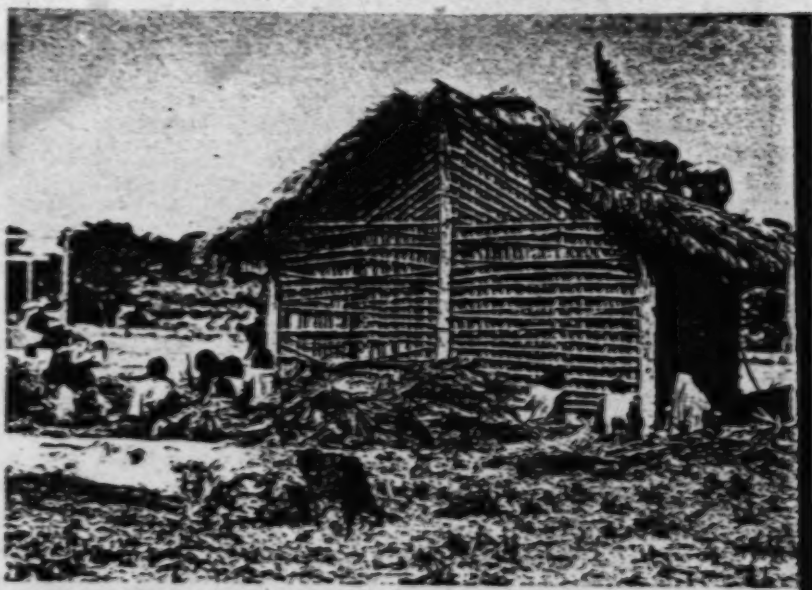
/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

342



361
137

PLATE 61.—Bororo houses. Top: San Lourenço Bororo house. Bottom: Sabro de Crepusculo village. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p.432-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

133
137

The Basin of a Primeval Lake, where the Rio Vermelho takes its rise, now the site of a Primitive Forest.

122

Eating Christmas Dinner.

[Facing p. 354]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

136 measures of them had massed themselves upon our saddle blankets, and upon whatever else took their fancy. They did not bite, but lit upon us and dragged themselves, worm-like, over our flesh, down our necks and up under our hats, into our eyes, ears, noses and mouths, and dropped by threes and fours into our food as we were taking a mouthful. To kill them had no effect in reducing their numbers, and it was impossible to escape them. When crushed, their bodies exhaled an offensive effluvium, or a nauseating taste, if masticated. We were therefore compelled to make haste in preparing and eating our food, else we would have been driven nearly to madness. We were told that there are places where it is almost impossible to take food during daylight because of these pests.

137 Our route led us more and more into primeval forests, where, in the eternal shadows, we were completely engulfed in the endless masses of thorny, tangled undergrowth, dripping with water. Though my companion had previously cut a trail through here, it was largely taken possession of again by the forest; therefore, we were continually curried and harrowed from head to foot, and had to perform constantly acrobatic feats, or practice rough riding, in order to escape being dragged from our horses, while our clothing reverted rapidly to lint, and big, ugly *carapatos* clung to our boots by dozens.
136 Moreover, hornets had built their nests, Chinese-lantern-like, thickly along the trail; and when we disturbed these nests—for we were seldom aware of their presence until we had disturbed them—the infuriated insects invariably inspired our beasts with renewed energy, besides touching us up a little. Therefore, owing to these and other reasons, we sometimes finished the day's march feeling exhausted and low spirited.

One day, as we emerged from the woods into an open swail, we came suddenly upon a family of eight rheas—an old father and mother and six children. They squatted first into the grass to hide themselves, but conscious at once that they were not sufficiently hidden, they sprang up again on their long legs and made off rapidly, the old folk hanging in the rear until the children were safe.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars. 133 137

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of *college yells*, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females. 361 574 122

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, brightly painted, uncouth appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The 361 137 291 302 000 136

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

CHAPTER XXXVI.

000

FOLLOWING THE WILD MAN'S TRAIL.—LIFE IN A SAVAGE CLUB-HOUSE.—FLOATING DOWN THE RIO POGÚBU.

WHILE we had our headquarters near the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, we made a visit to the Kogi au Paro village of the same tribe some twenty miles distant. 122 361 103

We followed a trail used only by the savages, and over which no civilized man had ever before passed. It led largely through a forest which was so dense in many places, that the trail was like an opening through a thick hedge, or through a wall. This opening was just large enough to permit the naked wild man to pass comfortably. But we were mounted on mules, and had one mule carrying two boxes containing our cooking outfit and food. Consequently, we had to make the hole larger on all sides. Even after our muleteer, who led the way on foot, had enlarged the opening, we were compelled to practice rough riding continually to avoid being raked off our beasts, or having our limbs crushed. Besides, our passage was barred by many deep ravines, gulches, washouts and streams, the banks of which were often nearly vertical. Our mules were experts in descending the banks, for they would bunch up their feet, like mountain goats, and slide down. But, in many cases, they were unable to climb out on the other side until we had dug steps with a grubbing-hoe. There was often deep water in these places. We also encountered at nearly every step great bunches of wild pine- 122 487 [137] [133] 122 137

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

122 apple plants, to touch which was like running into a barbed-
[137] wire fence, for one's clothes would be torn and the flesh lacerated. This plant hooks into whatever touches it, even piercing one's boots. Moreover, swarms of flies of many
[136] varieties, the bites of which cause itching wounds, pursued us constantly; while various kinds of wood-ticks, some of which are nearly as large as the potato beetle, fastened themselves upon us. This insect has a fearful head-gear, but, somehow, one is never aware of its presence until it has taken firm hold; then if one tries to remove it by force, either its head will be left buried in the flesh, or a piece of flesh will be torn out. To add to our discomfiture, the heat was intense, and our thirst so insatiable that we wished our throats were mill-races.

We expected to have reached the Kogi au Paro village in one day, but so much time was consumed in enlarging the opening through the forest that we were still in the middle of the woods when night overtook us. Therefore, we suspended our hammocks under the trees, prepared and ate our supper, and tried to make ourselves comfortable for the night, hoping to secure restful sleep for we were excessively fatigued from struggling through the vegetable walls and entanglements. But in planning for a peaceful night, we had not reckoned with animate Nature. Animate Nature does not limit a day's work to eight or ten hours. In the Brazilian wilder-
nesses she labors twenty-four hours each day. The "day
122 gangs" of insects that persecuted us had scarcely retired from
136 the field when the "night gangs" came on. The mosquitoes came in swarms, of all sizes and capacities, ready for every kind of work. Some of them were so small that they could fly through our mosquito netting with extended wings, but they could bite out of all proportion to their size. The ants were also in evidence. When the mosquitoes drove me out of my hammock and I set my feet on the ground, I stepped among army corps of foraging ants which swarmed over my feet, biting, or stinging, as they ran. Fleeing from them in the inky darkness, I accidently brushed my hand against a coat

361 some distance before casting ourselves into the current.
[122] Missing the landing place, there was great danger of our losing, not only our effects, but our lives as well.

We found the cluster of huts situated about one mile back from the river, and in the heart of the densest and most impassable upland tangle that I have ever seen. The trees
[137] were fifty feet high and less, and almost numerous enough to form a thick forest, while below them, the whole country was overgrown by a terrible jungle of bushes, briars and coarse grass. A small, circular space, like a gigantic nest, had been cleared in the center of this forbidding thicket, in which fifteen or twenty palm-branch huts clustered in the usual disorder.
[487] This wild man's lair was approached by a serpentine path just wide enough to allow men to pass in single file. The village was hidden away in this manner in order that its position might not be known to enemies, or that it might be very difficult to assault.

122 We were conducted at once to the great hut, where we
345 were entertained while in the village, and in one corner of which we suspended our hammocks and made ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. But we found this a hot, stuffy, ill-smelling *hotel*, and in addition, the mosquitoes were very numerous and industrious.

622 As soon as we were settled, we asked to see the chief man of the village, who appeared. He was six feet tall, well proportioned, intelligent and dignified, and the finest appearing Bororó I had seen. He seemed to have more real authority, too, than any Bororó captain I had met. The Bororó have
622 no tribal chief. Each village governs itself, independently,
624 having a few elderly men who are captains, in a way, by reason of seniority, in whom the chief authority is vested. But their powers, and the obedience rendered them, seem to be variable and uncertain. A strong character may arise from time to time, and by favoring circumstances, reach a position where he may command the entire obedience of his village. But ordinarily, the chief men do not appear to possess much real authority, individually. Of course, when they go

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy individuals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵘ, around 25 years old; 1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.
191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

> 1. The term võbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:

Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ārõre (Catepillar) clan
Ewåguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does the heavier and economically more valuable work has a position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier
462 or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them,
222 "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought by the women has greater importance because it is obtained with more regularity and in abundance. The women look for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the 'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/ and of the piquí, /Caryocar brasiliense/, etc."

462 The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians, hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the
[224] house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow; in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in
462 many she also helps in the construction of the house. But,
141 considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps, be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

[171] 3. In contrast let there be indicated the following tribes described by Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, Rondonia, 3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): "Tembés -- Male stature, in general, shorter than the female. Women tall and thin; men short and fat. Mundurucús -- They are muscular. Men shorter than the

/140 cont./

462
141

women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being
462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi-
482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads
[434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

462 It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians
22 the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat.
[241] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in
[171] the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

/468 cont./

000 existence after death. Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration.

●141 Anthropological.

Body height.

20 men: max. 191.2, min. 167.0, av. 173.6.
6 women: max. 168.2, min. 156.2, av. 160.5.

A striking difference from the height of the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians! The Bororó women correspond approximately to the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ men. The average of the 26 Bororó measured, of both sexes, comes to 170.6, which figure, however, is of no value considering the disproportion of 20 men and six women. According to the Topinard schema, the Bororó are tall people, since his lower limit is 170.0. In the table of average figures for men given by Topinard,* the Bororó would occupy third place

[113]

* Anthropologie. Translation by R. Neuhauss from the 3rd French edition. Second edition, p. 320. Leipzig, 1888.

among the ten tribes of tall stature; they would be exceeded by the Tehuelche of Patagonia (178.1) and the Polynesians (176.2) and correspond almost exactly to the Irokesen /Iroquois/ (173.5).

Breadth of outspread arms. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 113.2, min. 99.9, av. 104.7.
6 women: max. 102.4, min. 97.4, av. 100.3.

The minimum among the men -- 0.2 -- occurred in the case of the tallest Bororó measured, whose armspread was 191.0 with a body height of 191.2. In the case of two of the six women the breadth of the outspread arms was less than the body height: -- 0.2 with 156.2 in body height and -- 4.2 with 160.7 in body height.

Shoulder breadth. A. Body height = 100.

19 men: max. 25.0, min. 21.6, av. 23.9.
6 women: max. 22.6, min. 20.4, av. 21.8.

/468 cont./

141

B. Absolute

19 men: max. 45.3, min. 38.5, av. 41.6.

6 women: max. 38.0, min. 32.5, av. 34.6.

The maximum under B belongs to the tall son of Moguyokuri (Pl. 26), who had the tallest body height with 191.2 and the figure 23.7 for A. The next highest figure for absolute shoulder-breadth is 43.5 with a relative one of 23.6. If we compare the Kulisehu Indians, p. 140, the absolute average for the Bororó is 41.6, more than the largest average of 41.4 there for the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, and the relative average for the Bororó of 23.9 less than the smallest average of 24.1 there for the Nahuquá.

/469/

Chest circumference. A. Body height = 100.

19 men: max. 58.4, min. 52.4, av. 55.1.

6 women: max. 55.5, min. 47.9, av. 51.3.

B. Absolute

19 men: max. 100.8, min. 90.0, av. 95.4.

6 women: max. 93.3, min. 76.6, av. 82.5.

If we compare this measurement, too, as we did the preceding one, with the Kulisehu Indians, pages 140, 142, we again find the highest absolute average for the Bororó of 95.4 larger than the highest average for the Mehinakú with 95.1 and the lowest relative average for the Bororó of 55.1 the same as the lowest average there of 55.1 for the Nahuquá.

Head height. Body height = 100.

18 men: max. 19.4, min. 12.8, av. 14.6.

6 women: max. 16.1, min. 13.0, av. 14.5.

Two men have very high figures. If we calculate the average without the maximum of 19.4 (37.0 centimeters) and the next largest figure of 16.8 (31 centimeters), the 16 men have a smaller average by 0.4, namely, only 14.2, which is smaller than the average for the six women.

/469 cont. /

141 Head circumference. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 34.4, min. 31.1, av. 32.9.

6 women: max. 36.6, min. 31.6, av. 33.4.

The minimum of the men measured on the Schingú -- in the case of a Trumaí -- came to 32.4; cf. page 142. The average for the Bororó, 32.9, is lower than the lowest average of the series observed there, namely, 33.7 for the Kamayurá /Camayura/, and, to be sure, the difference of 0.8 is exactly the same as the difference between the lowest and the highest average of the Kulisehu tribes (Kamayurá 33.7, Auetö 34.5).

Length-breadth index of the head.

20 men: max. 85.6, min. 75.0, av. 80.8.

6 women: max. 79.8, min. 76.2, av. 77.7.

10 men below the average: 75.0, 76.4, 77.0, 77.6, 77.8, 79.4, 79.6, 80.2, 80.3, 80.3, and 10 men above the average: 80.9, 81.5, 81.8, 82.3, 82.5, 8[illegible].0, 84.4, 84.8, 85.5, 85.6.

3 women below the average: 7[illegible].2, 76.6, 77.6, and 3 women above the average: 77.9, 78.3, 79.8.

I have presented all the individual figures in order to show that the average figures in this case give a correct picture. Among the men, the difference between maximum and minimum is so great that one might have doubted it. The maximum for the women is lower than the average for the men and the difference between the sexes has an essentially different aspect than on the Kulisehu; cf. page 143. In the averages, the figures for the Bororó men are close to the highest on the Kulisehu and are exceeded only by the index of the Trumaí, 81.1.

Relation of head length to ear height. Maximum length of head = 100.

20 men: max. 75.4, min. 61.3, av. 67.9.

6 women: max. 69.4, min. 62.2, av. 66.2.

Jaw angle. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

19 men: max. 65.9, min. 51.7, av. 58.3.

6 women: max. 67.3, min. 52.4, av. 58.4.

/469 cont./

141 Zygomatic arch. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

19 men: max. 85.2, min. 72.8, av. 78.7.
6 women: max. 84.6, min. 70.3, av. 78.5.

Cheekbone protuberance. Edge of hair--chin = 100.

19 men: max. 57.6, min. 45.7, av. 49.0.
6 women: max. 49.1, min. 42.7, av. 46.6.

/470/

Middle face. Nasal root--chin = 100.

20 men: max. 69.4, min. 53.8, av. 60.9.
6 women: max. 68.0, min. 58.0, av. 62.3.

Nasal height. Nasal length = 100.

18 men: max. 112.5, min. 92.0, av. 100.1.
6 women: max. 111.6, min. 102.3, av. 106.8.

Nasal breadth. Nasal height = 100.

18 men: max. 108.9, min. 77.8, av. 89.1.
6 women: max. 95.1, min. 73.3, av. 85.3.

Shoulder height. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 89.9, min. 79.4. av. 84.2.
6 women: max. 85.3, min. 82.3, av. 83.9.

Navel height. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 63.0, min. 57.4, av. 59.5.
6 women: max. 63.0, min. 58.9, av. 60.4.

Symphysis height. Body height = 100.

19 men: max. 53.0, min. 47.1, av. 50.9.
6 women: max. 53.3, min. 47.4, av. 49.8.

Iliac-crest height. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 62.3, min. 55.8, av. 59.9.
4 women: max. 61.7, min. 58.1, av. 60.1.

Arm length. Body height = 100.

18 men: max. 52.5, min. 43.6, av. 46.5.
6 women: max. 46.2, min. 42.9, av. 44.5.

/470 cont./

141 Hand length. A. Absolute.

19 men: max. 19.2, min. 16.1, av. 17.8.
6 women: max. 17.4, min. 16.0, av. 16.6.

B. Body height = 100.

19 men: max. 11.1, min. 9.5, av. 10.4.
6 women: max. 11.3, min. 9.8, av. 10.4.

C. Arm length = 100.

20 men: max. 24.2, min. 19.3, av. 22.1.
6 women: max. 24.3, min. 21.7, av. 23.2.

Length-breadth index of hand. Hand length = 100.

18 men: max. 50.3, min. 41.6, av. 45.1.
5 women: max. 46.9, min. 41.2, av. 44.3.

Trochanter height. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 53.6, min. 48.4, av. 51.1.
6 women: max. 55.6, min. 49.4, av. 52.1.

Foot length. A. Absolute.

20 men: max. 28.3, min. 24.0, av. 26.6.
6 women: max. 25.5, min. 23.1, av. 24.0.

B. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 16.4, min. 14.1, av. 15.3.
6 women: max. 15.2, min. 14.6, av. 14.9.

Length-breadth index of foot. Foot length = 100.

20 men: max. 43.3, min. 30.8, av. 37.5.
6 women: max. 38.9, min. 36.1, av. 37.5.

Foot height. Trochanter height = 100.

17 men: max. 9.1, min. 7.1, av. 7.6.
5 women: max. 7.9, min. 6.8, av. 7.4.

142 The skin has a pronounced loam color, but all shades occurred, from light, yellowish (cheek) to dark, almost purplish (chest). In general the best match was Radde 33 m; forehead somewhat more reddish, even (the cheek likewise) ascertained at 33 n and 33 o.

/470 cont./

164 Some individuals showed a skin affection, which was most prominent in the case of Moguyokuri's wife. Here only the face, the hypogastrium from the navel downwards where the skin was covered, and the back of the foot were free; /471/ otherwise the epidermis was covered with scaly ridges in concentric coils, circles, ellipses, roughly comparable to the markings of polished agate.

142 Hair black and as often stiff and straight as wavy, less often -- in two of the 20 men -- curly. Beard hair, where not plucked, sparse on the chin and upper lip.

Head generally high, usually wide, often round. Ridge at the back of the head strongly developed. Forehead low, among the men more often sloping, among the women more often straight, only exceptionally high and arched, often covered with hair. Pronounced ridges, especially among the men, are a conspicuous characteristic. Face generally high and wide, seldom high and narrow, usually oval, seldom round, in exceptional cases square. Cheek bones prominent.

Iris dark coffee-brown, in exceptional cases light brown. Eyes far apart. Eyelid opening often slanting, but in the majority of cases horizontal, generally low, almond-shaped, in exceptional cases slit. Ear lobes small or very small, more than once joined on. Nose: root more often wide than narrow, more often depressed than projecting, bridge generally wide, usually straight or slightly arched, more than once even saddle-shaped, alae wide, occasionally roof-shaped, and among the men powerful, among the women delicate, tip moderately blunt, openings turned forward, round. Lips full, curved, protruding. Teeth, even, large, opaque, generally yellowish, but not infrequently white, often greatly and as much as half chewed down. Prognathism moderate; chin seldom receding.

Breasts of the women who have given birth, pendulous with large areola. Genitals of the men small. The praeputium was artificially lengthened by manipulations with the cuff.

141 Hands and feet relatively small; short index finger. Circumference of the thigh, measured on a man with a body height of 173.0, 50 centimeters; of the calves, 35 centimeters. Longest

/471 cont./.

141 toe: in the case of 17 men, II nine times, I seven times, I = II once; in the case of five women, II three times, I two times.

302 Dress. Eyelashes, eyebrows, beard hair, and body hair were plucked or shaved. The people are now beginning to leave the eyelashes of some children intact, which was a great advantage to them, according to our taste.

The head hair was treated in a very different manner, but equally arbitrarily by men and women alike. The tonsure which one would expect from the name "Coroados" is restricted to an occasional one of one centimeter in diameter. Perhaps the name comes from the large feather crowns. Widowers and widows wore their hair cut short. The most common and original style for both sexes was that the hair was combed to the forehead and cut off here straight across, but hung down freely in back; cf. Plate 26 /see p. 575/. Next to the ears occasionally another step was cut or a bunch tied together like a paint brush, sometimes the men's hair was twisted into a knot in back or /472/ a bast band was wound around the head. Women who proved amenable to Brazilian customs parted their hair in the center. One man or another also went about with loose, uncut hair parted in the
412 center. Nowadays the hair was generally cut with scissors, between two shells by the old method. The comb consisted of pointed little rods which were tapered at both ends and joined together in the middle section by crude plaiting; the plaiting lay between two cross-strips tied together at the projecting ends.

291 The men, almost without exception, wear a hip cord. One or another, however, went about without it. The cuff, inobá (no, oaussu palm; ba, eggs, scrotum), called gravata by the Brazilians, has already been discussed and illustrated on page 184 (with the festive flag). One can very easily make a model from a strip of paper three centimeters wide and 14 centimeters long, by putting the two ends together to form a ring and then twisting one end about 90° and folding it slightly under the other. If a new or somewhat tighter cuff was put on, the praeputium was tied with a string in front of the glans and drawn through; by this manipulation and the wearing of the cuff, it was considerably

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953 Bororo SP8
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians SL4

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It is curious that the Umotina series is metrically so different from Ehrenreich's São Lourenço Bororo. The former are considerably shorter-statured,[3] longer- and higher-headed, and absolutely and relatively narrower-faced. In these respects, the Umotina are much closer to the Carajá. Yet Oberg noted that the Umotina were lighter in skin color than the tribes north of the Planalto do Matogrosense, while Ehrenreich (1897, p. 79) considered the Carajá the darkest Indians he saw. Because of this and the following description by Oberg, I am hesitant to link the Umotina with people like the Carajá.

• Bo
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Oberg describes some of the Umotina as having flat Mongoloid faces combined with long heads. These long heads have prominent bun-shaped occiputs; narrow, sloping, pyramidal-shaped foreheads with no frontal bosses; and heavy brow-ridges. The position of glabella relative to nasion was higher than in the other groups he investigated. The upper integumental lip was long. Pronouncedly shovel-shaped incisors were not found. The Mongoloid fold of the eye was absent in some, pronounced in others (pls. 9, *a*, *d*; 10, *b*, *c*). Eye color was dark brown, but lacked the brightness noted in the Nambicuara and Caduveo (p. 85). Wavy hair was common, according to Oberg, but does not appear evident in the photographs (pls. 9, 10). Gray hair was observed only among the old women. Men past middle age showed a tendency for baldness, with recession of the hairline, and thinning of the frontal and temporal hair. Like the neighboring Guató, the old Umotina men had thin but not straggly beards. For this reason the Umotina have been long referred to as "Barbados" by neo-Brazilians.

These descriptions and the metric data suggest considerable physical variability within the Bororo group. Determination of the actual extent of this variability must await further studies.

SUMMARY

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While the Upper Xingú tribes under consideration and the Paressí may have had differing racial origins, the physical data collected over the past 50 years suggest that they now form a racial unit. Possibly the Iranxe could be added to this

[3] That the São Lourenço Bororo are not a selectedly tall series is suggested by Colbacchini's (1942, p. 142) higher mean stature of 173.0 cm. for an Eastern Bororo group.

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy individuals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵘ, around 25 years old; 1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.

191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

> 1. The term vóbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:
Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ārõre (Catepillar) clan
Ewåguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

Plate VII

142
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302

A

[301]

B

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C

D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

Plate X

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A

B

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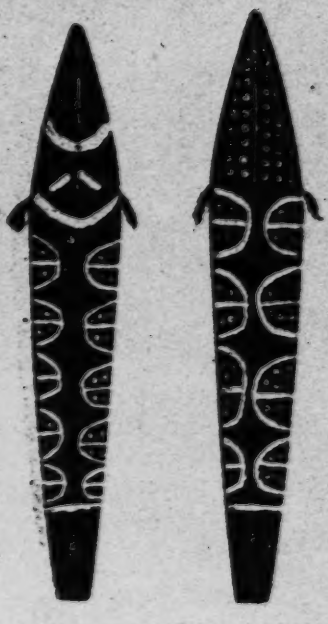
C



D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 31.—Bororo village of Kejara. *Top:* Men's club in foreground. *Bottom:* Women in native dress.
(Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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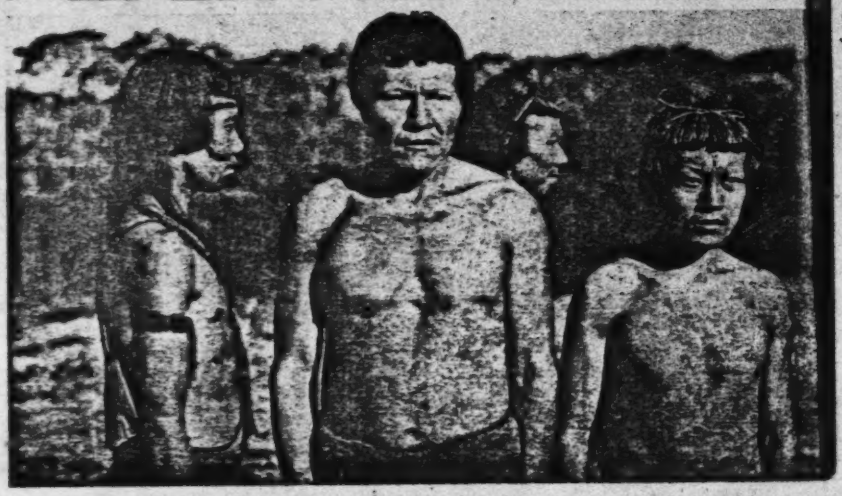

PLATE 90.—Bororo Indian types. *Top:* Man in festival dress, with feathers through nasal septum and ears and beads through lower lip. Village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Above:* São Lourenço men. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432 -H]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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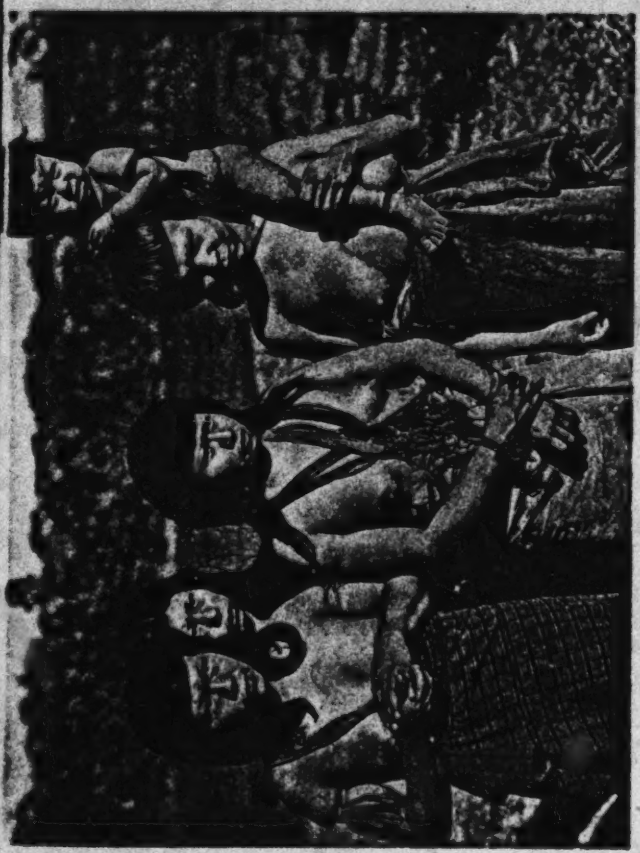

PLATE 81.—Bororo women, Mato Grosso. (Courtesy David M. Newell)

[P. 432 - I]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

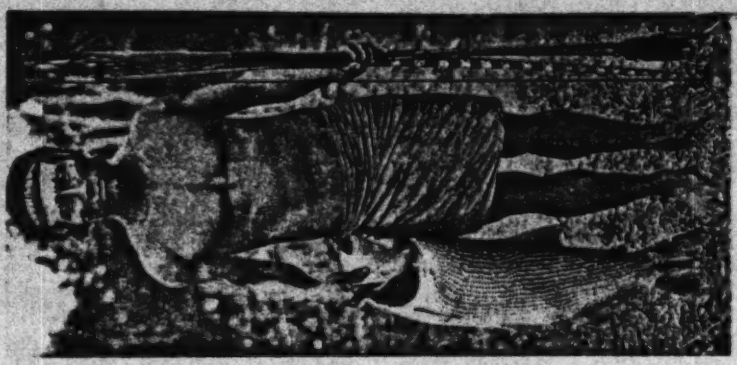

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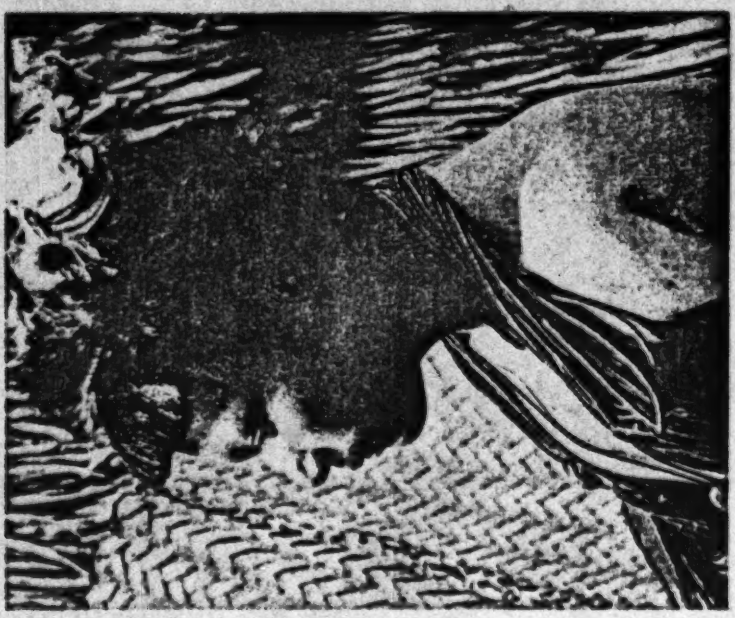
PLATE 26.—Bororo Indians. Left: Young man at Kaiera. (Courtesy Olinda Lévi-Strauss.) Right: Ba'ameri man. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)



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[P. 432-J]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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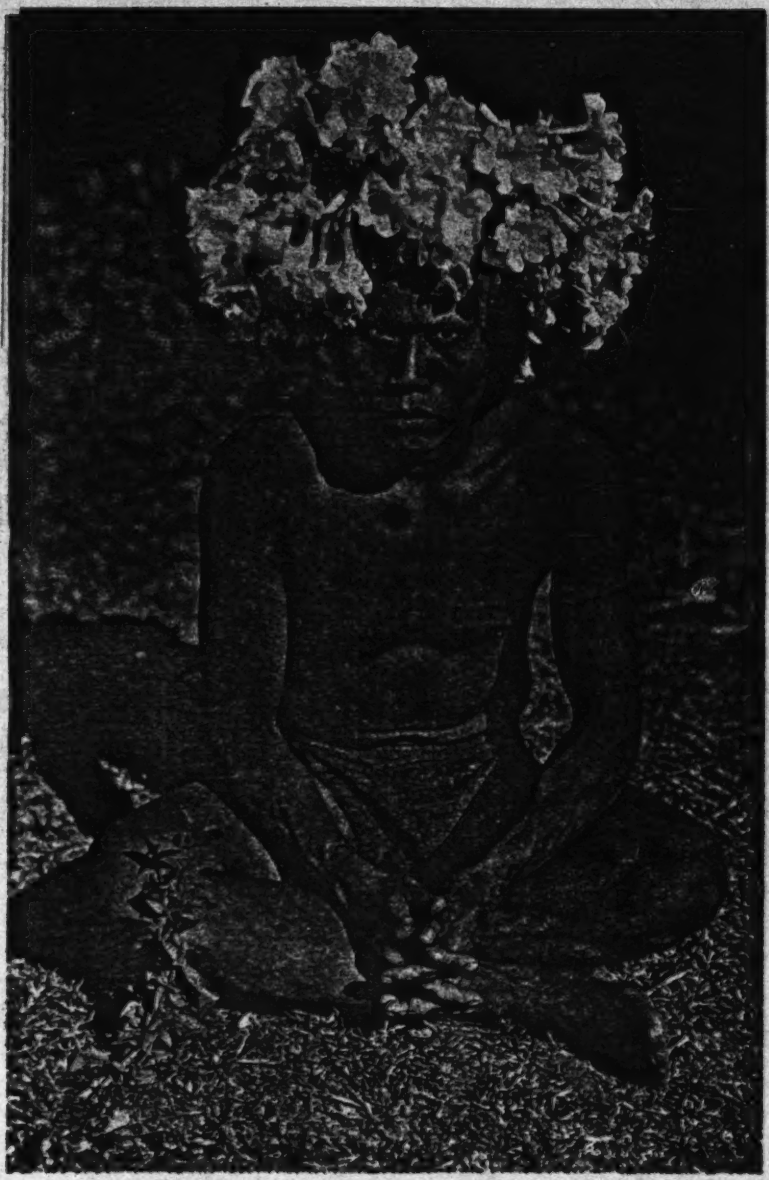

PLATE 52.—Bororo man. Sta Lourenço. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-K]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 94.—Portrait of young Bororo man. São Lourenço. (Courtesy David M. Newell.)

[P.432-L]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

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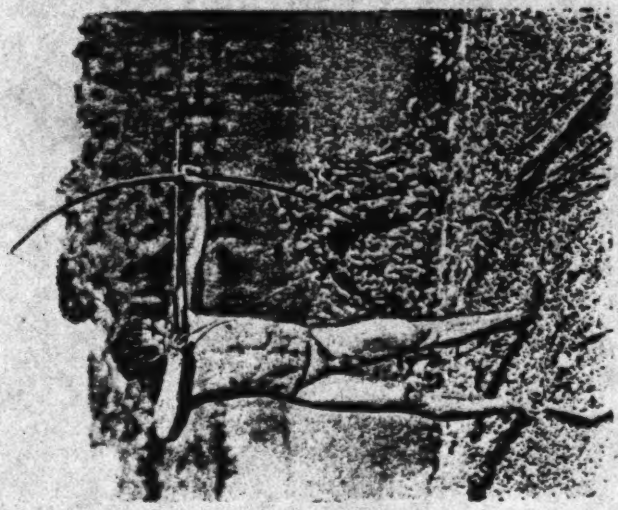

Figure 2. São Lourenço Bororo Drawing the Bow

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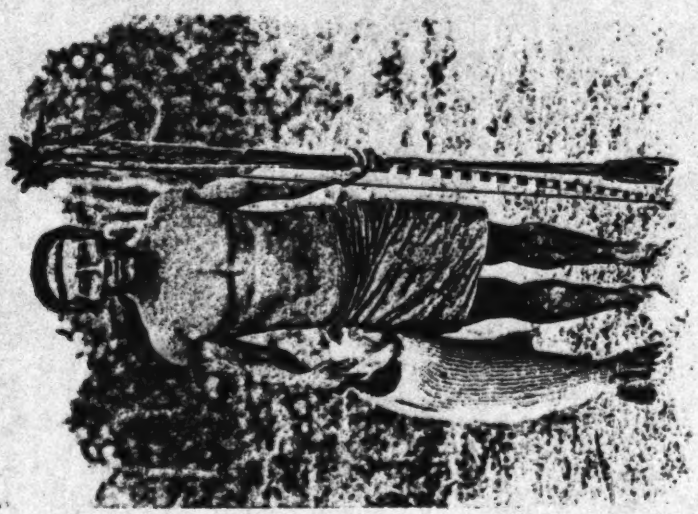

Figure 1. São Lourenço Bororo with Fish He Shot

[P.105] [Plate V]

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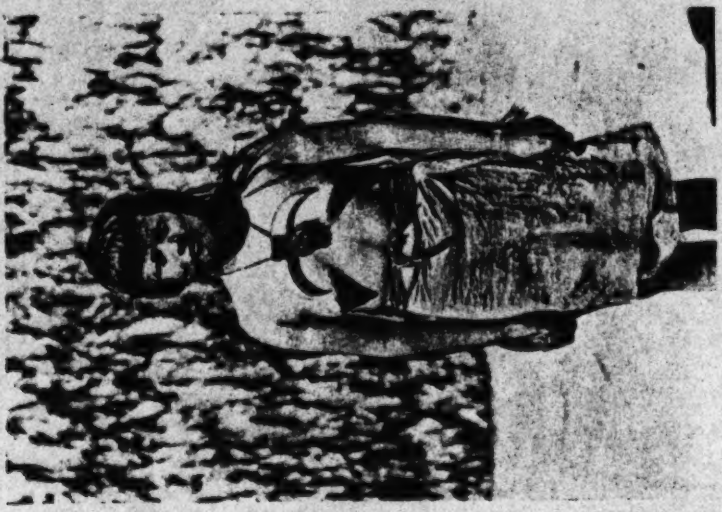

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO GIRL

FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO WITH FACIAL PAINTING

[P. 108]

[Plate VI]

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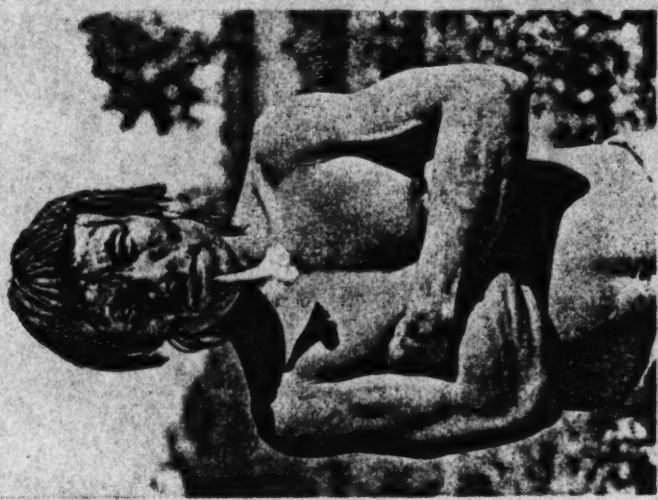

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS WITH A FLOWER LABRET

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FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS GIRL

[P. 111]

[Plate VII]

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

5: Baldus--46 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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9: Eastern Bororo: houses of Indians of Meruri

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10: Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Diretor /Director Priest/ in Meruri.

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937

SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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5: Baldus--48 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8 Eastern Bororo

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13. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu (Meruri)

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14. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu returning from hunting (Meruri)

5: Baldus--49 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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16. Eastern Bororo: old hunter (Meruri)

17. Eastern Bororo: lads in Meruri

S: Baldus--50 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

18. Eastern Bororo: mother admiring her son (Sangradouro)

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19. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde, one of the bravest hunters of ounces; Alaysa Aroia Chereudda, girl 17 years old, of lively and critical spirit, who knows how to read and write perfectly; and the son of the married couple (Sangradouro)

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20. Eastern Bororo: Alaysa Aroia Chereudda with her son (Sangradouro)

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21. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde with the metal earring of the clan of the Aroia in his ear lobe (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--52 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

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23. Eastern Bororo: A smile by Mario Bokodori Kudde (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--53 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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24: Eastern Bororo: Roberto Ipureu, my interpreter in Tori-paru, and a little boy from the same aldeia.

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Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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LARGE CATCH is smoked and dried on split-ended sticks set up close to fire.

[p.40-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

[p. 40-F]

After biting fish, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

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[776
787]

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WOMAN scrapes well in an acuri palm, above, after top has been chopped off. Sap seeps upward, and while it collects a leaf covers the cavity. When well is full, below, a woman draws off the sap by using a long reed tube as a pipette.

[142
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415]

[p. 41-B]

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768
516
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142

6:Kodak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPB Bororo SPB

ORNATE BOW, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

[p. 42-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

WOODEN FLUTES, ornamented with bird down and feathers, figure prominently in the ceremonies, as do whistles, and rattles and trumpets made from gourds.

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[p. 43-a]

6:Konfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

~~765~~
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142

Palm sap, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p. 45-B]

8:Konik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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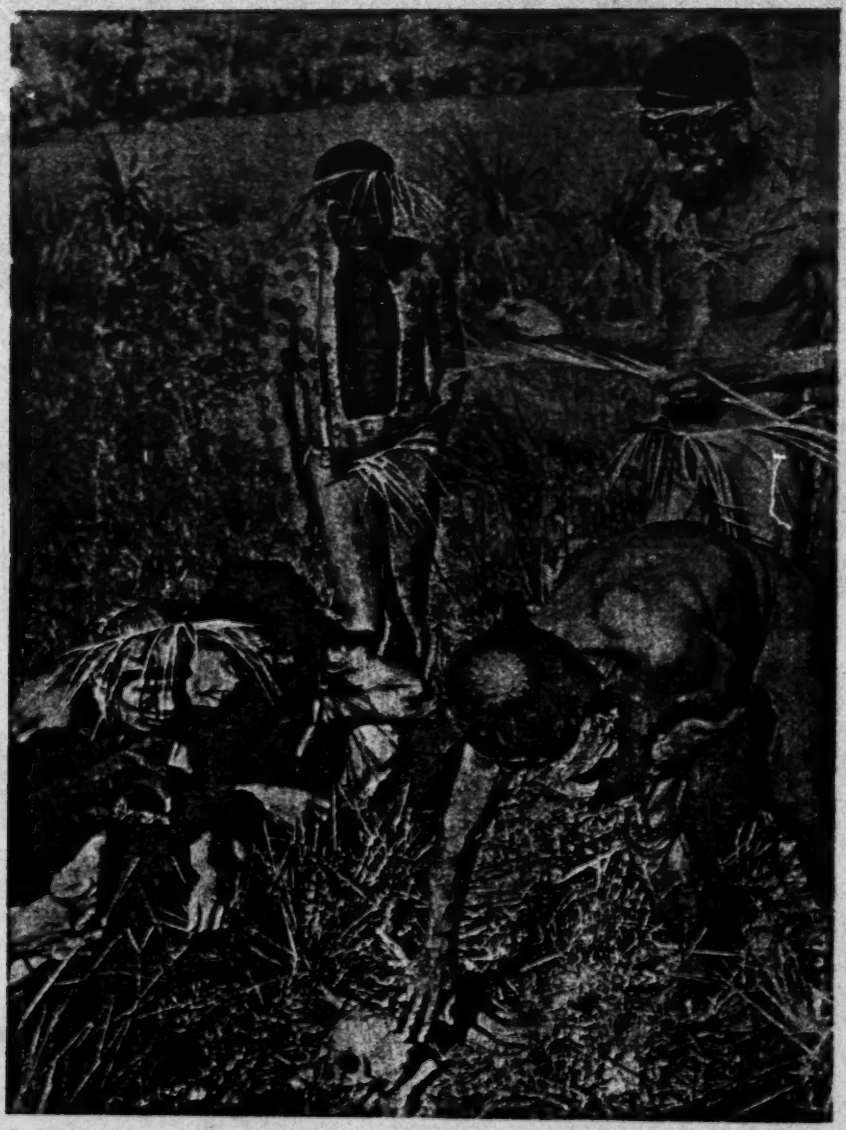

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

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6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Baroto SP8

During decorating, women gash their skin and allow blood to drip on skull.

Notice cuts on arm of woman at right, whose hair is cropped as mourning sign.

[p. 47-B]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow." 114

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity. 114 123 [276] [262] [685]

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents 302 [142] 302 593

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

Brazil.

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glistren in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "bangs." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

● 142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 177 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown children occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear
to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a
162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see
a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually
593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them,
586 especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes
dissatisfied with his *arêdo* and drives her from his hut, then
leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of
the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêdo* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêdo*, and *naragêdo*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêdo* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of
[674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less
147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a
484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a
482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the
462

2: Steinen--i E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Pl. I

142
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Bororó chief.

/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
199 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.
[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.
[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakaïrí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text Continues on P. 553]

/452 cont./

177 291 evening; several women, especially those who happened to be carrying on intimate relations with the gentlemen, were distinguished by shirts, jackets, and skirts in large floral prints, but the ones who were more or less clothed were only exceptions for both sexes. The men wore the hip cord and the straw cuff, the women a hip cord or a bark strip with bast band. Both sexes loved neck and chest ornaments. I shall discuss the details later. I gave Moguyokuri a choice piece that he heartily approved of: a brick-red Turkish, wide-sleeved woman's jacket embroidered with colorful arabesques, which had once been used in the Paint-Box masquerade at the Düsseldorf concert hall. In this elegant fancy-dress costume the ever happily smiling giant was a sight for the gods.

[123] →

[142] [302] ←

Fig. 126. Bororó girl.

"What shall we do?" complained Captain Serejo in the military colony. "When the large crowd embarked for Cuyabá, 430 suits were provided. Many more were added in Cuyabá. And when the Indians returned, there was nothing left of all that." First, because the merchants had furnished miserable trash, thin, badly woven material that they could not otherwise sell, then because the clothes were too tight and too short, the shirts did not even come together over the broad chests and the unmentionables ripped, but, finally, because the Bororó treated the gifts of civilization with terrible negligence. As soon as they felt inconvenienced, they would toss off the clothing; as soon as they needed a bag, for example, to carry away meat or fish, they would use their blankets and shirts. They wrapped their grease-smeared bodies

/454 cont./ Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his
578 tent-mate who was also taking part had her breast scratched, forced the
[629] great chief /455/ Moguyokuri in; with tremendous calm the latter stepped into the noisy crowd and suddenly it was quiet. There was not a sound; his mighty arm shoved aside the three most dangerous women at once. Maria had definitely lost; she did not say a word and stood scowling, arms crossed, her bosom heaving violently, while a friend on her side smoothed her tousled hair. More disgruntled ones tried to unleash the storm once again, but the laughter of Corona won out;

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Fig. 127. Bororó woman.

578 they dispersed, and the shrill old woman, at a triumphant trot, was led off by three women.

517 Shaking our heads, we turned our steps homeward toward our shack, but there, too, we were driven back by an infernal noise. The soldiers were dancing and singing in the moonlight with their mulattoes and Indian women; they were making music with harmonica, with fork and plate -- carnival everywhere!

[526] I went back to the men's house; two men were practicing wrestling. They grasped each other under the arms, bending far forward, and remained in this position for a long time, until one of them suddenly tried one leg, or rather his heel, to press in the knee-hollow of the other one and knock him over, but he was lifted up and lost,

/462 cont./

115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
[123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
[145] important elements of the language; they were extremely wide awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/, and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of
[193] the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
115 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent. He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there immediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

2: Steinen--575ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairí
Bororo SP8

Plate XXVI

142
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Bororó.

/470 cont./

141 Hand length. A. Absolute.

19 men: max. 19.2, min. 16.1, av. 17.8.
6 women: max. 17.4, min. 16.0, av. 16.6.

B. Body height = 100.

19 men: max. 11.1, min. 9.5, av. 10.4.
6 women: max. 11.3, min. 9.8, av. 10.4.

C. Arm length = 100.

20 men: max. 24.2, min. 19.3, av. 22.1.
6 women: max. 24.3, min. 21.7, av. 23.2.

Length-breadth index of hand. Hand length = 100.

18 men: max. 50.3, min. 41.6, av. 45.1.
5 women: max. 46.9, min. 41.2, av. 44.3.

Trochanter height. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 53.6, min. 48.4, av. 51.1.
6 women: max. 55.6, min. 49.4, av. 52.1.

Foot length. A. Absolute.

20 men: max. 28.3, min. 24.0, av. 26.6.
6 women: max. 25.5, min. 23.1, av. 24.0.

B. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 16.4, min. 14.1, av. 15.3.
6 women: max. 15.2, min. 14.6, av. 14.9.

Length-breadth index of foot. Foot length = 100.

20 men: max. 43.3, min. 30.8, av. 37.5.
6 women: max. 38.9, min. 36.1, av. 37.5.

Foot height. Trochanter height = 100.

17 men: max. 9.1, min. 7.1, av. 7.6.
5 women: max. 7.9, min. 6.8, av. 7.4.

142 The skin has a pronounced loam color, but all shades occurred, from light, yellowish (cheek) to dark, almost purplish (chest). In general the best match was Radde 33 m; forehead somewhat more reddish, even (the cheek likewise) ascertained at 33 n and 33 o.

/470 cont./

164 Some individuals showed a skin affection, which was most prominent in the case of Moguyokuri's wife. Here only the face, the hypogastrium from the navel downwards where the skin was covered, and the back of the foot were free; /471/ otherwise the epidermis was covered with scaly ridges in concentric coils, circles, ellipses, roughly comparable to the markings of polished agate.

142 Hair black and as often stiff and straight as wavy, less often -- in two of the 20 men -- curly. Beard hair, where not plucked, sparse on the chin and upper lip.

Head generally high, usually wide, often round. Ridge at the back of the head strongly developed. Forehead low, among the men more often sloping, among the women more often straight, only exceptionally high and arched, often covered with hair. Pronounced ridges, especially among the men, are a conspicuous characteristic. Face generally high and wide, seldom high and narrow, usually oval, seldom round, in exceptional cases square. Cheek bones prominent.

Iris dark coffee-brown, in exceptional cases light brown. Eyes far apart. Eyelid opening often slanting, but in the majority of cases horizontal, generally low, almond-shaped, in exceptional cases slit. Ear lobes small or very small, more than once joined on. Nose: root more often wide than narrow, more often depressed than projecting, bridge generally wide, usually straight or slightly arched, more than once even saddle-shaped, alae wide, occasionally roof-shaped, and among the men powerful, among the women delicate, tip moderately blunt, openings turned forward, round. Lips full, curved, protruding. Teeth, even, large, opaque, generally yellowish, but not infrequently white, often greatly and as much as half chewed down. Prognathism moderate; chin seldom receding.

Breasts of the women who have given birth, pendulous with large areola. Genitals of the men small. The praeputium was artificially lengthened by manipulations with the cuff.

141 Hands and feet relatively small; short index finger. Circumference of the thigh, measured on a man with a body height of 173.0, 50 centimeters; of the calves, 35 centimeters. Longest

2: Steinen--588 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Pl. XXVII

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Bororó with feathers pasted on.

2: Steinen--589 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

●142
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Fig. 129. Mother and daughter. Bororó.

2: Steinen--600 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Plate XXVIII

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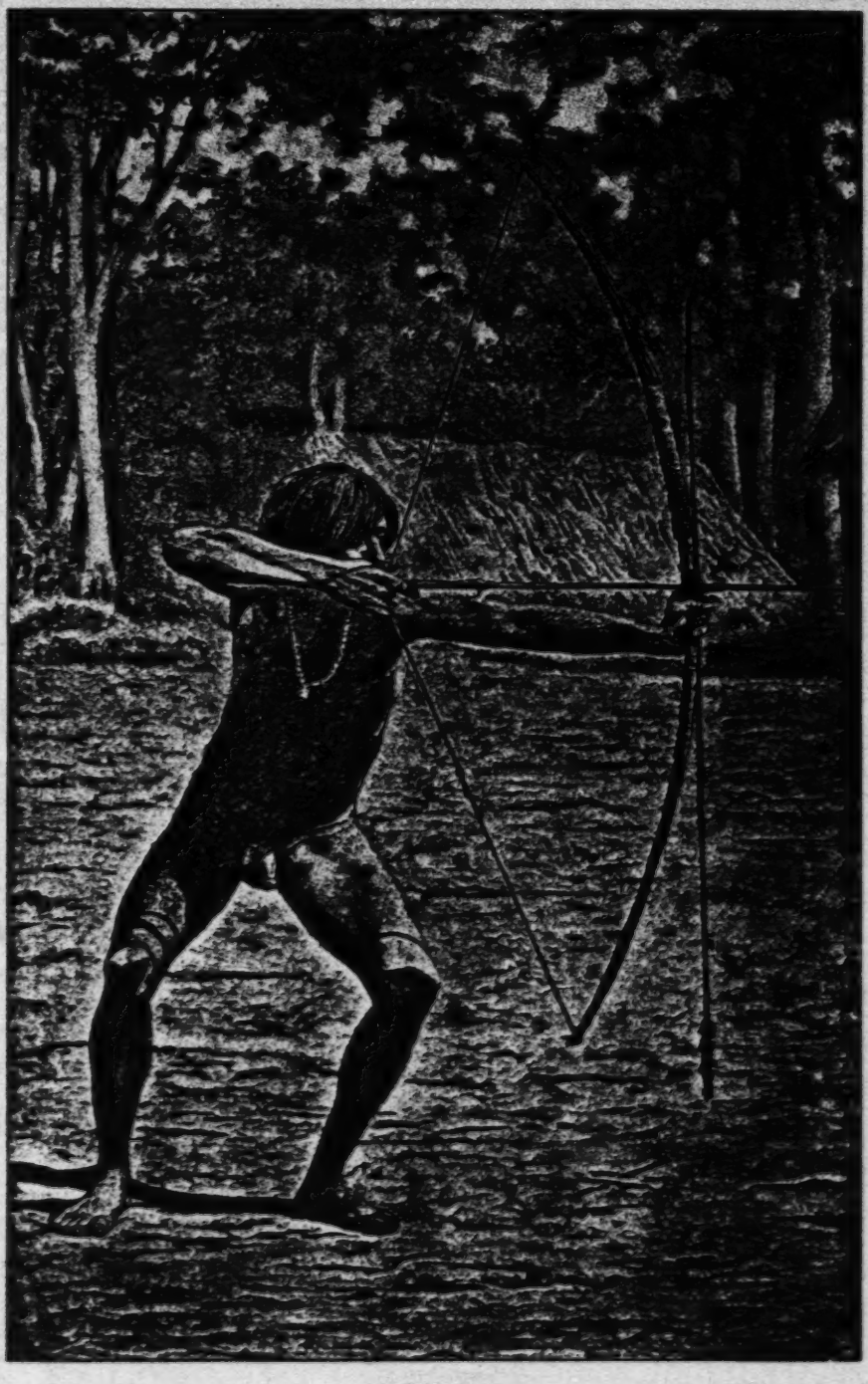

Bororó shooting.

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

285 [765] → [142] 301 [302] ←

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorió, are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraterni-
[101] dade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type
●142 kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*mukímo*) was built on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
621 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishípá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made from woven cotton. Like the men, the women
304 had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953 Bororo SP8
SP17 Nambicuara
Br Brazilian Indians SL4
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It is curious that the Umotina series is metrically so different from Ehrenreich's São Lourenço Bororo. The former are considerably shorter-statured,[3] longer- and higher-headed, and absolutely and relatively narrower-faced. In these respects, the Umotina are much closer to the Carajá. Yet Oberg noted that the Umotina were lighter in skin color than the tribes north of the Planalto do Matogrosense, while Ehrenreich (1897, p. 79) considered the Carajá the darkest Indians he saw. Because of this and the following description by Oberg, I am hesitant to link the Umotina with people like the Carajá.

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Oberg describes some of the Umotina as having flat Mongoloid faces combined with long heads. These long heads have prominent bun-shaped occiputa; narrow, sloping, pyramidal-shaped foreheads with no frontal bosses; and heavy brow-ridges. The position of glabella relative to nasion was higher than in the other groups he investigated. The upper integumental lip was long. Pronouncedly shovel-shaped incisors were not found. The Mongoloid fold of the eye was absent in some, pronounced in others (pls. 9, *a*, *d*; 10, *b*, *c*). Eye color was dark brown, but lacked the brightness noted in the Nambicuara and Caduveo (p. 85). Wavy hair was common, according to Oberg, but does not appear evident in the photographs (pls. 9, 10). Gray hair was observed only among the old women. Men past middle age showed a tendency for baldness, with recession of the hairline, and thinning of the frontal and temporal hair. Like the neighboring Guató, the old Umotina men had thin but not straggly beards. For this reason the Umotina have been long referred to as "Barbados" by neo-Brazilians.

These descriptions and the metric data suggest considerable physical variability within the Bororo group. Determination of the actual extent of this variability must await further studies.

SUMMARY

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While the Upper Xingú tribes under consideration and the Paressí may have had differing racial origins, the physical data collected over the past 50 years suggest that they now form a racial unit. Possibly the Iranxe could be added to this

[3] That the São Lourenço Bororo are not a selectedly tall series is suggested by Colbacchini's (1942, p. 142) higher mean stature of 175.6 cm. for an Eastern Bororo group.

[p. 134 (A)]

Br 141 144 unit, if there were more information concerning them. Largely because Ehrenreich (p. 132) considered the Trumai a people apart, I have hesitated to include them with their Upper Xingú neighbors. The racial unit proposed here seems to fit best as part of Von Eickstedt's Brazilide or Imbelloni's Amazónido groups. It is characterized by short stature and, in the Upper Xingú Basin at least, by an unusually heavy thorax and very muscular upper arms in contrast to less well-developed legs (Ehrenreich, 1897, p. 100). Head form verges on brachycephaly, and vault heights appear rather low for American Indians. Rather narrow faces predominate, and the nose seems medium-narrow, with a straight or convex bridge. Information on unexposed skin color is not available, but chances are that the Upper Xingú Basin people are rather lightly pigmented. Hair form is straight to low waved, with some curly hair, particularly among the Bacairí (Ehrenreich, 1897, p. 81). Bacairí men, however, are said to sometimes use wooden hair curlers (Lévi-Strauss, 1948, p. 327). Face and body hair are said to be sparse (p. 15).

N 142 144 The Nambicuara stand apart from the Upper Xingú Basin people in being longer-headed and possibly higher-vaulted, shorter-faced, and narrower-nosed. They are also perceptibly darker in skin color. There is a good chance that the Nambicuara represent a remnant of an old South American racial strain, possibly linking with Lagoa Santa.

Bo 142 144 In their greater stature and more rugged bodies and faces, the Umotina, along with other Bororo subtribes, are strikingly different from the more gracile Upper Xingú tribes and the Nambicuara. The Umotina are metrically much closer to the Carajá of the Araguaia River than they are to the São Lourenço Bororo. If the Umotina measurements are no more than slightly influenced by neo-Brazilian admixture, a greater physical variability exists among the Bororo than hitherto has been recognized. Whether the concept of the Pámpido race is sufficiently elastic to include the Umotina is a question best decided by Imbelloni and his coworkers.

Br 144 Viewed from a geographic standpoint (see map 3), the physical anthropology of the Upper Xingú Basin tribes, the Nambicuara and the Bororo fall into an understandable pattern. The

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

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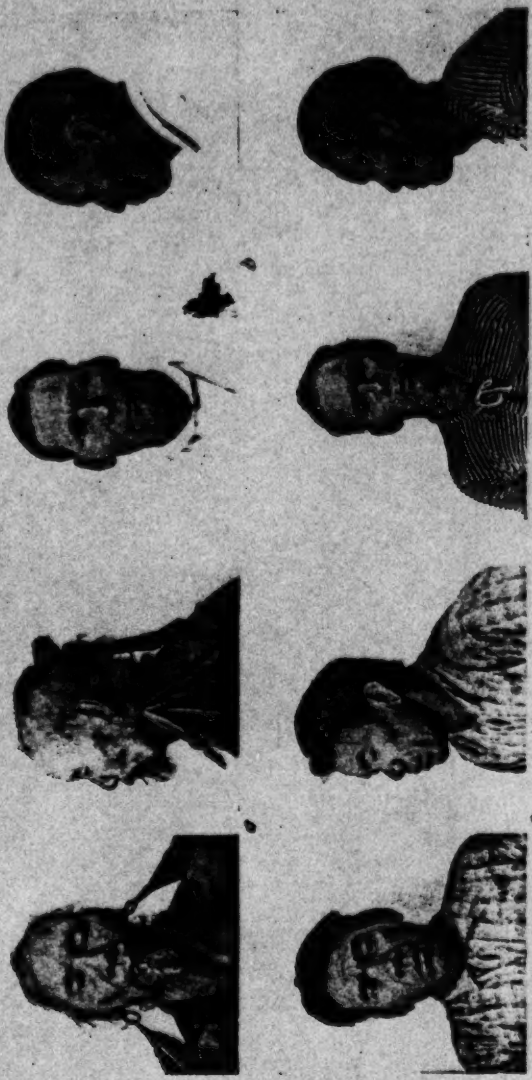

PLATE 6. Pierced teeth of Brazilian men.

[301]

[p. 136 (L)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo Sp8

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[p. 136 (M)]

[pp. 136 (N) + 136 (O) are blank]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 Bororo Sp8
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4

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/462 cont./

115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
[123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
[145] important elements of the language; they were extremely wide
awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/,
and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our
civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased
with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write
things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of
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in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
115 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent.
He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression
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bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the
moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazil.

226 526 147 These men display amazing strength in the water. They have almost lived in the water from babyhood, and have learned the secret of just how to bring into play nearly every ounce of their great strength. An ordinary swimmer wastes the greater part of his strength in the water because he has not acquired the secret of how to apply it. A Bororó will roll over on his back, seize an object with both hands, and pull almost like a tug-boat.

226 When fish become scarce, part of the men of the village, taking their sack-nets, form a cordon across the river, then bellowing, screaming and diving, treading the water and making a great commotion, drive the scattered fish down the river, much as cowboys round up cattle; while the remaining men, with their sack-nets, form a line across the river two or three miles below to complete the round-up. Thus they corner and bag the fish.

[411] [229] Another method of fishing employed by the Bororó, is with a harpoon. The point, including the one or two barbs, is of bone, and detaches from the staff, which is eighteen inches in length. Fifty or one hundred yards of strong line is wound around the point part and one end secured to the detachable staff. Armed with this weapon, the fisherman dives very quietly to the bottom of the river at a spot which he knows to be the lurking place of a *jahú*, for instance, a fish that grows as large as a man. Espying one as it rests in the shadow of some rock, he approaches it with great stealth, lying, perhaps, motionless in the water and allowing the current to float him gently within reach of his prey. Then, suddenly, he plunges the harpoon into it, and retaining the staff in his hand, he rises quickly to the surface, lands, plays his game, and finally brings it ashore. This method of fishing is practiced when the water becomes less charged with earth.

[411] [229] Still another method of catching fish is with the bow and the large harpoon arrow with the line attached. Thus armed, the fisherman awaits his game at some shallow place, or where the fish pass near the surface of the water; or at a spot where they approach the edge of the river to feed upon certain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, 586 especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêdo*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called sting-ray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the [824] colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in [251] carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

487

* In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [147] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians ĩka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[147] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

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fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches 226
of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men.

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon- [411]
pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes [227]
near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them.

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the [103]
river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie [136]
called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the [511]
natives are contented and grow fleshy.

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They [501]
have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them.

One of the most striking traits of character of these chil- 151
dren of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) 825
is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita-

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[15] tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the
825 insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing
[824] them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men
[825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the saüba ants.

Early in the day, all the men of the village went up the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or
[501] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high,
[824] brought the material down the river on rude floats made of
616 bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Sheraidi* and the *Ta Nagarĕda*.

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommeled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 But primitive men must do things decently and in order
616 as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

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533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
[825] evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
[534] charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets
[103] of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
[114] at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the *bakororó* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sangerfest*.

[535] Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

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like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the 533
notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, 825
growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its 151
bakororó, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures.

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting 533
expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages [224]
intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* [574]
is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune.

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the 532
savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space 224
of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, 825
especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals.

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these prim- 000
itive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state.

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with The men fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at [824] home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

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/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuiawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the <u>ika</u>: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his representative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

All the important cultural components which have been seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments, songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and a new name. But there are some differences and many important additions. This time a relationship is established with a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of the larger human society, not just of his own family. Furthermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo distinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should
not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of
this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation
of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already
found out "that any look or smile between persons of different
sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral."
Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom
and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
562 (Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c.,
p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner:
"When the contention within the hut reached the culminating
point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running
out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one.
Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three
women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One
of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to
meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce
fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center
of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned
in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass
/148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing,
the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure,
the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries
held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the
hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
711 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines
of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the
front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and
try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In
the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire
these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with
their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing
it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in
silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would
try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
but also when their children do some harm to one another or
578 when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
521 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to
be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing
• 152 this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend,
gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the
/149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and
slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the
world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive;
and easily become irritated when someone finds something
to say about them themselves.

Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
586 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
178 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not
593 going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian,
and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman."
As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide.
It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would
happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the
other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives
liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
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[152]
[304]

dren. The mourners, especially the women, wail loudly and further express their grief by cutting themselves so deeply with sharpened mussel shells that their blood runs onto the mat that covers the corpse.

At sundown the body is wrapped in the sleeping mat. If the deceased is a man, his bow and arrows are wrapped with him, and the bundle is taken out to the plaza. All the villagers gather

[p. 40-E]

[text continues on p. 41-A]

Mr. Kolak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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All the villagers gather

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round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152] [364] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 326 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

relative of the deceased, who shoulders the basket and carries it to the men's house. As she sits outside the house, holding the basket in her lap, the other female kin of the deceased once more gash their arms and breasts, and allow their blood to run onto the basket. The men once again shake their gourd rattles and sing the songs and lamentations they intoned at the time of death. 765 [602] [304] [152] [533]

MEANWHILE, several men begin to decorate the skull, which is placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it. 765 531

The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[p. 46-C]
[text continues on p. 48-A]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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CHAPTER XXXII.

LIFE AMONG THE BORORÓ.—EYED CONSTANTLY BY A HORDE OF NUDE SAVAGES.—ASTONISHING MAKE-UPS.—PRIMITIVE HOUSEKEEPING AND SANITATION.—HORTICULTURE.—FOODS.—VEGETABLE COWS.—A WONDERFUL PALM.

361 [133] AFTER nearly two months of horseback riding and camping, we arrived at the confluence of the river Pogúbu, or Ponte de Pedra, and the Rio Vermelho, which is about forty miles north of the junction of the former river with the [103] São Laurenço. Here, we found a large Bororó village, called the Tá Dáre Máno Páro—potato bank—where we remained [122] several weeks, camping in a stake-walled, palm-branch roofed hut that had been erected a quarter of a mile from the Indian village by my companion. We had to cross the river Pogúbu, which we did in a small, dugout canoe made by Senhor Antonio, and swam our horses over. It is about two hundred [133] yards wide at this point, deep, and has a strong current. A heavy rain storm broke just as we were within a few hundred yards of our destination, so we rushed our entire cavalcade right into the big, open hut.

[123] [52] When our arrival became known at the primitive metropolis, and it was known instantly, our hut began to fill with our nude and painted fellow beings of all ages and both sexes, who came to observe us and to examine all the marvelous things that we had brought from our wonderful, and to them, enchanted world. They flocked in upon us regularly at dawn

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each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [857]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and dis- [516]
tortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

437 signs than by words. "*Caiba?*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Boi*, sick; *Boi*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of [281] the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day, [532] some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for [126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

• 152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with super-
000 stitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

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its obscure heart an exact image of anything it winks at, must be some wicked device of the *bopi*—demons. The savage believes that any one having his picture may practice some black art over it and bring evil upon the original: that, as one may do what he wishes with the image, he likewise has power over the real man. Moreover, if one is such a powerful conjurer that he can secure that image, What may he not do with the original? I had to bribe them with valuable gifts in order to secure a number of pictures.

The Bororó, like other South American tribes, dwell in gloomy palm-branch huts that resemble squatty, old hay-stacks huddled together in complete disorder in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees of the upland jungle. They are constructed by first planting two posts in the ground twenty or thirty feet apart, ten feet high, and terminating in a fork, to support the ridge pole, which is held in position by means of creepers from the forest, instead of nails. Against the ridge pole, are reclined and bound, the rafters, the feet of which are sunk slightly in the ground and the upper ends are bound to the ridge pole. Bamboo poles are next bound horizontally to these rafters, while upright stakes are set in at the gables; and finally, to the entire frame-work, are bound huge, feather-shaped palm-branches, to shed the rain, and exclude the light because of the flies. The primitive residence is now complete. The only light that enters is what filters through the palm-branches. To enter, one pushes aside the palm-branches at one end and enters in a stooping position.

These strange, uncouth dens of savagery, are dark, unclean, and ill-smelling, and so devoid of every object considered absolutely essential to a civilized human abode, that it is difficult to comprehend that they are the dwellings of true human beings—the homes of multitudes of real men, women and children; where they are born, reared and pass their days, and the only abodes they have ever known. Entering one of these human lairs, we find it more or less strewn with decaying food refuse, such as bones and other rejected parts of fish, mammals, birds and reptiles; shells, stones and peelings

/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
199 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.
[152] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.
[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakairí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text Continues on P. 553]

/465 cont./

000 Their hatred toward the administrator increased to a small uprising when one of their comrades was locked up because of his calumny to the effect that he had made propositions to his housemate and promised her a new dress from his supply room. They wanted to make an assault upon the jail and shoot Ildefonso, "this family man." They were calmed after it was pointed out that Duarte was arriving soon and would settle the dispute. Ildefonso, however, was very excited. He had only said good day to the girl. In former times, he would not deny it, he had permitted himself such things, but now "a woman was only an ideal" for him, he said.

Duarte's arrival. On 11 April toward noon, loud cries and great excitement: "dyuáte, dyuáte!" They emerged from the woods -- no operetta could offer anything handsomer. Fourteen [177] Bororó, one behind the other, barefoot, in snow-white sailor suits trimmed with red braid, in wide-brimmed, bright straw hats, from under which the long black hair flowed out in waves, with thick red tufted tassels and fluttering red bows, on which was written "Colonia Thereza Christina." Swords with decorated belts and hilts, large round whiskey bottles, here and there an open sunshade. And behind them Duarte on horseback and three chiefs mounted on mules, in marine-blue uniforms, with red galloons as wide as a hand, which contrasted sharply with the bare feet, guns in their hands, and on their sleeves gleaming brass shields with the inscription "Voluntarios da patria." Long live Donna Carmina, Madame President! For this is the catechesis of the Excellentissima Senhora! The sturdy fellows looked splendid enough as they came striding along in the sunshine and marched straight up to the main building; fixedly they stared straight ahead with terribly grave mien, really "fixedly," for they did not even cast a sidelong glance at the loudly howling women and children, who seemed mad with joy.

177 Even in the dining room they maintained their solemn com-
152 posure. Like strangers they sat on the benches around the table and along the wall, a sharp contrast to their /466/ boisterous naked fellow-tribesmen. Four women in particular were lamenting

/466 cont./ Four women in particular were lamenting
177 pitifully, their faces bathed in tears, and reported on the events
152 since the parting; the most excited one cut the skin on her breast,
785 arms, and legs and, in wild distress, with her wet, loam-yellow body streaming with blood, writhed before her husband sitting stiffly on the bench in his theatrical costume.

The commander of the colony was followed, on 12 April, by two huge carts loaded with goods, each of which was drawn by a dozen oxen. For the soldiers a change took place when, in the evening orders, it was announced that the sale of alcoholic spirits was to be suspended from now on in view of the fact that many had been intoxicated when the Lieutenant arrived.

After such business was finished, Duarte was given a proper welcome by his subjects on the following day. First at breakfast with good port wine. To be sure, two cadets drank from one glass, but there was no shortage of the stuff. Duarte himself was very moderate out of consideration for his liver. The wine was followed by a collection of bottles of light export beer, the labels of which reminded us of home: the brewery was in Hannover. Six toasts were drunk to Duarte, as a Paraguayan soldier, as a family man, etc.; again and again he was offered a wealth of eulogies, to all of which he responded with a friendly "obrigado," "thank you very much."

This session, however, was merely a prelude to the "serenade" in the evening: Caldas violin, Duarte guitar, Ildefonso coxó fiddle. It turned into a fine, jolly evening, and it filled us with the greatest respect for Brazilian drinking ability; I would never have believed that there could be such hearty guzzling in the sertão. Two good-sized cases of beer were emptied to the last drop before the liquor came. But even more endless was the stream of talk. I dedicated my toast to the originator of the Bororó catechesis, President Galdino Pimentel, who is not to blame if wrong methods were subsequently adopted, and in this way I avoided the dilemma of lying or offending needlessly. Duarte thereupon also spoke and rather well. He was dissatisfied with the government; the "governo ingrato" was blamed for whatever prevented conditions from being perfect. It was also unfair that

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
372 the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because
[177] the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/508 cont./

765 Meanwhile Coqueiro also arrived, holding a child by the
[152] hand. He sat down quietly to one side, sobbed and wept. He wore no ornament, except the black cord around his waist, which he had spun and plaited out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he squeezed his eyes shut as though weeping were painful.

Gradually the vault of the skull was covered with red arara velvet. If a person had to wipe off his hands, he used the basket. Some of those present soon no longer paid any attention to the celebration. The children were running about gaily, a few men were munching on ears of maize and working, a couple of women were delousing each other, but kept on singing devoutly. It also became emptier.

One eventually became drowsy from all the whirring and booming tones. A drummer joined in, a pelt of small parrot feathers pasted on his arms. The room filled up again. Seven
765 women stepped up to the old bone-basket, scratched themselves,
785 and placed their feet on it so that their blood soaked the straw too. Cf. Plate 29 /see p. 633/. The wounds were two to three centimeters apart, a red network covered legs and arms, chests and abdomens. Their facial expression remained calm and showed no pain; the scratching was done with extremely quick movements. They all wrapped their sliver of glass in a leaf, handed
[562] it to Coqueiro, and sat down beside him. New groups came to scratch themselves, always only women and girls, and did what the preceding ones had done; each one, before she made a scratch, put the sliver to her mouth and moistened it. Booming and droning, two flutes joined the music of the rattling gourds, the drum, the singing and stamping. The singers danced with incredible endurance. Coqueiro also squatted down beside the basket and scratched his arms, while a woman stood beside him with her child on her back.

765 Toward noon the skull and the basket were finished. In the case of the former, the red velvet cap was interrupted by a pretty yellow cross-line, corresponding to the cranial suture. Snowy white feathers were glued on the new basket, and on either side, in the white area, two rows of red squares, like

/514 cont./

821 great excitement, were puffing in all directions toward the sky,
789 squirting a little saliva from their lips, much as the Kulisehu Indians had driven away the thunder clouds. They were trembling and tottering so that one feared they would fall to the ground in a faint. Then they turned toward the place where the meteor had [276] appeared, screamed vué! vué! with a threatening, terrified voice, pressing the hollow of the right hand to the mouth, stretched the left arm toward heaven, and each held up a bundle of span-long maize cigarettes. "Here, look at this," they seemed to say, "all /515/ this tobacco we are spending to drive away the evil. Woe to you, if you do not leave us in peace!"

[152] A strange mixture of fear and courage, the latter, unfortunately, being tinged with something just as artificial as on the occasion of the exorcism of the Kayapó danger. The trembling increased, their entire bodies vibrated, their bent-back heads wobbled, they touched themselves with twitching movements and passed their hands over their chests and stomachs in order to force away everything evil.

[276] After this spectacle had gone on for a while, their cigar bundles were taken out of their hands and lighted at the fire while the excited doctors, whimpering and shuddering, caught their breath for a moment. Half a dozen men got up, took a few puffs for comfort and strength, and gave the cigars to the baris, who resumed their cure. They puffed at the whole bundle, howled even more shrilly and reproachfully toward heaven than before, stroked their bodies even more assiduously, scratched their heads vigorously, puffed at their bundle once more, sucked convulsively at their forearms as though they were drawing the blood up from the depths, cried vué vuáu vuáu ever louder, shook themselves and blew toward the stars; their joints shook, their muscles flew.

[755] Finally, they suddenly began to look searchingly about them in the throng, talked to those standing nearest them, pointed into the crowd, and joined the main group where they undertook a brief cure of a weak old man, the chief Domingo, and several of the most esteemed who alone could be involved in such a special case. They lifted up their heads, looked at them

B /201 cont./
*171 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
174 and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
241 present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gẽs, and probably also an older
T one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the
[192] most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common
[181] conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[173] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate
[261] earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of de-
[241] velopment are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we
[153] shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
[241] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and
[179] also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them
excellently tended, extensive plantings--

/462 cont./

115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
[123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
[145] important elements of the language; they were extremely wide
awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/,
and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our
civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased
with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write
things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of
[193] the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different
for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim
in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
115 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
●153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent.
He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression
"papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there im-
mediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are
bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the
moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

/463 cont./

115 "in Deinem Thau gesund mich baden" /to bathe myself sound in
153 your dew/, the little fellow immediately interrupted with "itáu!
akau, áu" = "my hair, your hair, his hair." This game was all
the more original since the cadet Caldas, their schoolmaster, who was also supposed to be working on the Bororó language, pronounced the American pronominal prefixes which I was seeking to be silly humbug and an invention of the boys, on the order of chicken talk. And he stuck to it, because he was very stubborn in his views. He was also very scornful of our opinion that Latin is a dead language, for he said it is spoken in Egypt. But what was even worse, he maintained that "Müller" -- heaven knows where he got his knowledge of his only German word -- was a French word and insisted on it, despite the amusing despair of Ehrenreich, who, as a native Spree-Athenian /a Berliner/, was shaken to the depths of his thinking and feeling in the face of such an unheard-of attack on the Berlin address-book.

872 If Caldas, who received an extra allowance for the instruction of the Bororó boys, did not learn much from his pupils, they probably learned even less from him. It is true, the rogues came unwillingly; in the beginning they did not come at all and were persuaded to do so only when a few inquisitive fathers sat with them in the school. The way in which the recalcitrant ones were assembled in the morning reminded one vividly of the game "bringing the little pig into the pen." Moreover, they were extremely inattentive. I must admit, however, that the method could not have been more peculiar. I thought the children would first of all learn the Portuguese names for the most familiar things, useful plants, animals, implements, which would certainly have pleased them, because they asked about them spontaneously. I also thought, if they absolutely had to learn to read -- but it really does not matter what I thought, and it is better to limit oneself to the report.

Each of the boys had in his hand a sheet of paper that Caldas had written on. Thereupon we read -- not they, of course -- al, el, il, ol, ul, bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul, etc. over the entire page. The teacher read them one line

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123 articles from us without offering us anything in exchange.
431 One would say, "*Bororó*, headache—handkerchief, red"—Meaning, my head aches; give me a red handkerchief to tie around it. Or, "*Boi* sick—tobacco,"—I am sick. Give me a piece of tobacco to make me well. Or, again, "*Boi* pursue tapir—catch him not. Give tobacco." At other times, they sought to obtain things on credit, saying, "*Bororó*, bring"—I will bring you something. But they usually forgot "to bring." Sometimes they tried a little flattery. One day a chief man came to me saying: "Captain"—myself—"good—Captain very good. Bororó cry when Captain go away. Bororó ask Captain not go." But this was largely to pave the way to ask for something. When I had to refuse them and they seemed displeased, I said to them: "*Bororó*, good; *Bororó*, very good. Captain, bad—very bad." They always hastened to say in reply to this, "No, no; Captain, good—very good."

157 When fish became scarce and a hunting expedition had
261 not resulted successfully, and they were, consequently, with-
[433] out food, they came to us acting as if they longed to become
[123] our slaves forever. After much self-abnegation, they would say, timidly, "*Boi tapira*,"—I like beef. *Tapira* is their word for cattle, cow, bullock or beef. But when they made a good haul of fish, their demeanor underwent an entire change, and seeming unable to recognize any one, they hastened to their huts without looking to the right or to the left. If spoken to, they feigned deafness. They do not wish many friends at such times as this as they would have to divide their catch with them. This is much like the civilized man, who, having acquired a fortune, is unable, longer, to recognize his less favored friends and relatives.

764 A death occurred in the village the day after our arrival, and as custom among these people forbids that any member of the family of the deceased should leave the village to fish, hunt, or to forage, until all the obsequies, which continue many days, are over, they must trust to the generosity of their
[123] neighbors for food. Consequently, the father of the bereaved

/489 cont./

732 Sometimes Dyapokuri gave a performance. The men were far from regarding the feeble-minded one, who could only babble, as a superior creature. He liked to portray the quarreling of the women by launching into the most enraged gestures and vigorously demonstrated the mutual scratching and hair-pulling. He flew into frightful agitation himself, however, when a soldier teased him on account of his setting out to pursue the Kayapó (page 568) and, a stick over his shoulder, hitched along with huge, lunging strides: the poor devil foamed at the mouth with indignation, threw his burning chunk of wood at the mocker, and, since he did not know what else to do, snatched up a few wood chips from the ground and, with a teeth-baring grimace and unintelligible sounds of rage, depicted -- the mustache of the soldier. After a while he calmed down again and, for the funeral ceremony, practiced rattling with two rattle gourds and the rhythmic aróe grunts.

123 The hours in the ranchão were instructive and agreeable. There was only one thing that was intolerable, the incessant begging for tobacco. My pipe traveled from one man to another. The men dictated pages of Bororó to me, each one having to present in sentences whatever was going on at the moment, listened to me repeat it, and then laughed, just as gratified [157] as the Bakaírí. The more intimate we became, the more striking was the agreement in temperament and character with the Kulisehu Indians. On a post in the men's house, after we had taken the anthropological measurements, /490/ my height was also indicated. A piece of charcoal was crushed with the teeth, pulverized with saliva in the hand, and above my head a black ring was painted around the post.

433 Food; "consecration." According to Clemente's report, in spite of all the hunting, the plant food obtained by the women is of the greatest importance, because it comes in more regularly 222 and abundantly. The women look for roots with a pointed stick, climb up the palm trees with great agility, among which preference is given to the oaussú and akurí, gather the nuts, cut the "palm cabbage" in the crown, look for jatobá and pikí fruits, 292 and so forth. The palm nuts are roasted or pounded in a mortar 574 and mixed with water to make a thickish drink, the refreshing

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[71] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924, as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in /114/ January of 1926, with 38°, the minimum on June 20 of 1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26, 37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
291 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane, vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
162 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
[16] only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri, that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44 children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
[13] which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
797 of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of osuassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.
562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or manø down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

● 161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
1114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

2: Steinen--655E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guana SK7
Terena
Bororo SP8

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II. The Mato Grosso Tribes according to Cuyaban Records.

Since the fate of the "Archives" of the Directoria dos Indios discussed in the footnote on page 467 is very uncertain, I regard it as necessary to give my excerpt. I shall start with the tables for 1848 and 1872.

			1848		1872
1	Caiuás		?	Vicinity of Rio Iguatimy (1)	?
2	Chamococos . . .		200	Paraguay on the right near Bahia Negra	200
3	Cadiuéos . . .	Guaicurús	850	Paraguay below Coimbra	850
4	Beaquéos . . .	Guaicurús	500	East of the Paraguay and south of Miranda	100
5	Cotoguéos . . .	Guaicurús		Lalima (2) near Miranda	– (4)
6	Guatiedeos . . .	Guaicurús	130	Albuquerque	– (5)
7	Guanaz	Guanás	200	Albuquerque and near Cuyabá	– (6)
8	Kinikinãos . . .	Guanás	1000	Matto grande near Albuquerque-Miranda	–
9	Terenas	Guanás	2000	Miranda	–
10	Laianas	Guanás	300	Miranda	–
11	Guachís		?	Miranda	– (7)
12	Guatós		500	Paraguay and S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba and Uberaba	50 (8)
13	Bororós da Campanha		180	West of the Paraguay near the Marco do Jaurú (3)	180

1. The Rio Iguatemy is a tributary of the Paraná, into which it empties somewhat above the Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas.

2. Six leagues south of Miranda.

3. Tributary of the Paraguay. The Registro or Registo (cf. 14), the customs station, lies on the road between Cuyabá and Matto Grosso.

4. Missing in the list.

5. Missing in the list.

6. Were brought to Asuncion by the Paraguayans and all died there.

7. Missing in the list.

8. Are almost extinct as a result of the Paraguay War and smallpox.

2: Steinen--656 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP9 Bororo SP8 Nambicuara SP19 Paressi SP19

/548 cont./

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		1848	1872
14 Bororós Cabaçaes . .	110	Registo do Jaurú and Campos da Caiçara	40
15 Cayapós	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba	400
16 Coroados	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
/549/			
17 Bacahirís	200	Source region of Paranatinga	200
18 Cajabís	?	Source region of Paranatinga	?
19 Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecíz	400
20 Pariciz	250	Campos and Serra dos Parecíz	250
21 Maimbarés	400		400
22 Cabixís	500		500
23 Nambiquarás. . . .	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos)	600
24 Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (brook) do Tapanhunas (to the Arinos)	800
25 Apiacaz	2700	Arinos and Juruena	2700
26 Mequens	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guarayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Cautarios	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacáz.	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Cenabós	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés	?		
32 Caripunas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33 Aráras	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		8670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataracit of Santo Antonio.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Baloriá,
[101] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraterni-
dade Indígena near Barra do Bugre on the Para-
guay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the
Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
[161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In
two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type
kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichoce-
phalic. The local Brazilians call them the Bar-
bados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*meáktiwo*) was built
on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
621 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*iehipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming
down to the ground, the whole being covered with
pacova palm fronds except the two ends which
were left open. This house type is the same as that
formerly found among the Guató who live to the
south of the Umotina. Each family had its own
house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all
night not only for warmth but also to drive away
the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after
puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotóiwo*) made
from a buritá palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide
the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the
back of their heads, and allowed their beards to
grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the
lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand,
cut their hair short, and plucked out their eye-
brows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imsiá*) made
from woven cotton. Like the men, the women
304 had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[199] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy individuals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵘ, around 25 years old;
1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are
those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear
traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.

191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

> 1. The term vóbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:
Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ãróre (Catepillar) clan
Ewãguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known. B O 101 619 175 [197]

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pisarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1761 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct. B [619]

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curumisaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S. O [131]

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jauré, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçaes* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jauré River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kajara, Pobori, and Jarudori. B [131] [361]

In 1886, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Isabel, at the Paquirí-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region. B [114] [162]

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1894, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house. B [797]

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kajari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1896 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*. B [172]

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform-
114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re-
178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot-
167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept
177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

/113 cont./

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/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
657 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
131 latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is
[162] another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
621 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
162 and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[131] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named
[103] Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/, and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations.
[131] Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
177 Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our
[184] civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/116 cont./

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261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

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178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
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262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
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797 the penis cover made of oauasmi /babasu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

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177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/123 cont./

163 If the children are from a previous marriage of the husband, the number for them is put in parenthesis; being from a previous marriage of the woman, the number is between brackets.

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582

	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
1	Alexio 50	Alvina 55	2			1
2	Antonio 55 v	Assumpção 65 v	(1) [1]	[1]	(3) [1]	[1]
3	Attilho 23	Frederica 17			1	
4	Braz 50	Josefina 38	2	4	1	3
5	Benedito 65	Loiduvina 55	1	1		
6	Bentino 20	Dosithea 20				
7	Baptista 26	Erminia 21	1		1	
8	Claudio 22	Ismaelita 19		1		
9	Domingo 50	Natalia 52		1	1	
10	Elias 21	Conceição 18	2			
11	Estanisilão 45	Angelina 45		1		1
12	Eugenio 18	Cecilia 16		1		
13	João 38	Regina 19				
14	João Cagliero 50	Judith 50	1	4	2	2
15	João Baptista 50 v	Lucina 20	(2)	(1) 1	(4)	
16	Modesto 35	Anita 26	2	2		
17	Sebastião 55 v	Aida 40 v	(2) [1]		(1) [1]	
18	Thiago 35	Maria Luisa 35	1	1		2

/124/

• 162
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	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
19	Ugo 27	Claudia 22		2		
20	Vito 45	Angelina ?	3	2		
21	Rafael 60 v	Catarina 32	(1)	(3)		
22	Manoel 32	Jacinta 45 v	[1] 1	4		
23	José Maria 27	Theresa 26		1		1
24	Justino 39	Clotilde 35	2	1	1	3
25	Joaquim 70	Irene 50		(2)	(1)	(1)
26	Cirilo 35	Maria 42 v	[1]	[1] 2		
27	Luiz 50	Florisbela 55	1	1	2	1
28	Gabriel Pilar 34 (abandoned his wife)		2	1		1
		Total:	31	39	20	17

orphan brothers	1	2
" "	1	2
orphan boy	1	
orphan girl		1

3 bachelors
1 widower
1 widow

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a
162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually
593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes
586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêda*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of
[674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less
147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great dis-
484 tances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a
482 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a
462 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 514 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the 339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be 231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

● 162 621 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 291 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform-
114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re-
178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot-
167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept
177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

/121 cont./

842 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions
757 and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (o.c., p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

• 163 In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of [177] Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the [79] influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. A v after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

/123 cont./

163 If the children are from a previous marriage of the husband, the number for them is put in parenthesis; being from a previous marriage of the woman, the number is between brackets.

162
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582

	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
1	Alexio 50	Alvina 55		2		1
2	Antonio 55 v	Assumpção 65 v	(1)	[1]	[1] (3)	[1] [1]
3	Attilho 23	Frederica 17			1	
4	Braz 50	Josefina 38		2	4	1 3
5	Benedito 65	Loiduvina 55		1	1	
6	Bentino 20	Dosithea 20				
7	Baptista 26	Erminia 21		1		1
8	Claudio 22	Ismaelita 19			1	
9	Domingo 50	Natalia 52			1	1
10	Elias 21	Conceição 18		2		
11	Estanislão 45	Angelina 45			1	1
12	Eugenio 18	Cecilia 16			1	
13	João 38	Regina 19				
14	João Cagliero 50	Judith 50		1	4	2 2
15	João Baptista 50 v	Lucina 20		(2)	(1) 1	(4)
16	Modesto 35	Anita 26		2	2	
17	Sebastião 55 v	Aida 40 v	(2)	[1]	(1)	[1]
18	Thiago 35	Maria Luisa 35		1	1	2

/124/

162
163
582

	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
19	Ugo 27	Claudia 22		2		
20	Vito 45	Angelina ?	3	2		
21	Rafael 60 v	Catarina 32	(1)	(3)		
22	Manoel 32	Jacinta 45 v	[1] 1	4		
23	José Maria 27	Theresa 26		1		1
24	Justino 39	Clotilde 35	2	1	1	3
25	Joaquim 70	Irene 50		(2)	(1)	(1)
26	Cirilo 35	Maria 42 v	[1]	[1] 2		
27	Luiz 50	Florisbela 55	1	1	2	1
28	Gabriel Pilar 34 (abandoned his wife)		2	1		1
		Total:	31	39	20	17
	orphan brothers		1	2		
	" "		1	2		
	orphan boy		1			
	orphan girl			1		
	3 bachelors					
	1 widower					
	1 widow					

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy indi-
viduals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkõd'daᵘ, around 25 years old;
1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are
those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear
traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.
191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent
Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and
write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a
few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language
at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan
Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera
are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

> 1. The term võbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:
Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ãróre (Catepillar) clan
Ewãguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

/470 cont./

164 Some individuals showed a skin affection, which was most prominent in the case of Moguyokuri's wife. Here only the face, the hypogastrium from the navel downwards where the skin was covered, and the back of the foot were free; /471/ otherwise the epidermis was covered with scaly ridges in concentric coils, circles, ellipses, roughly comparable to the markings of polished agate.

142 Hair black and as often stiff and straight as wavy, less often -- in two of the 20 men -- curly. Beard hair, where not plucked, sparse on the chin and upper lip.

Head generally high, usually wide, often round. Ridge at the back of the head strongly developed. Forehead low, among the men more often sloping, among the women more often straight, only exceptionally high and arched, often covered with hair. Pronounced ridges, especially among the men, are a conspicuous characteristic. Face generally high and wide, seldom high and narrow, usually oval, seldom round, in exceptional cases square. Cheek bones prominent.

Iris dark coffee-brown, in exceptional cases light brown. Eyes far apart. Eyelid opening often slanting, but in the majority of cases horizontal, generally low, almond-shaped, in exceptional cases slit. Ear lobes small or very small, more than once joined on. Nose: root more often wide than narrow, more often depressed than projecting, bridge generally wide, usually straight or slightly arched, more than once even saddle-shaped, alae wide, occasionally roof-shaped, and among the men powerful, among the women delicate, tip moderately blunt, openings turned forward, round. Lips full, curved, protruding. Teeth, even, large, opaque, generally yellowish, but not infrequently white, often greatly and as much as half chewed down. Prognathism moderate; chin seldom receding.

Breasts of the women who have given birth, pendulous with large areola. Genitals of the men small. The praeputium was artificially lengthened by manipulations with the cuff.

141 Hands and feet relatively small; short index finger. Circumference of the thigh, measured on a man with a body height of 173.0, 50 centimeters; of the calves, 35 centimeters. Longest

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical
757 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/
413 itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage
765 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the
304 result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one.
512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable
[224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the
302 men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally,
757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after
239 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children
30 were always doéte /sick/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply
[164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

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114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re-
178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non-[226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

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167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept
177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

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/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924, as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in /114/ January of 1928, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of 1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26, 37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
291 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane, vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
162 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
[16] only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri, that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44 children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
[13] which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
[797] of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there: they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[131] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

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114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot- 167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept 177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
• 167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[229] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our year of residence there only three times did we hear loud laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of
175 these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and
[648] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up
[181] to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering
22 people. They spent only three months of the year, more or
[241] less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back
167 by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.

797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than
131 thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 775 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 775 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 174

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [775]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

773 Sun (Meri) and Moon (Ari) are another pair of brothers, but figure largely as tricksters. Thus they put out the Indians' fire, which, however, is salvaged by a toad. The Indians pursue the mischief-makers, who climb trees, and kill Moon, who has sought refuge in a low tree and is eaten by a canid. Sun kills the canid and resuscitates Moon from fragments of his bones. This revival motif recurs in different contexts. In one game Moon kills Sun, but cannot restore him. However, Sun rises by his own power and turns into a red arara. Moon vainly looks for him and nearly starves, when Sun transforms himself into a fish, letting Moon harpoon him. Finally, Sun and Moon neglect the Buriti clansmen's warning, and break their hosts' bottles. They are pursued, caught, and blown skyward by their captors, who bid them remain above.

Other myths describe a flood caused by an angry spirit and the jaguar's swallowing of a monkey, who cuts his way out. In one tale boys climb to the sky on a rope, which they cut in order to prevent their mothers from following. As a penalty the boys must remain in the sky, their eyes becoming the stars.

773 The ascent to the sky by a rope or creeper is widespread in South
171 America, being found, e. g., among the *Cariban Taulipang*. In the Twin story, the pacification of the jaguar by the offer of a woman, her death through an older kinsman of the husband, the post-mortem extraction of the heroes, and their revenging the woman's death recall *Guarani* motifs, as well as the *Bacaïri* tale of Keri and Kame. On the other hand, these *Bacaïri* names and their linkage with Sun and Moon, respectively, rather suggest the second *Bororo* myth of a pair of brothers.

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113 Baldus, 1936; Caldas, 1800, 1903; Chamberlain, 1910, 1912; Colbacchini, 1925; Cook, 1907; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1912, 1913; Frič and Radin, 1906; Koslowsky, 1895 b; Lévi-Strauss, 1936; Magalhães, 1918; Missão Salesiana, 1908; Petrullo, 1932; Steinen, 1894; Tonelli, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1928 c; Waehneldt, 1884.

1 [complete bibliography not processed]

MATO GROSSO SP1

string patterns, similar to the decoration found on the surface potsherds already described.

M
B
172

Unit H

This was located about one and one-half metres away from G, and at the same level. It consisted of a well-preserved adult skeleton of large proportions, lying on its right side, the knees drawn up to a sitting posture, the lower legs flexed on the thighs. The skull could not be located. No pottery or any kind of ornaments were associated with it; but it did present a new feature in that at its back was found a cache of piranha jaws and teeth. The body lay in an east to west line.

Unit I

A number of burials were uncovered about a metre away from H and to its right. They conformed to the general type. Four pottery bowls, badly damaged, covered skeletons, one of which occupied an extended position on its back. The other skeletons were so damaged and so mixed that little information could be gotten. There was total absence of any ornaments, but the shells described above were also associated with this group. The bone material was that of children.

In addition to the above finds there were recovered from accidental excavations nearby a skull minus the lower mandible and a skull cap. They have not been studied as yet.

* * * *

Lacking any geological data on which to base an estimate of its antiquity, it is significant that no artefacts of European origin were found in the excavation.

Though most of the skeletal remains were those of children, it cannot be inferred that the site is a child cemetery, when it is remembered that infant mortality is especially high among primitive peoples.

The method of burial for children seems to have been a simple interment protected by pottery. Ornaments such as the children wore were placed with the bodies.

Of these ornaments, the perforated shell discs are still very common among the tribes of the upper Xingu which were visited later, but were not found either among the Bororo da Campanha or the Bororo of the

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[301]

[text continues on p. 115]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

São Lorenço valley. The mussel shell beads and the cylindrical jasper kind are not to be found among the Bororo or those groups mentioned above.

M B 172 B [301 171]

The method of burial of the Bororo is radically different from what was revealed in this excavation, leaving no doubt that the cemetery must antedate the occupation of the territory by these people.

B [764]

The piranha is associated in magico-religious concepts of the tribes of the Kuluseu-Kuluene region. Its jaws and teeth find practical application by all of the aborigines, being used as scrapers, or cutters. The cache of piranha jaws and teeth thus becomes meaningful.

The body was not buried always in the same position. The site revealed that it was placed sometimes on the side, and sometimes on the back, with the legs flexed at various degrees.

All of the burials were unquestionably primary, judging from the articulating position of the bones. No marks of any kind were found on the skeletal material.

The pottery is of poor quality, being of coarse clay and badly fired. The decoration that was found on several potsherds and on one small pot was impressed string pattern. The pottery ware is different from that made by the Bororo.

B [323]

The lithic industry is too poorly represented to permit any conclusions. What was found is polished, and badly made. Its scarcity suggests that it was not a major industry in the culture represented. However, the stone, if not the artefacts, must have been imported from the highlands of the west or the north, since there is no stone in the region.

CEMETERY II

[Plate VIII, 1, 2]

About five miles to the west of Cemetery I, and the port of Descavaldos, is located Cemetery II, part of an extensive archaeological site whose limits have not been determined. The land is slightly elevated from the rest of the pantanal, so that during the floods it forms an island, but at the height of the dry season it remains partly surrounded by a large lagoon which is connected with the Paraguay only by marshes. When the water is high it can be reached by canoe from the Paraguay. It constitutes an ideal location for a native village, in that it is situated in the pantanal where game is plentiful, it is close to the river, though hidden

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

Y
Ba
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[222]

is ever lost. Our Bakairi were imbued with the same spirit, for often the paddle would be dropped and replaced with bow and arrow though we may not have needed the extra food. This anxiety to gather as much food as is encountered was also manifested in the case of turtle eggs found in the sand banks. For those days that we travelled, each canoe at the end of the day would have gathered at least thirty or forty eggs. This food was shared generously with everyone. [Plate XIII, 2.]

Another method of fishing was with a spear. Especially in the dry season, the fish withdraw to the deep pools where it is impossible to reach them with an arrow. A spear is usually made of two sections: a wooden shaft with a large conical bone point and a reed extension to the shaft. Both sections measure about seven metres in length. [Plate XIII, 1.]

Y
[411]

Damming of the lagoons is resorted to. A dip net with a handle about three metres long is in use, and drag nets are apparently used in season.

Y
[227]

Fish is eaten almost raw; the only method of cooking seen was barbecuing, either by placing it on a platform over a fire or by placing it on a framework close to the fire. Salt is unknown and not liked, as evidenced when they were asked to try our food, when though hungry, none would accept it if it had been seasoned with salt.

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Another food in usage, highly prized and carefully stored away is the fruit piki, which grows wild. The fruit is boiled in the large earthen pots, placed in cylindrical bark containers, about one and half metres to two metres in length and a third of a metre in diameter, sealed tight at both ends, and placed under water in some cool pool. These bark containers are reinforced with wooden slats. On ceremonial occasions they are opened and a quantity sufficient for the immediate needs is taken out to be distributed to every member of the village equally. It is mixed with water and drunk, without fermentation. Both the Yawalapiti and Naravute had these bark containers.

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Pottery

Pottery is poorly developed in the region. Neither in quantity nor variety, nor in technical perfection does it compare with that of the Bororo. The forms are simple though characteristic.

Y
Bo
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[text continues on p. 155]

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
482 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier, /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

562 It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary
121 for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it
847 male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

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562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
[171] the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous im-
pediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epi-
demics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Bororos, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

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846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [171] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order [825] to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

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614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooáa. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
859 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 88-90).

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does the heavier and economically more valuable work has a position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier
462 or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them,
222 "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought by the women has greater importance because it is obtained with more regularity and in abundance. The women look for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the 'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/ and of the piquí, /Caryocar brasiliense/, etc."

462 The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians, hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the
[224] house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow; in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in
462 many she also helps in the construction of the house. But,
141 considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps, be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

[171] 3. In contrast let there be indicated the following tribes described by Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, Rondonia, 3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): "Tembés -- Male stature, in general, shorter than the female. Women tall and thin; men short and fat. Mundurucús -- They are muscular. Men shorter than the

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women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being
462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi-
482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads
[434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

462 It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians
22 the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat.
[241] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in
[171] the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[286] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the [171] plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I 128 visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 How much the sexual life is related to the social position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to 562 me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in 123 Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under- [775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

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DIVISION OF LABOR

	MAN								WOMAN							
	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kalapalo	Kadiéu	Terena	Karajá	Tapirapé	Guayaki	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kalapalo	Kadiéu	Terena	Karajá	Tapirapé	Guayaki
build the house	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
cut wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
look for wood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
cut or incise the trees for the extraction of honey	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
cut palm trees to get the fruits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gather wild plant food	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gather small animals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gather honey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
fish with net	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
fish with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
fish by poisoning the water	+	–	–	–	?	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	?	+	+	–
cook	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
smoke small animals and fish in the embers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
smoke large animals on the grill	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
bring in water	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the load on marches	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the small children	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the older children on marches	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
paint the face	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
paint the body	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
tattoo	–	?	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
pierce the boy's lower lip	+	+	–	?	–	+	+	–	–	?	–	?	+	+	–	–
pierce the boy's ear lobe	–	–	–	?	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	?	+	+	–	–
pierce the girl's ear lobe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
fabrication of the penis case	–	–	–	?	?	–	–	–	+	+	–	?	?	+	–	–
fabrication of the woman's garb	+	+	–	+	?	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
fabrication of the cord made of hair	+	+	–	+	?	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	?	+	+	+
fabrication of thick cords	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
fabrication of fine cords	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
fabrication of knotted work	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
plait (baskets, etc.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
plait the hunting bag from a palm leaf	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
spin and weave or make crochet work	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
fabrication of the implements for spinning and weaving	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
elaboration of wood	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
cultivation of gourds	?	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	?	–	–	–
elaboration of gourds	+	+	–	+	?	+	+	–	?	–	–	–	?	–	–	–
elaboration of bones, claws, teeth, shellfish, stones, or metals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
fabrication of feather ornaments	+	–	–	?	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	?	+	–	+	–
fabrication of clay vessels	–	–	?	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+

/143 cont./

833 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day:
562 "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down
123 one beside the other, because one day they will die and then
775 they are reunited."

864 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from
115 Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 From Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the
171 following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

/145 cont./

562 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically
224 and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his
833 sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the
173 past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but
[224] today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much, for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

832 It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is
833 the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to
173 which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

832 They say that the only form of sexual caress known by the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

838 Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the
839 Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes
171 visited by me.

/150 cont./

• 171 The differences in character of the individuals are no
562 fewer in an Indian aldeia than in one of our aldeias; and there, too, the very pronounced characters open the road, in marriage, through the /151/ social rules. Among the Guató, whom Couto de Magalhães (O selvagem /the Savage/, 3rd. edition, São Paulo, 1935, p. 148) calls "an exaggerated type of the man's rights over the woman," Julio Koslowsky ("Tres semanas entre los indios Guatos /Three weeks among the Guato Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895, p. 232) found a man about whom, after having praised his extraordinary intelligence, he mentions /the following quotation has been translated from the Spanish/: "The only thing that I had to disapprove was the complete submission that he demonstrated toward his wife."

Such examples are found in every tribe of Indians. Among the Tapirapé I saw men who ordered and mistreated the woman, and others who fled from the hut with his plumes when the enraged wife threatened to throw these ornaments in the fire. Among the Karajá there are men who, in a moment of anger, thrashed the woman terribly, and who, in spite of that, in all the important matters, submits to her unconditionally. Karl von den Steinen says, although generalizing, of the Indians of the Xingú region (o.c., p. 332): "The man let the woman carry a heavier load than he did, he ordered her to remain far from the house of the flutes in which the men consulted, smoked, held festivities, and where the men were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and did what she wanted."

562 One day an old lay brother in Sangradouro, who had spent all his life with the Bororo, explained to me, in an ingenuous way, the behavior of this tribe in such situations: "Generally it is the man who commands; but /152/ when one of them is very good to the woman, it is

/154 cont./

301 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this
562 decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care.
[237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment"
[836] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of
[593] the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both
[171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first
[171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting
[613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/156 cont./

301 other sex or to his own or shows him superior to the other
562 sex or to his own can only be answered in facing this or that particular case. Thus, this answer has only individual-psychological value, and not general value, concerning the significance of the adornment for the position of the sexes.

562 Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 497) writes that among
201 the Indians "it is proper for the woman to cry and 'to tremble' always, when animals, enemies, or merely cataracts threaten, and always to need protection."

I confirmed in my experiences that this is true in general; and when it is observed that the woman, in anger and in fear, utters sharp cries or moans, while the man almost always tries in any case to preserve a more tranquil dignity, we are inclined to see in this behavior a superiority of the man. And even if the cause for the woman's behavior is only her intention "to win by means of weakness" in the relations between the sexes, that seems to us an indication of social inferiority.

000 In the majority of the native tribes the men even want the women to show fear, and certain dances are performed for this purpose. According to Wilhelm Koppers (Unter Feuerlandindianern /Among Fuegian Indians/, Stuttgart, 1924), the Indians in Tierra del Fuego narrate that in ancient times they were completely dominated by the woman, because the latter had joined together in secret leagues and performed rites thanks to which they kept the men in /157/ permanent fear. But one day the men discovered this stratagem and then did the same with the woman; and since that time the latter have been intimidated
[171] by means of practices of sorcery and dances. In the dances of the Inãpẽsẽ of the Chamacoco in the Chaco (Baldus, Indianerstudien, p. 94), what the men want, by means of their mysterious and frightening tricks, is to protest against the power of the women.

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
273 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role. According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[301] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.

[776] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
[171] misfortunes.

114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 287 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

warning calls are given frequently for some hours in advance 534
of the time when the instruments are to be brought into 562
use. Hearing these warnings the females enter their huts, 788
close the openings and hide their heads. The *roarers* are always manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush, and at openings in the forest.

Many other tribes have mystery instruments and practice 534
demon music. Wallace, describing those of some Rio Negro 562
tribes, says that their instruments are pipes, or tubes, like 171
great bassoons or trumpets, and produce sounds somewhat like trombones or clarinets. One kind is made of bamboo or palm-stems, hollowed out, while others are made of bark, twisted spirally and have mouthpieces of leaves. Each instrument produces but one note, but several pairs are played at the same time, each pair being of the same size and emitting the same note. A simple tune is played, revealing unusual taste for savages; and though the music sounds strange and wild, it is somewhat pleasing. The musicians wave the instruments about in a peculiar manner, vertically and sidewise, while playing them, and accompany these movements with corresponding contortions of the body. These instruments are considered a great mystery. No female of the tribe must ever look upon them under pain of death. From the first moment this mystery music is heard, not a female, young or old, is to be seen for all have hidden themselves away in the woods. If a female should see one of these instruments, either accidentally or by design, she would be put to death, usually by poisoning: and a father will not hesitate to become the executioner of his own daughter, or a husband of his wife. Even where there is only a suspicion that the instrument has been seen by forbidden eyes, no mercy is shown.

I experienced difficulty in getting possession of two or 126
three of the *roarers* for my collection. The Bororó were very 534
reluctant to let me have them, fearing that their women might 562
catch sight of them in some way. But they finally brought them to our hut, one at a time, under cover of darkness, after having borrowed blankets from us in which to roll them, and

/192 cont./

T 291 among themselves, and the chief reason, I presume, in view of the calamity, was the only too explicable neglect of their outward appearance. We also noticed that it was older persons in particular who lacked the string, just as the older ones are the most careless concerning the tonsure. Among older men who wore the string, it rested directly on the scrotum, and the contours of the penis had completely disappeared, so that one saw only a little tied-up bag. And it was scarcely different when they wore no string.

BO 291 This consequence of continual mistreatment was no less
171 evident in the case of the cuff or straw collar, which none of the Kulisehu tribes wore, but which I should like to mention here. We saw this device, which is not unknown elsewhere in Brazil, among the Yuruna, the inhabitants of the middle and lower course, who were unacquainted with the upper tribes, and in a larger size among the Bororó of the southern Mato Grosso. A long strip of rather brittle yellow palm-straw is rolled and folded, as the illustration /Fig. 17; see p. 184/ shows, so that a funnel-
BO [531] shaped cuff, tapering to a point at the bottom, is formed; the left, projecting end of the strip in the illustration may be ignored, since it was only on festive occasions that the cuff bore such a flag painted with red designs. Its effect is exactly like that of the string: the praeputium is drawn through it in such a way that the /193/ lower, narrow end of the funnel tightly ties off just a tip; see the frontispiece /see p. i/ and Plate 27 /see p. 588/. Here, too, the rest of the penis usually disappears in the scrotum, but the advantage of the rigid cuff over the string is that it does not cut in so sharply. The cuff is an improvement and an embellishment in comparison with the string. I presume that the hip cord was worn first and some of them used pieces of it for the binding, while others were content to clamp the skin. The former went on to the milder and more coquettish cuff, but retained the old and in any case still useful or ornamental hip cord, just as the Bororó wear it besides the cuff, while the cuff-wearing Yuruna have developed it into a wide beaded belt. Actually, Waehneldt reports (1863) of the Bororó living in the source region

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
[283] a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects
and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*17 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
[291] praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it
in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
[302] the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
[30 and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
291] ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
291 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
[287] only within the most modest limits and surely could not have
been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been
used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little
at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the
lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around
themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up
toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the
little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and
turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where
they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
291 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
[287] fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
[841] to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure
of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
[287] tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.
See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

B /243 cont./
*171 one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the
20 vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself
532 that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory
[124] sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me.
To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imitated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since the man does not understand our language, how can we in this case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the behavior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language, easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
B that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may per-
[531] haps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
BO natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom
•171 I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory
532 way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for draw-
BO ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They
[224] were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing, but had already advanced to sedentary farming.

B /248 cont./
*171 circular area. My companions, two Bakaïrí, immediately sat
212 down to rest. I do not know whether a weary wanderer before us
532 who stopped there on his way home from the river so neatly drew the two animals purely for diversion, or because he had just dealt with rays and pakûs, and, frankly, I find it quite immaterial whether the one or the other was the case.

Even more inexplicable as to its exact meaning was the circular figure drawn in the sand, which is shown in Figure 36 and which was found under a beautiful tree approximately half a kilometer from the Mehinakú village. It was called aturuá
B and was four and a half meters in diameter. When we left the
[533] village accompanied by several men, they made a round inside the circle on either side up to very near the network and sang ka ā ā...; there were also numerous traces of former rounds. Since the men wanted to turn back at this point and spoke of the women, there was probably some reference to the arrival or departure of guests here on the edge of the forest or a quarter of an hour from home. The network of the drawing was turned toward the village. The two curves occur similarly as tattoo patterns and on the outside on the bottom of the large pots of the Mehinakú (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/). I had copied the figure in my journal a few days before my cousin saw it; there, in place of the small central circle with the two supports, two circles are represented touching each other, the lower one being slightly larger and going over into the network; one might imagine head and body.

BO
171 The Bororó, whom I am including here, contributed not only
532 purely explanatory, but even semi-artistic pictures in the sand, which we /Plates XVI-XIX appear here/ /249/ had no opportunity to see on the Schingú. In the evening in the moonlight they took special pleasure in drawing hunting animals and hunting scenes in the sand for us. I say "scenes," for their amateurishness did not by any means shrink from a difficult composition. Nor were they content to draw in outlines; with their hands they shoveled the surface sand out of the outline of the animal being represented and filled this depression, shaped, for example, like a jaguar or a tapir, with grayish-white ashes; thus they made the body with its

[Text Continues on P. 269]

BO /249 cont./
171 extremities look like a shimmering whitish painting. The eye and
532 the spotted markings of the skin were indicated with dark sand. Since the figures were at least life-sized, they gave a surprisingly lifelike impression in the evening twilight; it looked as though huge, shimmering and glistening skins were spread out on the ground.

B Pencil drawings. Even in 1884 we let the Suyá draw with
*171 pencil in our notebooks. They themselves were amused by it;
532 they were not awkward, and only at first did they superfluously
BO hold the pencil point into the flame, being accustomed, for their
171 part, to drawing with resin-saturated sticks. They drew rhombus-
532 shaped designs, similar to those on their gourd bowls, which at that time I dismissed with the label "geometric figures." This time
B we had them draw a series of persons and objects which turned out
BO to be extremely instructive. On the four plates, 16-19 /see pp.
[126] 265-268/, these artistic productions, which could still be considerably improved, have been reproduced with painful accuracy; there are portraits of the members of the expedition, especially of me, and furthermore two jaguars and a woman's triangle with the accompanying topography done by Kulisehu Indians, as well as a soldier, a woman, a pipe, a whizzer stick, two jaguars, a tapir pursued by a dog, a monkey, a hummingbird, and three turtles by the Bororó. The animal pictures of the Bororó, like the sand drawings covered with ashes, are filled with black inside the outline and show that these artists already had higher aspirations, although in their sparse ornamentation they did not achieve more than is shown by the whizzer stick.

At first the pencil drawings vividly remind one of the pictures in the copybook of little Moritz. In fact, in the interesting little book by Corrado Ricci, l'arte dei bambini /The Art of Children/, Bologna, 1887, which reports on studies of many children's drawings, there are many correspondences, and more than the author himself assumes when he considers the drawings of primitive peoples. Children describe a human being, instead of reproducing him artistically, "just as they would describe him with words." In their first attempts they are satisfied with the most

B /250 cont./
*171 On plate I from the Kulisehu,[1] four members of the expedition
532 are standing side by side, a picture from the third Bakaírí village. In it I am recognizable as the tallest and the one with the longest beard; the second one, my cousin, is characterized by his jaunty little cap, the third is Ehrenreich with a shorter full beard and next to me in body size; the fourth, quite small and delicate, is Lieutenant Perrot to whom a lower rank was imputed because he did not take part in the investigations. Here, as well as with most of the drawings, I performed the test of showing them afterwards to other Indians with the question, who might that be? They identified the persons correctly, hopefully not because of the
BO resemblance, but according to the outstanding characteristics.
171 Actually the turtles and the tapir of the Bororó (Bororó II) are
532 quite satisfactory, even for our requirements, whereas the pursuing dog was probably recognizable only because he was the four-legged animal running behind the tapir, which could not be a second tapir because of the tail and the absence of a trunk. Inference per exclusionem must often help out.

B /251/ The two likenesses of me done by a Nahuquá (Kulisehu
*171 II) are interesting.[2] Strangely enough, the man first drew a hori-
532 zontal line containing the unbroken shoulder line and the upper arms, put a sort of semicircle on this, two diagonal crossed lines underneath, and handed this worthless picture back to me as finished. I protested, pointing out to him that I was provided with eyes, ears, etc., in the normal fashion, and demanded an entirely new, revised edition, which he, looking me over attentively, then made. He now went to the other extreme and drew, not only more than he saw, but more than he could have seen.

BO In similar contrast are the two upper pictures on the Bororó
171 plate I, drawn by two different people: on the right I was born
532 without arms and feet; on the left I appear most lovingly depicted and equipped. Here, besides all my limbs, including -- as likewise in the case of the Indian woman on Bororó II -- knobby joints, I have: cap, pipe, notebook, belt, and shoes. In the same manner, the jolly little fellow below that, my cousin, was

[1] [See p. 265 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 266 -- Analyst]

/251 cont./

BO 171 532 given cap, pipe, and the fine hunting knife. Children, to whom smoking as such seems strange, would have thick smoke coming out of the pipe, but the Indians are interested only in the apparatus. In the corner on the right, the Brazilian soldier was given a uniform with three buttons, that is to say, only the coat, from which emerge the usual lines for arms without sleeves. The armless figure above it is the only one where an attempt was made to do justice to our trousers, even at the expense of the feet.

B *171 532 831 The chief attribute of the men, especially in the externally more meagerly equipped portraits on Kulisehu I and II, is the one conferred on them by nature. Here we have the child's standpoint altogether, namely, that it does not matter to the sketcher whether he sees with his eyes what he feels duty-bound to indicate because he knows it is there. For the Indian who goes unclothed, this is the characteristic feature and so he shows it; he even adds it where he expressly draws the clothing, cf. the soldier. Thus, the navel is also often taken into consideration. Indeed, the Nahuquá from whom I demanded completeness (Kulisehu II) did not want to forget even the anus.

B *171 532 BO 171 532 The spatial arrangement is not quite a secondary to the Indians as it is to the youngest children, but strange things are done with it. The fact that the pipe (Borcró I) is put next to the mouth does not mean anything when in the same picture one sees the mustache above the eyes. I would have declared it to be a pair of joined eyebrows, what Goethe calls Räzel, but I was emphatically informed that the line represents the mustache. The same is true of the small central figure below it. And the Bakaírí do the same thing with the unfamiliar mustache. On the Kulisehu plate II, lower left, we see the mustache below the cap, which is carelessly cut off from the roundness of the head by a cross line, and the chin beard, separated from it by a large nose, /252/ is kept entirely inside the face. This head is precisely my map of Africa, with the lakes imperturbably put north or south of the Congo and the Nile sources; out of all proportion, the dreadful line of the neck looks like my Isthmus of Suez, and the

/252 cont./

B *171 532 BO 171 532 enormous ear flaps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakairí, cf. Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II), by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only for the grossest topography; the beard is indeed connected with the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard, that it belongs elsewhere.

B BO [302]

What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest. The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposites attract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries. If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In the case of animals, the outlines are important; not one of those drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/; in the latter case they are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized. The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

/252 cont./

B *171 532 BO 171 532 a huge arched back and the long tail, the extremities form a wavy line; the picture was always recognized by others without difficulty as a jaguar. When for all the Bororó animals the faces are simply filled in black, one might attribute this to the drawing style of the sketchers and point out that the rest of the body is treated in the same way, but even the Bakaïrí on the Kulisehu plate I scribbles over the face of his jaguar. The Indian woman, Bororó II, who, of all the figures, shows the best proportions, has a completely scribbled /253/ head. Above the fine beard covering the torso of the center figure at the bottom, Bororo I, eyes, nose, and ears have been forgotten, the legs are stunted into beetle pincers. In none of the five Bakaïrí portraits has the mouth been drawn; none lacks the nose, which the Bakaïrí BO [304] pierces. On the other hand, for the Bororó, who pierces the lower lip, it cannot happen that he would omit the mouth, whereas he forgot the nose twice.

The profile position, so popular in the art of children, is absent in the Indian drawings of human beings and invariable in the case of four-legged animals. The former is to be regretted, since there can be no comparison with the cases where children give the profile two eyes and then, when they remember that the nose comes between the eyes, sometimes two noses as well, and furthermore where they attach double arms on the exposed side, since two must, of course, be shown, and so forth. It is to be hoped that these efforts of a childlike mind would by this B *171 532 time be impossible for the Indians. Nevertheless, among the sand drawings, we have to show an example that corresponds exactly to childlike art. The matrincham (Fig. 34 /see p. 263/) has two eyes next to the gill arch; the pakú (Fig. 35 /see p. 263/) in profile is likewise drawn with two eyes. That these are profile positions is shown in the case of the matrincham by the indication of the side line, the gill arch (exactly as in the case of the wooden fish), the fin position, and, finally, as also in the case of the pakú, the tail position. In the case of the ray, the two eyes are justified, since the Indian naturally avoids the problem of drawing it from the side.

B /253 cont./

*171 532 BO 171 532 On the Kulisehu plate II there is a drawing of an arm tattooing which we observed in Cuyabá on a man of the Tupí tribe of the Apiaká /Apiaca/ living on the upper Tapajoz /Tapajós/, and which I add here parenthetically. Here the two legs are on the same side, exactly as in the case of children's drawings of "riders on horseback." The legs of the horse are placed one behind the other, exactly like those of the jaguar, Bororó II. The animal's long ears are handsome.

Why are all human beings drawn en face, all four-footed animals in profile? The reason can only be that in the case of the former the outline was given indifferently as self-evident, and the characterization of the details, to be distributed on two sides or to be judged better in their full extent from the front, was decisive; in the case of the latter, the outline more easily characterized in profile. The monkey on Bororó II, with legs and tail in profile, shows the arms symmetrically, but might have been conceived with the upper part of the body turned forward. The jaguar with the spotted fur was drawn by a man who was obviously aware of the fact that the animal has only two legs on one side: he omitted the legs on the right side.

The proportions are deficient. The pipe and notebook of the principal figure on Bororó were actually in the reverse size-proportions. The artist was in no way disturbed by the fact that the relationship between the torso and the extremities was like that of a lizard propped upright. The disproportion of /254/ the Nahuquá portrait on the Kulisehu plate II is also charming. Whereas the neck often resembles a pole, here, as in the case of Perrot, Kulisehu I, the shoulder line runs across the mouth region. It is five times as wide as the width of the hips, which, in the first version next to it, shrinks to a point. The legs always come out worst of all. In the most extreme deformity, Kulisehu II, bottom left, they are absent, to judge from the position of the sexualia, and the toes are attached to the torso. If only this one portrait was presented, one might explain the long lines on the sides as legs originating at shoulder height, but, strangely enough, in all the Kulisehu portraits, the torso is not closed off at the

/254 cont./

B
*171 bottom, indeed not even the head in my portrait and Wilhelm's,
532 Kulisehu I! Only the Nahuquá treats the body as a triangle, at
BO least in his first version. The lateral contours of the torso veer
•171 out at an angle without converging -- in the case of Wilhelm,
532 Kulisehu I, almost horizontally -- and after extending a short distance, without knee, without foot, are finished off on either side with a little line, and these three-toed chicken legs are then human legs, my legs. "You resemble the spirit you comprehend, not me!" /Translator's note: this is a quotation from Faust./ Besides being short, the legs are usually also unequal, even where the torso is closed off, cf. jolly Wilhelm, Bororó I.

ooo The number of fingers and toes deserves special attention. If one of us who is a hunter should sketch a stag's head, he will be careful to provide it with antlers of a particular shape, whatever he happens to have in his mind's eye. Another person, however, will pay scarcely any attention to whether there are more or fewer prongs, not even if he is superficially copying an original before him; he will be content if he has put on the head a number of prongs in a very questionable arrangement of branches. The only thing is, it will not satisfy his idea of stag antlers to draw two forks, he will put down at least three prongs each. Similarly, if I make a schematic drawing of a little fir tree, my minimum will be three pairs of symmetrical diagonal lines on a vertical line, the whole finished off at the bottom with a horizontal line; two pairs would indeed make a little tree, but not a little fir tree. Thus, even without counting, I will supply a minimum of components, in accordance with my inner perception. Our children, who are drilled early in the five of the fingers, will take it into account even in drawings which otherwise contain the grossest sins, and even before they think of reproducing the hand, they will correctly draw five fingers. In the case of the drawings of primitive peoples, we encounter an uncertainty about the number of fingers, and especially three fingers, with such regularity that we must recognize a law here, as in the case of the stag antlers and the fir tree. They undoubtedly did not count 1, 2, 3, and the only thing that can be at the basis of it is that

/254 cont./

000 they feel impelled to put in more than two lines, in order to define their vague inner conception at least to the extent that a bifurcation does not result.

B
#171 /255/ If we consider the five Bakaïrí portraits, we have, if
532 we put the number of fingers in the numerator and the number of toes in the denominator, the following relationships: $\frac{3\ 3}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{5\ 3}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{5\ 5}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{3\ 3}{3\ 3}$ (Kulisehu I) and $\frac{4\ 5}{3\ 4}$ (Kulisehu II). I had them show me on my hand which fingers they had drawn; they took hold of my thumb, little finger, and middle finger and pointed to the corresponding lines in such a way that the little finger was the one in the center of the three which, in my portrait, happened to be the longest in the group of four. Ehrenreich is provided with two five-fingered arms, Wilhelm at least with one such arm. The lower extremities have three toes, with the exception of my portrait, Kulisehu II, where four are present on one side. On the same plate, the Nahuquá, after his first effort had been criticized, drew the correct number of fingers in the second, not from memory, to be sure, but with careful contemplation of the insulted original.

BO
171 Among the Bororó we find on plate I, aside from the arm-
532 less portrait of me, Wilhelm with five fingers on each arm, the soldier with three on each arm, and similarly on plate II the Indian woman with three fingers. As for the rest, there is great progress to be seen here. Not only elbows and knee-joints appear in the form of thick knots, but also hands and feet. In the classic picture showing me with pipe and notebook, touching care has been devoted to the left thumb, which has been joined to the hand in a thick mass; on the right hand we note, to our surprise, seven fingers, but find a perfect explanation in the fact that the two extra fingers must grasp the little book; the legs are standing on shoes, as are Wilhelm's below. The soldier has been planted in the ground, with two lines for legs. The center figure next to him has most peculiar hands and feet, but at least it has some; they are extraordinarily reminiscent of the blood-sucking ticks. One also notes here a tendency to give the

/255 cont./

BO *171 532 extremities a second dimension. The feet of the Indian woman, Bororó II, an amusing contrast to the absent hands, are drawn in excellent outline and in good horizontal position; one might take them for shoes if three toes, not unlike short hairs, were not planted in them.

Of the animal pictures, only among the Bororó do the tapir and monkey have jointed feet. The jaguar legs end in round knobs -- cat paws. The tail is always featured; only in the case of the spotted jaguar may one reasonably wonder about the bushy stump. In the case of the flying hummingbird, whose legs are missing and indeed may be missing, we see a long and divided tail, such as more commonly occurs for this species.

B *171 532 Bark drawings. Rather seldom, except among the Nahuquá, where they were numerous, were human figures found carved in trees, that is to say, incised in outline or with the surface peeled out of the bark, along the forest path leading from the river to the village. They were, as far as /256/ /Figs. 37 and 38 appear here/ I remember, exclusively men in 1887; in 1884, however, we found a male figure above a female one in front of the first Batovy village of the Bakaïrí and a female figure in front of the second one, "with roguish utilization of a depression present in the bark." In the accompanying bark figure of the Bakaïrí /see p. 279/, a great advance has been made by means of the surface cutting in comparison with the line drawings. Where the fingers were clearly worked out, they corresponded exactly to the three of the pencil drawings; the toes, on the other hand, were never treated more accurately. The legs ran down shapelessly, like stockings. We were particularly struck by the tree figures along the forest path of the Nahuquá; they had formations resembling donkey ears, but somewhat longer, on either side of the head, B [534] which represented ear feathers. There was also one or another animal figure. If I add to this the fact that there were human figures carved on the huge hollow drum-tree lying in front of the festival hut of the third Bakaïrí village, there follows the noteworthy fact that the use of the human figure in the art of drawing was present only on trees. The pencil drawings were done at my request.

Bororo SP8
Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

/327 cont./

W 171 534

two whizzer sticks are 34 and 36 centimeters long; they have the shape of fish, which is suitable for the purpose, since part of the three-meter long rope is wound around the construction at the tail end. We had just as little difficulty obtaining the whizzer sticks as we did concerning the masks. The Nahuquá showed us how they were used on the village plaza in all candor, like any implement and without driving away the women. This is very interesting, since the whizzer stick, which in our civilized countries today is merely a child's toy, had or still has great significance in the religious mysteries among the most diverse peoples of the world. We shall come across it again among the Bororó, and, to be sure, with a mysterious meaning which is absent on the Kulisehu, and shall therefore discuss it more fully there.

BO [171] [534]

The Nahuquá and the Mehinakú have the same word for the whizzer stick, the former calling it matápu, the latter matáhu. Among the Auetó, Kamayurá, and /328/ Trumaí we did not see the implement.

Fig. 121. Whizzer stick. Mehinakú. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

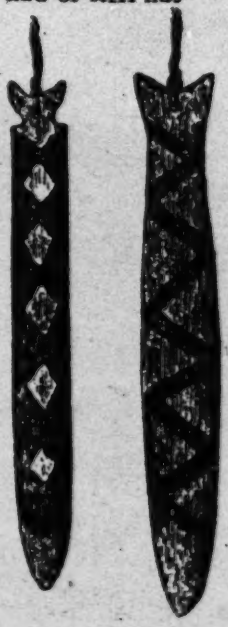

Fig. 122. Whizzer sticks (fish form). Nahuquá. (1/4-1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/479 cont. /

237 30 Claws, small ones from rodents and large ones from armadillos, were put together by twos and thus formed the shape of a half-moon; in the center, where they were joined and covered with resin, hung a bunch of strings, while a few shell ringlets were pressed into the resin.

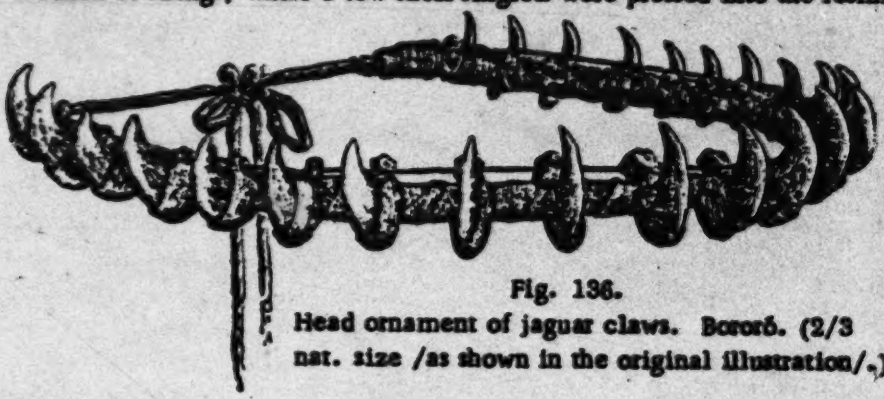

Fig. 136.
Head ornament of jaguar claws. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[171] We found the claws of the giant armadillo on the Kulisehu in a very similar arrangement, not as an ornament, but as a tool /Fig. 135 ap-
[177] pears here; see Fig. 25, page 205. The Bororó imitated the claw ornament by cutting pieces of the same shape and size out of the tin of Brazilian tin cans. The process was very interesting because nothing about the tin half-moons betrayed their origin from two claws, and they were even declared to be proof of the "moon worship" of the Bororó by a Cuyaban, as I discovered to my delight. See Fig. 135 /sic; probably Fig. 129, p. 589, is meant/, the ear ornament of the mother. This was the way the Indians were already working metal. Lip pegs were also cut out of tin.

[171] Jaguar claws were joined together into a head hoop, see Fig. 136, an ornament very similar to the Auetó chief's neck-chain of the same material in Fig. 5, page 90.

/480/ There were chains made of shell- and nut-beads, small pieces of bone, and pierced seed kernels, but they were far less important than on the Schingú. Beads made out of the armadillo carapace were most highly prized. I shall give more details about this in my description of the activity in the men's house. In that connection I shall also discuss the ornamental strings for both sexes, which we called "suspenders."

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on p.601]

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/486 cont./

411 bamboo point, hollowed out with the capibara chisel, and is only loosely fastened with a little resin and string; cf. No. 4. The war arrow, No. 10, also carved out of seriba, bears a very narrow (one to two centimeters) piece of bamboo, round, but sharpened along its entire length (37 centimeters). The bamboo points break off in the body.

The barbed arrow is equipped with a harpoon device to catch alligators and larger fish. The length of the harpoon arrow in No. 9 was 1.78 centimeters /sic/, 31 centimeters of which should be allowed for the barbed stick fastened to a rope; the shaft, a thick ubá reed, was additionally wound half a meter in breadth.

The snapshot in Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ and Plate 28 /see p. 600/ show the stretching of the bow. The crouching archer holds the bow horizontally; the standing one, vertically. A reserve arrow is held parallel to the bow with the left hand. In this case the arrow rests to the left of the bow on the index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. At its rear end it is grasped between thumb and index finger, the thumb lets go, the index finger, in extended position, supports and adjusts the arrow more accurately, the other three fingers, especially the middle [171] finger, stretch the bowstring. Thus, the stretching is different from that on the Kulisehu (cf. page 237). In the case of the crouching archer, where the arrow lies on the bow and is slightly pressed against it there by the tip of the index finger of the left hand, the position of the stretching right hand differs insofar as the rear end of the arrow is held between the tightly grasping thumb and the bent index finger.

345 Work in the men's house and techniques. Each one had his particular place: one who lived in the direction of the river, in the corner facing the river, and so forth, all according to the position of the house of the nearest relatives. Here where the [571] Indians were among themselves there prevailed, except for the sexual practices, a commendable order, even according to our 461 concepts. A person who had nothing to do, of course, idled with great perseverance, but a person who was occupied with his weapons, ornaments, and implements worked indefatigably and

/490 cont. /

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
615 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/498 cont. /

000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
784 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
784 founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.

/499 cont./

534 The shape of the whizzer sticks is longish oval, their length 40-42 centimeters. At the string end there is a notch and a short distance from it in the center line of the board a hole so that the string stretched between the hole and the notch has a firm hold; cf. Fig. 145 /see p. 623/.

534 531 Art of drawing. At first here I can continue with the whizzer sticks. On Plate 19 /see p. 268/ we see one drawn with pencil. Just as the corners, which have turned out rather pointed, are filled in with black in the picture, so are the ends of the whizzer sticks painted black; in between, the surface is painted with urucú red and on this red background the design is painted black. For motifs the designs have the two nearest at hand. On the whizzer stick in Figure 145, which was brought by the bari in connection with the death rites for Coqueiro's wife, there are painted semicircles with dots: the cranium with small feathers glued on it in its ornamentation for the bone-basket. On others there appeared articles of the woman's costume, either the bark belt in a wide, black cross-stripe or the bast band in triangles, cf. Fig. 129 /see p. 589/, with the hip cord. The latter motif is on the whizzer stick drawn on Plate 19. On either side is drawn a hip cord with three bast bands. Thus we have there the triangle familiar to us [171] from the uluri of the Kulisehu in the bast band as well, the corresponding imitation of which we should have liked to have obtained from the Trumaí. On one specimen of the whizzer stick, which also shows mother-of-pearl eyes and, in between, a semicircle without dots, there are painted, not only three bark belts as three cross-bands, but also, in the midst of each one, a small circle with a square to the right and left of it. /500/ The meaning is not clear; probably the squares represent the bone-baskets and the circle the skull.

302 The girls in the ranchão had their faces painted with the pictures of the bark belt and the bast band, as well as a part of the whizzer sticks: the same cross-stripe over the forehead and temple, including the eyes and leaving the upper part of the forehead free, and the same triangles on the cheeks, one on either side. This painting, however, page 594, was done with the more cheerful urucú red. One day the men permitted

/504 cont./

764 "The departed remains on his deathbed untouched for three days until decomposition is already far advanced and there is a disagreeable, nauseating odor; on the third day the corpse is wrapped in skins, mats, and green leaves, laid in the pit, and this again covered with earth, palm leaves, and mats.

"The burial place is in the center of the village and is kept very clean; it had the appearance of a European cemetery."

765 In this valuable account one point must be discussed in more
174 detail. Waehneldt, with his short visit in the Mato Grosso, re-
114 gards the Bororó as ancient inhabitants of the region and believes, since he saw burial in urns, that urns, too, which are found "in abundance in old habitations now forsaken, largely filled with bones," originated among the ancestors of the Bororó. His Bororó, however, are the ones who were settled here by the fazendeiro Leite after long struggles; there are many old urn-cemeteries of the same type in the vicinity of Villa Maria; they have nothing to do with the modern Bororó and
765 are yet to be investigated. Waehneldt himself says that he only
174 "came across a few pots of clay which were made by them and
[323] in addition several larger vessels for storing various objects, which were heirlooms from the ancestors because they are no longer made today." Either the Bororó had taken such urns as models and replaced their bone-baskets -- a /illustration appears here/ /505/ first step toward the urn -- with them, or, what I consider more likely in view of their acknowledged inferior performance in ceramics, which corresponds exactly to our Bororó, and the statement that old urns were used for other things, they buried their dead in the old urns which are to be found in such numbers and in part empty at the old dwelling sites
765 now abandoned. The original custom of the Bororó is the same
171 as that of Humboldt's Aturen /Ature/, of whom the traveler found only remnants in the form of 600 well-preserved skeletons colored red with urucú and packed in baskets of palm-leaf ribs as in a square bag, and of whose language only an old parrot of the nearby mission was still able to prattle a few words. The Aturen also, in accordance with tradition, had first laid their corpses in the earth for a time, let the flesh decompose, and

[Text continues on p. 634]

/505 cont./

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
● 171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

[302] Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[301] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/511 cont./

774 828 The Kayapó were truly in the vicinity of the village; no one doubted it. From his own experience Clemente confirmed the accuracy of their predictions. If the wife left behind in the village while her husband is absent on a hunting expedition, sitting half the night alone in her hut, has loudly lamented and grieved for a few hours and then lies down to sleep, her soul will certainly find the hunters, and, after awakening, the women will always give accurate accounts of where they are now and when they will return. The proximity of the enemy is discovered in the dream, people flee, and he enters a deserted village.

763 It is quite true that in the case of a person who is very ill the baris accurately predict the day of his death. Not only was the child whom I mentioned on page 568 killed when the time came, but even in the case of Coqueiro's wife artificial means were employed. She was brought, still alive, into the ranchão; her face was covered with a cloth and she suffocated under the cover. According to the baris, she was to die on the fourth day, and she died. I believe one can easily understand this tampering with Atropos' handiwork, particularly in the case of a frequently roving hunter tribe, even if it does not put human beings and animals on the same level quite as seriously as the Bororó, because they are accustomed to giving dying animals the finishing stroke and are not in a position to remain for an arbitrary period in some localities. The fact that the baris know how to benefit by this custom is another matter.

761 775 [171] Ideas about death and the existence after death differ essentially from those of the Kulisehu Indians insofar as the medicine men responsible for the death do not live in a neighboring village and carry on their magic art there, but are in certain animals, which are unfortunately or foolishly killed and which now avenge themselves by taking away the living. [171] Whereas the medicine man of the Bakaïrí transforms himself into animals only temporarily in narcosis and after death goes to heaven in human shape, here death itself is nothing but a transformation into animals, a dream, the reality of which has become visible to all.

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
[761] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on p. 646]

2: Steinen--653 E,D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/523/

Appendix.

I. Word List of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paressí, 11. Bororó.

The following lists, which I have arranged as uniformly as possible, are limited to substantives, personal pronouns of the first and second person, colors, numbers, negation. With anything else I should necessarily have to enter into grammatical discussions which would lead me too far afield. For this reason I have also been obliged to dispense with any kind of comparison. Anyone who studies the words a little more closely will easily recognize a number of regular forms of phonetic change and will be able to convince himself of the important fact that in the various groups -- especially in a comparison of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayura/ with the lingoa geral -- there takes place the same softening of the initial sound of the stem that I pointed out for Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and the Karaiben /Carib/ idioms. Everywhere, it seems, with lawful certainty, we come across the three series of the p-, t-, and k- initial sounds as the oldest possession of the base-languages.

The spelling has been kept as simple as possible. Note only:

a English a as in walk.
y as in York.
v German w.
ɣ guttural fricative, our German ch formed at the middle palate.
š French ch.
s French c.
z French z.

/524/

ϑ English th.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Otuké SF18 Bororo SP8

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

B O 101 619 175 [197]

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

B [619]

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sapotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1761 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

O [131]

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curumisuka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

B [131] [361]

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabeçaes* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

B [174] [162]

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

B [197]

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kajari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

B [172]

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

without special permission from the government. It developed that in recent years a number of foreign expeditions, under the guise of having scientific and humanitarian purposes, well supplied with credentials from pretentious scientific societies, membership in which can be had simply by subscribing to some publication, and often with political recommendations, have applied for entrance to the interior of Brazil. They have been received courteously and often every facility at the disposal of the government has been theirs. Subsequently have appeared sensational articles describing the terrible hardships encountered, and the scientific results have never been made public other than from the popular lecture platform, or have been published in some kind of adventure book. In many cases both the Brazilians and the aborigines have been maligned, and hardly ever is it mentioned that the Brazilian government did all in its power to help the expedition. This modern 'exploration racket' has justly aroused the ire especially of the Inspectoria de Proteção aos Indios, and the attempt is made to keep all foreigners out of the Indian country, unless it is proved without a doubt that the purpose is scientific. An expedition of the above kind which sensationally visited the country a few years ago was well remembered at Cuyabá, and its antics unquestionably caused us much delay. However, when the Inspectoria was convinced of our sincerity, it cooperated with great courtesy and sympathy.

M B 114 123

Archaeological Excavations at Descavaldos

B M 172

Early in April, I returned to Descavaldos, and immediately began excavating the first archaeological site on the west bank of the Paraguay river. The water was so high at this time that traveling overland was impossible. Descavaldos was literally an island, and the project of sampling numerous archaeological sites further inland, the location of which I had learned from the natives, had to be abandoned. Intermittent heavy rains threatened to destroy what was uncovered, and the untrained workmen made progress slow at first.

As soon as the water subsided somewhat, another site was opened some five miles away to the north of the first. This site was covered with jungle which had to be cleared. In the place of rains, we had to contend with peccarys and wild cattle. The site differed strikingly from the first in the types of burials.

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With the exception of the hills of Dourados, the country between Corumbá and S. Luis de Caceres is pantanal, with here and there a hill or range of hills rising abruptly from the level lowlands. Between Dourados and the Jauru river, the Bolivian border and the Paraguay river, is the vast ranch of Descavaldos, which is larger than Belgium in area, with many thousands of cattle roaming its meadows and an insignificant number of people to testify to its existence as a reclaimed land. Wild life is more abundant than the cattle, demonstrating its great tenacity in comparison to human life. Its original human inhabitants have gone, and new ones, Brazilian, Paraguayan, Bolivian, German and American, have taken their place. A mere handful of Bororo, who are so only in name, remain where there were once thousands.

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But the ranch is rich in archaeology. Its aboriginal population planted in the ground some phases of its culture which have withstood the action of water and other destructive elements. There are numerous localities where the archaeologist can recover some of the products of the arts of the now-extinct tribes. The newcomers to the land have not left these undisturbed. In the making of cuña and in keeping it afterwards the large funeral urns that can be so easily gotten from the ground have been found to be excellent receptacles. In the making of new pottery, it has been discovered that the clay of the old mixed with the fresh preparation, gives it a better temper. The result of these two useful discoveries has been the ruthless excavation of a number of sites in a most destructive way. Fortunately the area is a vast one and the population very sparse, and archaeology is to be found everywhere, so that the scientist can still tap fresh and undisturbed sources.

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It has been known that urn fields are plentiful in the region, and Max Schmidt also discovered petroglyphs in the hills of the Morro do Triompho near the Ilha de Caracaras. The natives also report the presence of mounds or tumuli, from one of which at Agua Verde, located on the Descavaldos ranch, the specimen shown in Plate XIX, 3 is supposed to have come, according to the lessee of the territory. It had been planned to visit the Morro do Triompho and the hills of Dourados to search for petroglyphs, and also to excavate one of these mounds. Climatic conditions interfered, causing the abandonment of these projects, for when the waters were high it was impossible to reach the desired localities, and when they had withdrawn, ethnology was occupying my attention.

[text continues on p. 106]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Botero SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1

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As has been mentioned, in the early months of the year the expedition was practically marooned on what was virtually an island, the port of Descavaldos, where most of the ranch buildings are located. At one time it was a prosperous and thriving settlement, having in addition to the buildings for the officials of the company that owned the ranch, a number of rows of houses for the ranch hands and their families, a factory, warehouses, power plant, hospital, church, and school house. Today the empty, crumbling buildings and rusting machinery attest to its past grandeur. Where hundreds led a busy and gay life, only a few score have remained.

CEMETERY 1
[Plates VIII, 1; IX, 1, 2]

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The settlement was built on an extensive aboriginal cemetery, whose limits have not been established as yet. For many years archaeological material has been brought to the surface by workmen, but no systematic excavating has been done, though the site was tested by Max Schmidt. While digging a fence ditch, members of the expedition came upon some interesting material, and work was stopped awaiting my arrival, and after that event the withdrawal of the waters, before continuing further.

This section, which was subsequently excavated, is between a row of houses and the waters of a lagoon that sweeps in from the Paraguay proper. At the commencement of the work early in April, it was no more than twenty meters from the water's edge. The buildings, fences, and a large tree that we were not permitted to remove, interfered with extending the excavation in desired directions, after the work was gotten under way. When work was stopped two trenches perpendicular to each other had been made covering twenty-two square metres of ground, at an average depth of one and one-half metres.

For the work, men were drawn from those on the ranch, men accustomed more to the saddle and work in connection with cattle, rather than such a careful and meticulous occupation. However, after it became settled in their minds that the objects uncovered were of importance and interest to me, they made excellent helpers.

Surface Finds

Over the entire area on which the buildings are built, potsherds are found in great quantities, but other artefacts are rare. The withdrawal

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of the water after the flood season often exposes objects, and several interesting pieces were found on the very edge of the bed of the Paraguay, indicating probably that the river has shifted its course since the time that the land was held by the aborigines, a not uncommon thing for the rivers of Matto Grosso to do. One such piece is a broken, polished, thin celt of limy chert. It is two centimetres in thickness, eight centimetres in width, and ten in length [Plate XIX, 1].

Most of the potsherds are of no value, since they show no decoration and no technique different from that of the pottery that is to be found below the surface. Several pieces show impressed string pattern decoration.

A grooved, heavy, polished celt was found on the surface of the section excavated. It is shown in Plate XIX, 2. It is badly and unevenly made of quartzite of coarse texture.

A polished, grooved, round fragment, measuring five centimetres in diameter and eight centimetres in length, may have been the upper part of a pestle. Another piece may have been used as a hammer stone.

At all levels between thirty centimetres below the surface and the floor of the excavation which was the top of the hard pan, were found burials, most of which were badly preserved. The action of water, and roots of the tree, and probable disturbance during the construction of the buildings, had broken many of the pots and damaged the skeletal material.

The hard pan was struck at an average depth of one and one-half metres. At several places, with much labor, it was excavated to a depth of ten and fifteen centimetres, but this brought forth nothing. Lack of time stopped further investigation in this direction.

No evidence of any geological stratification appeared on the walls of the trenches, so that the dating of the site is impossible by this means, except to say that it is of a recent date.

The site yielded abundant pottery, shell and teeth ornaments, but very little skeletal material could be preserved with the materials that we had. However, several skull caps, one skull minus the lower mandible, and a skeleton minus the head have been brought out but have not been studied by a competent person as yet.

[text continues on p. 109]

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Scattered everywhere, and sometimes definitely associated with the burials, were found a large quantity of aquatic shells [Pomacea australis (Orbigny)].

So close together were some of the burials that in some cases they overlapped. Though not enough burials were uncovered to determine this without further question, from what was found, there is indicated that the burials were grouped. In order to make the description easier to follow, the term 'unit' has been adopted, referring to a find that is considered to be separated from the others, though it may originally have consisted of more than one burial.

Unit A

At a depth of thirty centimetres there was uncovered an inverted yellow pottery bowl, but slightly damaged, measuring about thirty centimetres in diameter and ten in depth. There are marks on the surface which indicate that it was made by the coiling technique. On the whole it is poorly made, and bears no decoration of any kind.

Underneath it were found a number of small, fragile mussel shell beads and perforated monkey teeth. No bone fragments of any species were associated with this unit. However, the presence of the teeth and beads is good evidence that originally a skeleton had lain under the bowl. In all probability it was that of a very young child, the fragility of the bony material accounting for its disappearance under the climatic conditions.

Unit B

This unit was located at a slightly lower level than A, and about a metre away from it. It consisted of an inverted pottery bowl, slightly smaller than the bowl in A, of red ware, in excellent condition. On its removal it was discovered that it had been covering another bowl of elliptical shape which rested on a skull. It was found that this second piece fitted the top of the skull exactly, so that it must be concluded that it was made for that purpose. The skull rested on its base, facing the southeast. It was that of a young person, and its bones were poorly preserved. In spite of all the care that was taken, most of it crumbled when the attempt was made to remove it.

At the base of the skull and close to it were several shells, and also perforated teeth, a few long, cylindrical jasper beads, and the fragile

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mussel shell beads that were found with A. In addition there were a few long bones of some bird or mammal, which because of their fragility could neither be taken out nor identified.

Unit C

A badly preserved skull, at a slightly lower level than B, and at a distance from it of one and one-half metres. It was not protected by any pottery, and no artefacts were found associated with it. It was the skull of an adult.

Unit D

About a half metre away from C appeared an inverted bowl of approximately the same size, shape, and workmanship of A. Under it were some unidentifiable fragments of bone and some mussel shell beads. Being on the same level as C, this unit may very well have been a part of the C burial, shifted and separated from it subsequent to the interment, by the action of the water and other disturbing elements.

Unit E

At a depth of half a metre and about two metres away from D was uncovered the skeleton of a child, unprotected by any pottery. The child had been placed on its back, the knees drawn up to the chest, the lower leg doubled on the femur. The greater portion of the skull had disintegrated, but a few teeth remained. All of the bones were badly damaged and could not be preserved. No grave furniture of any kind was found in association.

Unit F [Plate IX. 2]

Work stopped from progressing in the direction taken by D and E, by the foundations of a wall. the trench was extended in the other direction from A and later swung to the right so as to be at right angles to the original trench. In this new section were uncovered a number of overlapping burials, which, though badly preserved, nevertheless added considerably to the material.

[text continues on p. 112]

Mato Grosso SP1

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About two metres away from A were a group of overlapping burials in the same level. After clearing away the debris, burial F was isolated and was found to be in a fair state of preservation.

This unit was first revealed as three inverted bowls, all badly broken. On their removal a skeleton of a young person was uncovered, lying on its back, its head slightly turned to its right, its knees drawn up and outward, and its feet together, thus forming with the legs a diamond-shaped figure. It was orientated northwest to southeast, with its head to the northwest.

Extended at its right side, with the fragments of the skull partly resting on it above the pelvis, was the fragmentary skeleton of some small mammal, probably a monkey, also carefully covered with a pottery bowl.

The skeleton, besides occupying such an odd position, showed other peculiarities. The head was large, and judging from the formation of the teeth it must have been an individual past puberty. The bones of the legs, in contrast, were puny, being both thin and short. Around its neck and chest, still in position, perforated teeth were found, in such a quantity that the bones were entirely hidden by them. On their removal a still greater quantity of small perforated shell discs, in position so as to make any other inference than that they formed a necklace impossible, were about the neck and extended partly down the neck. A good number of the same cylindrical jasper beads were scattered among the perforated teeth and the perforated discs.

The small skeleton of the mammal likewise was adorned with a necklace of the same cylindrical jasper beads.

Several aquatic shells were found associated with the burial.

No other artefacts of any kind could be found.

Most of this skeletal material has been preserved.

Unit G

Close to the left of the head of F, a number of burials must have existed, but we found only debris consisting of potsherds, beads, perforated teeth and bone fragments. One small pot was preserved whole, but it was found to be empty. It may have belonged to unit F originally. It is a small, globular pot with a broad rim decorated with impressed

MATO GROSSO SP1

string patterns, similar to the decoration found on the surface potsherds already described.

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Unit H

This was located about one and one-half metres away from G, and at the same level. It consisted of a well-preserved adult skeleton of large proportions, lying on its right side, the knees drawn up to a sitting posture, the lower legs flexed on the thighs. The skull could not be located. No pottery or any kind of ornaments were associated with it; but it did present a new feature in that at its back was found a cache of piranha jaws and teeth. The body lay in an east to west line.

Unit I

A number of burials were uncovered about a metre away from H and to its right. They conformed to the general type. Four pottery bowls, badly damaged, covered skeletons, one of which occupied an extended position on its back. The other skeletons were so damaged and so mixed that little information could be gotten. There was total absence of any ornaments, but the shells described above were also associated with this group. The bone material was that of children.

In addition to the above finds there were recovered from accidental excavations nearby a skull minus the lower mandible and a skull cap. They have not been studied as yet.

* * * *

Lacking any geological data on which to base an estimate of its antiquity, it is significant that no artefacts of European origin were found in the excavation.

Though most of the skeletal remains were those of children, it cannot be inferred that the site is a child cemetery, when it is remembered that infant mortality is especially high among primitive peoples.

The method of burial for children seems to have been a simple interment protected by pottery. Ornaments such as the children wore were placed with the bodies.

Of these ornaments, the perforated shell discs are still very common among the tribes of the upper Xingu which were visited later, but were not found either among the Bororo da Campanha or the Bororo of the

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[text continues on p. 115]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1
MB 133 172

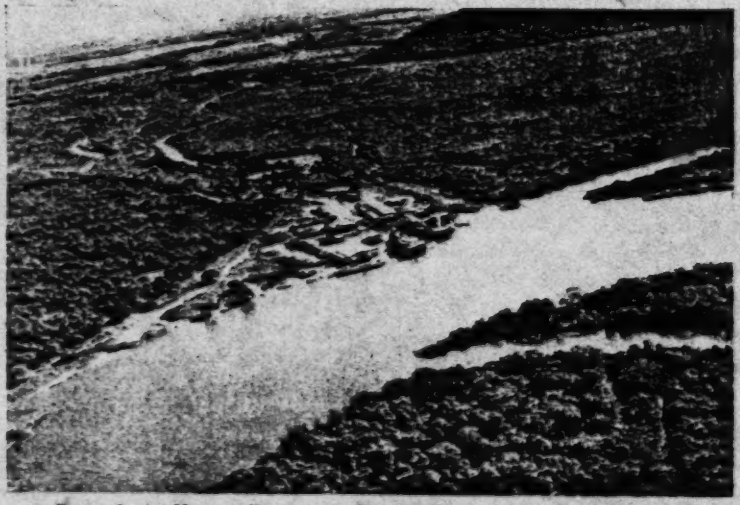

FIGURE 1. AIR VIEW OF DESCAVALADO SHOWING LOCATIONS OF THE CEMETERIES

MB 172

FIGURE 2. A SECTION OF CEMETERY II

[P. 114]

[Plate VIII]

3:Petrúllo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1

São Lorenço valley. The mussel shell beads and the cylindrical jasper kind are not to be found among the Bororo or those groups mentioned above.

M B 172

The method of burial of the Bororo is radically different from what was revealed in this excavation, leaving no doubt that the cemetery must antedate the occupation of the territory by these people.

B [301 171]

The piranha is associated in magico-religious concepts of the tribes of the Kuluene-Kulueme region. Its jaws and teeth find practical application by all of the aborigines, being used as scrapers, or cutters. The cache of piranha jaws and teeth thus becomes meaningful.

B [764]

The body was not buried always in the same position. The site revealed that it was placed sometimes on the side, and sometimes on the back, with the legs flexed at various degrees.

All of the burials were unquestionably primary, judging from the articulating position of the bones. No marks of any kind were found on the skeletal material.

The pottery is of poor quality, being of coarse clay and badly fired. The decoration that was found on several potsherds and on one small pot was impressed string pattern. The pottery ware is different from that made by the Bororo.

B [323]

The lithic industry is too poorly represented to permit any conclusions. What was found is polished, and badly made. Its scarcity suggests that it was not a major industry in the culture represented. However, the stone, if not the artefacts, must have been imported from the highlands of the west or the north, since there is no stone in the region.

CEMETERY II

[Plate VIII, 1, 2]

About five miles to the west of Cemetery I, and the port of Descavaldot, is located Cemetery II, part of an extensive archaeological site whose limits have not been determined. The land is slightly elevated from the rest of the pantanal, so that during the floods it forms an island, but at the height of the dry season it remains partly surrounded by a large lagoon which is connected with the Paraguay only by marshes. When the water is high it can be reached by canoe from the Paraguay. It constitutes an ideal location for a native village, in that it is situated in the pantanal where game is plentiful, it is close to the river, though hidden

SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1

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away and protected by swamps, and it is always close to good water. The site is completely covered with thick jungle growth.

The same men that excavated Cemetery I were employed on Cemetery II, and they proved very ingenious in solving the new problems that arose, in clearing the site, in excavating and in transporting the archaeological material to the port.

An area seventy-five by twenty-five metres was cleared of all underbrush, and staked out in five-metre squares. Though this did not include the entire site, it was enough for our purposes. On the removal of the vegetation, clusters of rocks were found scattered about. In every case such clusters marked the location of a group of funereal urns. Another way of determining fertile places employed by the natives was to stamp on the ground. If this happens to be done over an urn a sound like beating a drum is produced.

At several places the site had been disturbed by the natives and ranchers, who sought to excavate the large urns intended to be put to domestic use. They had not been always successful in taking out whole pots, as several broken urns attested.

It was so late in the season that rains did not interfere with the excavating, but being away from the ranch settlement, we had to contend with cattle and peccarys that formed the habit of visiting the site at night. It became necessary to build a strong fence about the area being excavated.

Three smaller sections of the cleared and staked area were opened: one close to the lagoon, measuring thirty metres square; the second, twenty-five metres away from the first and to the extreme right of the cleared section; and the third, about forty metres away from the first and to the extreme left. In this manner, a test of the site was made as to whether it contains the same type of archaeology throughout.

The most fertile of the sections excavated was the first, and since the others differed in no way from it in the style of pottery or burial found, it only will be described.

In general, the material was in a better state of preservation than in Cemetery I, due probably to the larger and coarser pottery being able to resist the action of water and other disintegrating agents better. Very little skeletal material was successfully gotten out, as in the first site.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP2
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At places the excavation was continued to almost two metres, but the walls of the cuts revealed no difference in the soil, not even the humus line being marked. In this respect it was similar to the first cemetery, no change of soil occurring until the hard pan was reached.

Surface Finds

These include only material that was found over the areas excavated or to a depth of a few centimeters. As in the first site, the entire area was covered with potsherds, which in most cases revealed nothing that was not learned from the whole pottery to be found under the surface. However, a few pieces of decorated pottery were found. These are shown in Plate XX, 1-4. The decoration is painted in red on red ware. It is rectilinear and consists of broad red lines which are drawn either parallel to each other or criss-cross.

Other finds include:

On the very surface two iron tomahawks, of the usual type.

Three unhafted polished hornfel celts, beautifully made. The average size is about eight centimetres in length, five centimetres in width at the cutting edge and two centimetres at the butt. The greatest thickness is three centimetres. These were found about fifteen centimetres below the surface. [Plate XX, 7.]

One celt, of the approximate size of the above, with a slight groove encircling the butt.

Several jasper cylindrical beads of the same type as those found in Cemetery I.

One large polished quartzite bead.

One large polished hafted quartz pendant [Plate XX, 5].

A small undecorated pitcher-shaped vessel with out-turned rim, crude handle and flat base. It measures but four centimetres in height and is characterized by exceptionally thick walls. [Plate XX, 15.]

Four small round pottery vessels of hemispherical shape with thick rims. Three of these are decorated with painted designs in red.

(a) This is the largest, measuring ten centimetres across the top, and seven in height. Its walls are disproportionately thick, and the rim is made even thicker by a roll of clay, forming the upper border of the painted design, the other being formed by another roll accentuated by incised lines, on each side. The painted decoration is in red, consisting

M B 172

of parallel lines, criss-cross, and filled-in triangles. A section of it is shown in Plate XX, 9. Close to the rolled rim on one side, the vessel bears a smooth, round hole less than one centimetre in diameter. It was unquestionably put there intentionally by the potter.

(b) This specimen is of identical shape as (a) but smaller, measuring but seven centimetres across the top and four centimetres in height. It bears the rolled rim, and incised lines. The painted decoration is black and consists of lines and rectangular figures, sectioned off. The hole close to the rim again appears. [Plate XX, 9 a.]

(c) Of the same size as (b), and is identical with it except that the rolled rim is heavier and does not bear any painted decoration.

(d) This is the smallest of the four, and is identical with the others only differing in the painted decoration, which consists of diamond and triangular figures filled in with parallel horizontal lines. The ware is red and the decoration is in red. [Plate XX, 9 b.]

(a), (c), and (d) were found in close proximity to each other at the same level, thirty centimetres below the surface, but not in association with any of the urn burials. (b) was found also about thirty centimetres below the surface and in the section where the urns were closely packed.

B [881] [804] [415]

That the hole served the purpose of passing a string through it in order to keep the vessels suspended seems to be a reasonable assumption but as to their probable use little that is definite can be said. One of the Bororo da Campanha workmen offered the information that in his boyhood he had seen similar vessels used by the girls in the catamenial periods, especially during the period of the puberty initiation ceremony in connection with fasting. These vessels were used as measures for the amount of water and food the girl was permitted to have; whether it was per day or per meal he could not say. However, the ware is not of the Bororo style, and such vessels were not found in use among the Bororo of the São Lorenço region, so that this suggestion cannot be taken as conclusive.

Another find consisted of several conical bone points, with concave bases, similar to those found on Bororo arrows, and also on the arrows gotten in the Kulusen-Kuluene region. [Plate XX, 6.]

Five pottery spindle whorls of the form shown in Plate XX, 8.

Between a depth of thirty centimetres and hard pan, we came upon a large number of closely packed pottery vessels, some of which con

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1
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tained fragmentary bone material. Plate VIII, 2 shows part of the excavation. Besides a great quantity of aquatic shells, which were found at all levels in the soil, below thirty centimetres, nothing was found but pottery and skeletal material. Not a single fragment of any artefact could be located, though the earth taken out was most carefully sifted.

To facilitate the discussion, the pottery can be roughly divided in the following types, according to the shape and size:

(a) Large urns with conical bases, bulging sides, forming shoulders, narrow mouths, either with or without a rim collar, and undecorated. These for the most part were found to be empty, except in those cases where the cover had been broken, in which cases they were filled with debris. [Plate XX, 19-21.]

(b) Globular urns, smaller than (a), with or without rim collar, with or without rudimentary handles, undecorated, always containing skeletal material. [Plate XX, 17, 18.]

(c) Bowls undecorated, but for one, of various sizes, used as covers on the urns. [Plate XX, 14.]

The pottery ware is crude, badly fired, and the larger urns are never perfectly shaped. The surfaces show the marks of the coiling technique.

The following units are typical of the site:

Unit A [Shown in the right foreground in Plate VIII, 2.]

A large urn in good condition, of red ware, with a rim collar, measuring .85 metre in height and .80 metre at the greatest diameter. Originally it had been covered with an inverted bowl, the fragments of which were found inside it. It contained no skeletal material and no artefacts.

Unit B

A unique burial group seen immediately behind A in Plate VIII, 2. It consisted of an urn of type (b), bearing a bowl cover. The urn was empty even of debris, but on the outside and packed close to it were remains of three disarticulated skeletons. The bones were in such a bad state of preservation that few of them could be taken out. No artefacts of any kind were found in association.

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Unit C

A large urn bearing a bowl cover, the inner surface of which bears a painted rectilinear design in red. The bowl is a large one, measuring forty centimetres across the top and fourteen in depth. In the bottom of the urn were found fragments of bones.

Unit D

A globular urn about forty centimetres in diameter, bearing rudimentary handles. It was covered with a bowl and contained disintegrated skeletal material.

Unit E

Urn of type (a), on which rested another urn of type (b), which was covered with a bowl. Both urns contained skeletal material.

Unit F

One of the largest urns taken out, measuring 1.23 metres in height, and .97 metre at the greatest diameter. This specimen is now in the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. It bears no decoration. With the debris that it contained was found some skeletal material.

Unit G

A large urn of type (a), measuring .90 metre at the greatest diameter and an equal amount in height. The sides slope in abruptly forming shoulders, terminating in upturned rim collar. It bears no decoration. It likewise was originally covered with a bowl.

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Bororo da Campanha

While work continued at the cemetery site, a visit was paid to the remnants of the Bororo de Campanha, collected at a village locally known as Laguna.

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The trip to Laguna was made in the company of Messrs. E. R. Fenimore Johnson, John S. Clarke, Samuel T. Hoopes, Floyd Crosby, the cameraman, and guides. The village is situated on some high ground, covered with palm and banana groves. It consisted of a few huts arranged haphazardly, with that of the headman at the edge of a cleared

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

[Plate IX]

[P.123]

Figure 1. A Section of Cemetery I

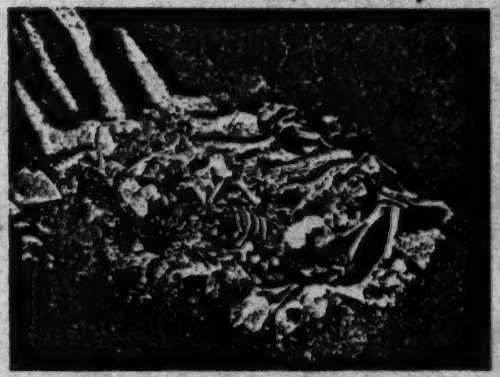

Figure 2. A Burial (Unit F) in Cemetery I

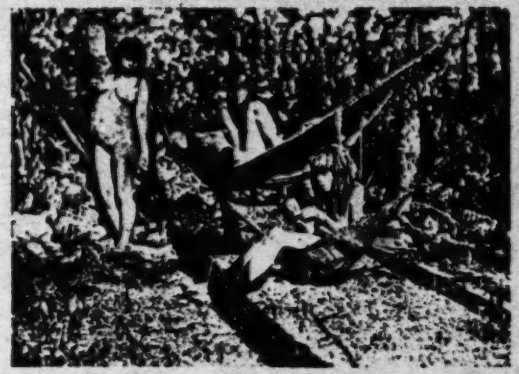

Figure 3. Yawalapiti and Mehinaku Encamped at the Mouth of the Kuluseu River

Figure 4. Our Arrival at the Kuikuri Port on the Kuluene River

SP8 Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25
Mato Grosso SP1

PLATE XIX

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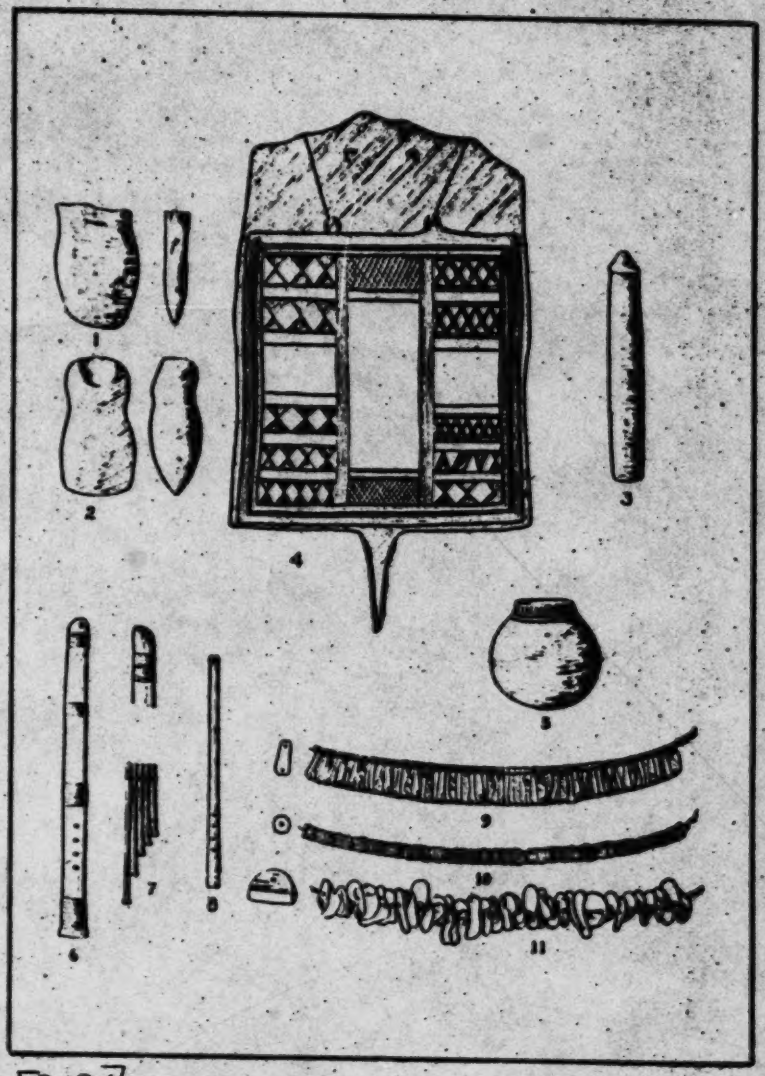


[P. 174]

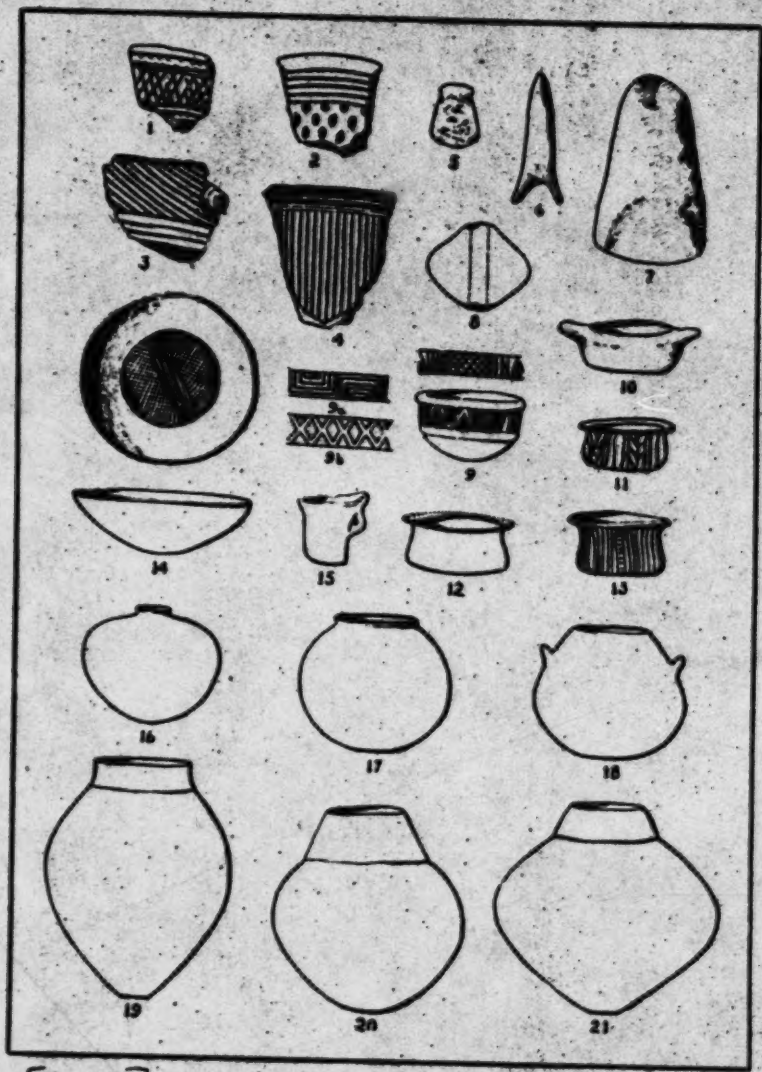
[for captions, see cat. 116, p. 82—Analyst]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8

Mato Grosso SP2

Yaruma SP25 PLATE XX



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[P. 175]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp. 87-88.—
Analyst]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7

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[Facing P. 180-A]
[Plate XXV-A]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8 ●
Bacairi SP7

PLATE XXV

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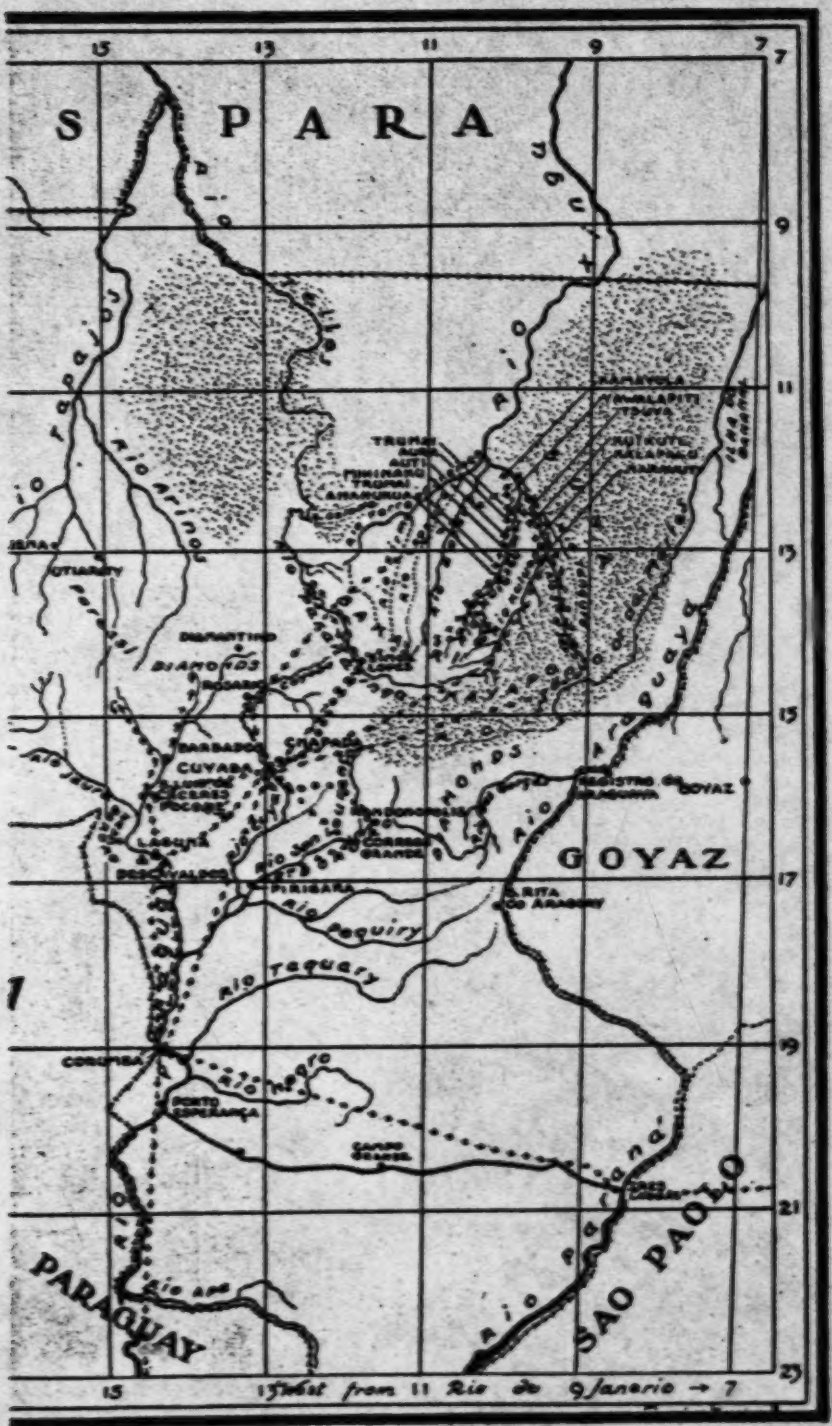

[Plate XXV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 406 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [774] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [552] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 624 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 174

613 lineages have in contemporary Bororo rituals, and it is expressed in terms of seniority. Ki Bakororo is said to be the [796] older brother, the two others the younger brothers. Each of lineages (brothers) has to perform different functions in certain ceremonies, and the ancestral brothers have their own distinct personalities in the myths. However, the Bororo affirm that the three terms are only three different names of the same person: Ki Bakororo. He also has many other names, but these three are his most important ones. There is a way of reconciling these seemingly contradictory statements. Table VIII diagrams relationships which accommodate both of the above interpretations.

613 553 Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari are hierarchically ordered fraternal lineages. By the act of naming, every man and his mother's brother are equivalent: Ki Bakororo is equivalent to his mother's brother Ki Bakororo; Badajeba Kudoro is equivalent to his mother's brother Badajeba Kudoro; and Jakorari to his mother's brother Jakorari. 613 If we go far enough, we arrive at their common mother's 553 brother, who, by the naming act, is equivalent to all three 173 lineages: to Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. Thus the Bororo can logically say that the three names are only different names of the same person. The principal name of this person was Ki Bakororo, and this was the name that his eldest sister's son inherited from him. The name then continued to be used as the name of the principal lineage within the subclan by Ki Bakororo's matrilineal descendants.

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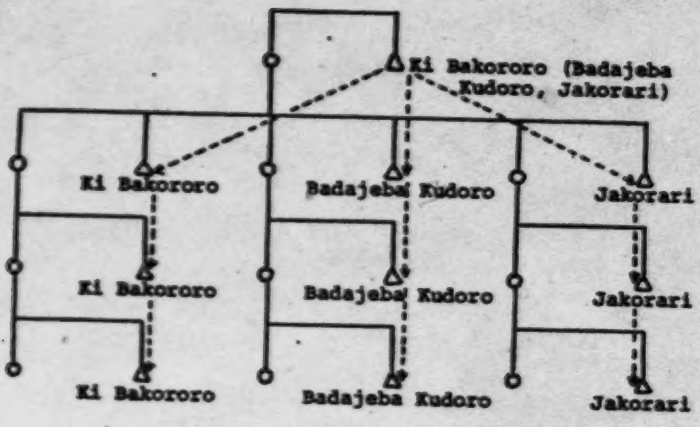
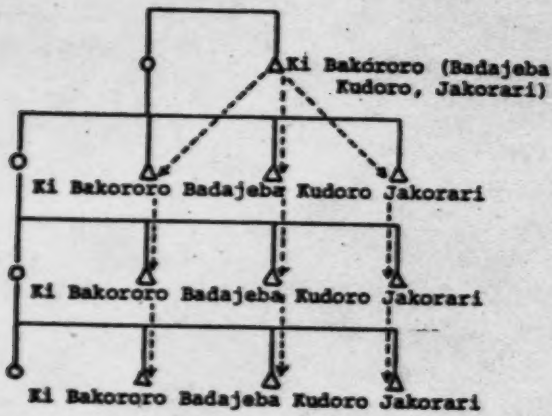
Table VIII





The broken lines represent name-giving relationships and the arrows indicate the direction from name-giver to name-receiver

613 It is not known if the other two names, Badajeba Kudoro and
553 Jakorari, were actually used by the original Ki Bakororo, but
173 this is not important. It may have happened that ten generations after the original Ki Bakororo, two of his descendants with the nicknames of Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari made themselves famous and established their own separate lineages. But the relationship of equivalence is not directional, so the names Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are retroactive, and the Bororo can say that Ki Bakororo is Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari.

181 Western anthropologists may consider themselves structuralists, but they still sometimes need historical explanations to understand better the structure of a system. The Bororo do not have this historical bias; their view of the world is entirely structural. We have already seen evidence of this world view in the symmetry of relationships between father and son and husband and wife and in the relationship of equivalence between a man and his name-giver; now it is evident in the hierarchical relationship among brothers who are "really the same person."

000 Ki Bakororo could be considered the unmarked term of this set, while Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are marked. In this specific example, Badajeba Kudoro is also considered the unmarked member in opposition to Jakorari, because Badajeba Kudoro is his older brother, and the relationship is transitive.

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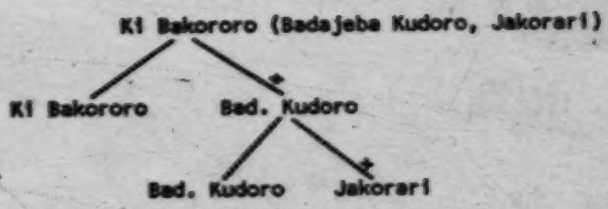

Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

593 However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoga, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (ere mitotuje, "they are just one"; e kare tuginoi, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

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614 gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one
621 commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on
181 the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

622 When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say
[73] that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they
[224] themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the
[70] center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer
[728] of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

/145 cont./

562 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically
224 and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his
833 sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the
173 past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but
[224] today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much, for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

832 It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is
833 the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to
173 which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

832 They say that the only form of sexual caress known by the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

838 Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the
839 Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes
171 visited by me.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

582 turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to him- 583
self he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver
her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters
while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number
of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early
marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu when-
ever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families.
They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the hope
and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an [595]
old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed
the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take
a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The pros- 844
pective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born,
and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends
who go in search of her. It is common for children, espe- 862
cially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large
indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the
mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's
leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying
scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases.
The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts,
works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry 582
a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta
Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the 173
Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men,
now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these
things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them.
There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was
once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate
that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the
Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not 586
abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare
intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her
from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights 578
between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing
with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged hus-
band berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village
can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns
the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they
emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men,
women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and
582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage
174 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as
585 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous
591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

763 **Death observances.**—A dying person (das Garças group) is smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk
602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors
764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's
[622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve
224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A
[616] mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him
881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for
764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread
764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 775 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 775 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 174

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [775]

/504 cont./

764 "The departed remains on his deathbed untouched for three days until decomposition is already far advanced and there is a disagreeable, nauseating odor; on the third day the corpse is wrapped in skins, mats, and green leaves, laid in the pit, and this again covered with earth, palm leaves, and mats.

"The burial place is in the center of the village and is kept very clean; it had the appearance of a European cemetery."

765 In this valuable account one point must be discussed in more
● 174 detail. Waehneldt, with his short visit in the Mato Grosso, re-
114 gards the Bororó as ancient inhabitants of the region and believes, since he saw burial in urns, that urns, too, which are found "in abundance in old habitations now forsaken, largely filled with bones," originated among the ancestors of the Bororó. His Bororó, however, are the ones who were settled here by the fazendeiro Leite after long struggles; there are many old urn-cemeteries of the same type in the vicinity of Villa Maria; they have nothing to do with the modern Bororó and
765 are yet to be investigated. Waehneldt himself says that he only
174 "came across a few pots of clay which were made by them and
[323] in addition several larger vessels for storing various objects, which were heirlooms from the ancestors because they are no longer made today." Either the Bororó had taken such urns as models and replaced their bone-baskets -- a /illustration appears here/ /505/ first step toward the urn -- with them, or, what I consider more likely in view of their acknowledged inferior performance in ceramics, which corresponds exactly to our Bororó, and the statement that old urns were used for other things, they buried their dead in the old urns which are to be found in such numbers and in part empty at the old dwelling sites
765 now abandoned. The original custom of the Bororó is the same
171 as that of Humboldt's Aturen /Ature/, of whom the traveler found only remnants in the form of 600 well-preserved skeletons colored red with urucú and packed in baskets of palm-leaf ribs as in a square bag, and of whose language only an old parrot of the nearby mission was still able to prattle a few words. The Aturen also, in accordance with tradition, had first laid their corpses in the earth for a time, let the flesh decompose, and

[Text continues on p. 634]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Otuké SF18 Bororo SP8

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curumingka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçues* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 250 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequirý-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in
much detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio
Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for in-
vestigation, especially in what touches on the problems of
individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of
175 these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the
city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda,
therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and
[648] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up
[181] to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno
who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times
the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not
making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno
chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward
peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering
22 people. They spent only three months of the year, more or
[241] less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time
they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from
a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in
the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is
167 reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back
by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians
still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.
797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than
131 thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that
time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio
Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them,
therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present
territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about
53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the
Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro,
tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/440 cont./

P 173 was born on the Matihurizá, "where there is neither land nor forest," that is, no shore, "and he went far upstream." The Matihurizá is the Tapajoz, if it does not represent the Amazonas itself. Thus, if the main movement of the Karaiben tribes was in the direction from south to north, at least this part of the Nu-Aruak group moved from north to south.

To be sure, the good people are not concerned about the slight contradiction that Uazale came from the far north and that his grandmother Maisõ made the Rio Cuyabá as the first of all rivers!

/441/

Chapter XVII.

On the Bororõ.

I. Historical. Founding of the Colonies.

Bororõ da Campanha and do Cabaçal. "Coroados" = Bororõ. Confusion in the literature. Little Sebastian. Martius. Ending of warfare and catechesis. Pillage in the colonies.

B 101 Two groups of Bororõ are distinguished in the Mato Grosso: the "Bororós da Campanha," or of the plains, and the "Bororós Cabaçaes," or of the Rio Cabaçal. The Bororós da Campanha B 131 live in small settlements below Villa Maria, on the right bank 133 of the Paraguay and Jaurú, toward Bolivia, the Bororós do 361 Cabaçal not far from them in the north, along the banks and in the source region of the river of the same name as well as of the Jaurú, both of which empty into the upper Paraguay from the right, the former at Villa Maria, the latter somewhat farther south.

B 175 These Bororõ were not infrequently visited by travelers; in [114] 1827 they came into contact with the Langsdorff Expedition; in the same year the Austrian naturalist Natterer gathered an abundant collection among them, now in the Vienna Hofmuseum; Count Castlenau and his companion Weddell, who stayed in the Mato Grosso during their famous crossing of South America in

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sª. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[177] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/442 cont./

•175 The colonization history of the province tells us about other Bororó, even in the earliest epoch. In 1742 Antonio Pires set out with a band of Paulistas and 500 friendly Bororó to subjugate the Kayapó /Cayapo/ in the southern part of the province; he took more than 1000 captive, established a few military posts, and left behind "a garrison of Bororó" there.

131 All these Bororó originally come from the region of the Rio S. Lourenço; from its lower part these nomadic hunters spread out into the region between it and its tributary, the Cuyabá, as well as along the right bank of the Paraguay lying opposite its mouth, whereas the ones originating from the upper part of the S. Lourenço are encountered by us in the eastern and southeastern part of the province along the source rivers of the Araguay /Araquaia/, the "Contravertenten" /contraflows/ of the S. Lourenço, as neighbors and enemies of the no less strong Kayapó.

114 It is difficult to understand why such great confusion has prevailed and still prevails about the Bororó among the people of the Mato Grosso themselves as well as in the literature. We 101 learn from Castelnau that the Bororó of the Cabaçal were at that time still called "Porrudos"; "the old name of the Rio S. Lorenço, which it still bears in its upper part," as the geographer Melgaço states (Rev. Trim., Vol. 47, p. 459), is now "Rio dos Porrudos."**

** Porra means "penis" in Portuguese; the penis-cuff of the Bororó suggested the name. Since the same costume, widespread throughout Brazil, did not call forth this name elsewhere, one suspects that here where the people said that they were called "Bororó" the Paulistas were moved to make a bad pun.

The Indians of the S. Lourenço are today called "Coroados," the shorn ones -- a name that positively invites confusion. We could have called the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians "Coroados" too; there were Coroados especially in the river basin of the Paraná

/472 cont./

291 pulled and lengthened. The flag is a strip of straw up to 20 centimeters in length inserted at the side. Even the captured Clemente was given a cuff, and he complained that it was accompanied by pain and swelling. The Langsdorff Expedition reports of the Bororó dos Campos in the year 1827 that "the men, after the manner of the Guató, tie up the praeputium with embira bast which they wear as a belt; others cover it with a leaf sheath (cartuxa de folhas)." * I have already quoted on page 193

[175]

[113] * Revista Trimensal 38 II, page 242.

Waehneldt's remark, which likewise bears witness, that the hip cord without cuff suffices, as on the Kulisehu. Rohde ** expresses

[114]

[113] ** Originalmitteilungen aus der Ethnol. Abteilung /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division/ I, page 14.

himself incorrectly when he says: "the men go about completely naked, except that they cover the penis with a sheath of reed, they tie the foreskin up, the member is fastened upright to the body." The reed sheaths which he presented to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde are exactly like the cuffs described, which cover the penis only insofar as the glans is part of it, and the rest seems to be pushed back into the scrotum. We did not see on the S. Lourenço the clamping into the hip cord; it is said to be done only by those who do not wear a cuff. Hence it follows that the purpose of the "tying up," namely, to be unimpeded in running, which Waehneldt suggests, could only have been a secondary purpose. The real purpose, which hip cord and cuff serve in like manner, is the lengthening of the praeputium; differing only with respect to method. It was observed among the great majority of all Brazilian tribes. /Pl. XXVII appears here./

/473/ Of the Bororó women the reporter of the Langsdorff Expedition says: "The women have a strange custom, I do not know whether to /Fig. 129 appears here/ cover themselves, in which case they are far from their laudable purpose. First of all, I should

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 590]

/516 cont./

114 Language. The linguistic material collected among the Bororó, which will perhaps suffice to establish at least the most important grammatical outlines, has not yet been worked over.
197 Up to now I have not been able to find any linguistic /517/ relationship with other known idioms. In any case, the Bororó belong neither to the Tupí nor to the Gês, as one might at first think. Nor would it be particularly strange if all efforts remained
195 fruitless, because the vicinity of their territory, over a wide area, has experienced very restless times since the first settling of the
648 Mato Grosso. In the north the road leads toward Goyaz, which they have often harrassed with their attacks; in the south the discoverers came from the province of S. Paulo, and here as well as there years of slave-hunting took place.

194 The language is melodious and for us, apparently, easy to learn. As for consonants, only f is lacking, apart from fatogúro, "saliva"; double consonants are rare, the terminal sound is vocalic. The accent is generally on the penultimate syllable. There is no plural ending for the substantive. The independent
193 personal pronouns are: 1. imi, I; 2. aki, you; 3. ema, au, he; 4. pagi, we; 5. tagi, you; 6. emagi, they. The corresponding pronominal suffixes for substantive and verb are:

1. i-, 2. a-, 3. –, 4. pa-, 5. te-, 6. e-.

194 In use, various forms of phonetic change and influences on the initial sound of the stem appear. I shall give a few tentative examples:

	Ear	Nose	Head	To go
1.	i-wiya	i-keno	i-taura	i-i-tua
2.	a-wiya	a-keno	a-kaura	a-tua
3.	biya	eno	kaura	tua
4.	pa-wiga	pa-geno	pa-gaura	pa-dua
5.	te-wiya	te-geno	te-taura	te-dua
6.	e-wiya	e-keno	e-taura	e-tua

2: Steinen--655E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guana SK7
Terena
Bororo SP8
B
127
BO
G
13
16
175

/548/

II. The Mato Grosso Tribes according to Cuyaban Records.

Since the fate of the "Archives" of the Directoria dos Indios discussed in the footnote on page 467 is very uncertain, I regard it as necessary to give my excerpt. I shall start with the tables for 1848 and 1872.

		1848		1872
1	Caiuás	?	Vicinity of Rio Iguatimy (1)	?
2	Chamococos	200	Paraguay on the right near Bahia Negra	200
3	Guaicurís: Cadiuéos	850	Paraguay below Coimbra	850
4	Guaicurís: Beaquéos	500	East of the Paraguay and south of Miranda	100
5	Guaicurís: Cotoguéos		Lalima (2) near Miranda	– (4)
6	Guaicurís: Guatiedeos	130	Albuquerque	– (5)
7	Guanás: Guanaz	200	Albuquerque and near Cuyabá	– (6)
8	Guanás: Kinikinãos	1000	Matto grande near Albuquerque-Miranda	–
9	Guanás: Terenas	2000	Miranda	–
10	Guanás: Laianas	300	Miranda	–
11	Guachís	?	Miranda	– (7)
12	Guatós	500	Paraguay and S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba and Uberaba	50 (8)
13	Bororós da Campanha	180	West of the Paraguay near the Marco do Jaurú (3)	180

1. The Rio Iguatemy is a tributary of the Paraná, into which it empties somewhat above the Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas.

2. Six leagues south of Miranda.

3. Tributary of the Paraguay. The Registro or Registo (cf. 14), the customs station, lies on the road between Cuyabá and Matto Grosso.

4. Missing in the list.

5. Missing in the list.

6. Were brought to Asuncion by the Paraguayans and all died there.

7. Missing in the list.

8. Are almost extinct as a result of the Paraguay War and smallpox.

2: Steinen--656 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7 Bororo SP8 Nambicuara SP17 Paressi SP19

/548 cont./

		1848	1872
14 Bororós Cabaçaes . .	110	Registo do Jaurú and Campos da Caiçara	40
15 Cayapós	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba	400
16 Coroados	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
/549/			
17 Bacahirís	200	Source region of Paranatinga	200
18 Cajabís	?	Source region of Paranatinga	?
19 Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecíz	400
20 Pariciz	250	Campos and Serra dos Parecíz	250
21 Maimbarés	400		400
22 Cabixís	500		500
23 Nambiquarás. . . .	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos)	600
24 Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (brook) dos Tapanhunas (to the Arinos)	800
25 Apiacaz	2700	Arinos and Juruena	2700
26 Mequens	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guarayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Cautarios	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacáz.	??	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Cenabós	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés	?		
32 Caripunas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33 Aráras	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		8670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

GO /550 cont./
105 Guató with five or six canoes full of women and children. Usu-
175 ally they have two wives, some are content with one. Here
[595] and there they cultivate a little maize, mandioca, and fruit, but more as delicacies than for subsistence. They also gather the wild rice (arroz silvestre), which grows there in abundance, but only for the needs of the moment. Very skillful with bow and arrow; engage in jaguar hunting with spear and javelin. Friendliest barter. The men starting to wear shirt and trousers, the women petticoats. Are faithful, upright, harmless, but have occasionally shown that they are capable of offering resistance and avenging injuries. Very inclined to drunkenness. Most of them understand our language and many adults speak it.

[Report 1872: This tribe is almost extinct.]

BO 13 Bororós da Campanha. Two groups: 1) Village in Bolivia
105 near Salinas, 2) village opposite Escalvado on the right bank of
175 the Paraguay, one league from the river. Are peaceable, carry
[131] on agriculture, have pigs and chickens. Cotton hammocks.
[101] Some speak Portuguese. Have often brought slaves and deserters from Bolivia into the garrisons. 150-200.

[In 1858 it is said: one part lives in the Campanhas de Marco and another beyond the Corixa Brook.]

BO 14. Bororós Cabaçaes. Two hordes, until recently savage,
[101] one on the sources of the Jaurú, the other on those of the Cabaçal.
[131] Made numerous attacks on the road from Cuyabá to Matto Grosso,*

* The later name for Villa Bella on the Guaporé.

so that troops were often sent out against them and killed many, irrespective of age and sex. They themselves did not want to take captives, but killed as many as they could, irrespective of sex and age. Nourish themselves on the fruits which the earth yields freely and, at the most, plant some pururuca maize which they eat unripe, batatas, and bananas. No industry. /551/ Have bows and arrows, poor pots, straw plaiting with which they in part cover their nakedness. In 1842 the Reverend Curate of Matto Grosso, José da Sa Fraga, succeeded through persuasion and gentleness

BO /551 cont./
105 and by means of gifts to lure them to a fazenda of his in the
175 Registo do Jaurú; there they all stayed, 177 in number, from 1 April 1843; today they have dwindled to 81. During these five years they showed little inclination for agriculture and lived only by bow and arrow.

C 15. Cayapós. Between Paraná and Paranahyba and in the
105 source region of the S. Lourenço and Taquary. Some are settled
175 in the Destakament /detachment of troops/ on the Piquiry,
[131] others in the Porto do Paranahyba on the road to S. Paulo, others live independently. Hunting, fishing, cultivation of maize, rice, mandioca, batatas, and sugar cane. Make some rapadura (raw sugar boiled down). Have pigs, chickens, even a few cows and horses. Speak Portuguese in large part. Many hire themselves out. Some robberies which are attributed to the Coroados are probably carried out by them.

BO 16. Coroados. On the sources of the various tributaries of
105 the S. Lourenço. Of their numbers and their characteristics
175 little is known; they flee or are hostile. Set fires up to 20
[131] leagues from Cuyabá; hence troops are sent out against them every few years, who kill adults and take children captive, which in no way promotes converting them.

B 17. Bacahiris. Sources of the Paranatinga and upper course
105 of the Arinos. Are distinguished by a peaceful disposition.
175 Flee from the attacks of their enemies, the Nambiquáras, Tapanhunas, and Cajabis. Live on hunting and fishing, plant maize, mandioca, batatas, cará, garden beans, broad beans, and sugar cane. Their implements for agriculture are made of stone or heartwood. Their industry: hammocks with meshes of cotton or tucum, plaited sieves, and small baskets. Only a very few (muito poucos) understand our language, although they wish to. Senhora Donna Feliciana Guerobina Pereira Coelho, a well-to-do landowner in the district of the upper sierra* has a

* According to Antonio, near Lagoinha.

A friendly interest in them, gives them gifts, and speaks favorably
105 about their easy conversion. They are enemies of the
175 18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the Salto.

2: Steinen--661 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Pareess1 SP19
Brazilian Indians SL4
Bororo SP8
Barbados

/551 cont./

000 18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the salto.

19. Barbados. Only one settlement on the slope of the Serra
BO dos Pareciz near the sources of the Rio Vermelho, a tributary of
105 the Paraguay, along which they roam as far as the Paraguay
175 itself. Maize, mandioca, batatas, cará. Implements of stone
[131] and heartwood. No animal husbandry or industry. Are not at war with others; flee from the Brazilians, but are treacherous and twice have attacked travelers between Diamantino and Villa Maria.

P 20. Pareciz. 200; once famous and warlike. Various
105 groups in the sierra and the Campos dos Pareciz between
175 Diamantino and the district of Matto Grosso. Sometimes pay visits and bring, as barter goods, sieves, baskets, hammock ropes, feathers, drinking bowls, and the tobacco greatly prized by smokers, which they prepare and wrap in urumbamba.**

** Desmoncus rudentum, Desmoncus macranthus Mart., climbing palms.

Few speak and understand Portuguese. They do not commit open hostilities, but occasionally join the Cabixis to commit outrages.

[Report of 1858: Considerably decimated by the slave hunts of the Paulistas. The founding of the village near the city of Diamantino is of recent date. In 1856 they received the first presents.]

BI 21. Maimbarés. More numerous than the Pareciz, with whom
105 they have contact and in whose company they occasionally ap-
175 pear in family groups in the wildernesses of the Campos dos Pareciz. Hunting, cultivation of maize, mandioca, bananas, batatas, cará.

/552/

P 22. Cabixis. Numerous in various villages, 15-20 leagues
105 northwest of the Arraial de São Vicente. Hostile; with robbery
175 and fire they go as far as the vicinity of Matto Grosso, so that
[131] occasionally troops are called out against them.

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
14. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
15. Ė̄wāguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębege^{w}ō
16. Ė̄wāguddu bo'pokeje^{w}ō čębege^{w}ō
17. Ė̄wāguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaāge
(cābōge^{w}ō half) 18. Ė̄wāguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čābōge^{w}ō
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čābōge^{w}ō baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čābōge^{w}ō
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ė̄wāguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

/275 cont./

177 178 511 [114]

(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

[122] [249] [648]

177 178 433 [262]

economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

/276 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same
737 for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[2] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[2] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. p. 17--Analyst]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

285 323 415 [177] 41 824 237

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

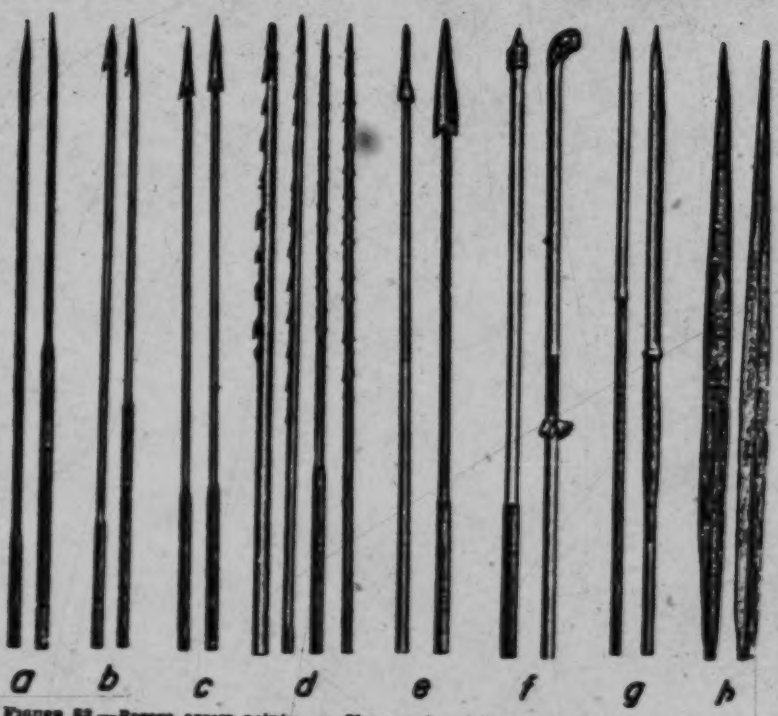

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (½ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

The moieties have reciprocal duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [774] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 624 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[677] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
556 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[978] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina 574
to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had 735
been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. 342
The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleep- 352
ing either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no 592
further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make 323
pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no indus- 287
try whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were 411
several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language 177
being almost forgotten even by the older people. 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, 574
they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one
for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the 533
men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompani- 535
ment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Sev- [273]
eral times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[657] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[797] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Harried men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform- 114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re- 178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot- 167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept 177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[121] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our year of residence there only three times did we hear loud laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and women.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[273] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
[553] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 613 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here, allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase in population and consequent clustering of the members of the same lineage within a single village can motivate the less important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other places where they will be more appreciated and will have the chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies. [362] [591] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can become more independent, but there is always the risk that she and her children will in time be classified as younger brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names [361] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 178 361 613 With the decrease in population that has been going on from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization, the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[551] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki
Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the vil-
lage of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many
Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e.,

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/121 cont./

842 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions
757 and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (o.c., p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of
163 births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of
[177] Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the
[79] influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. Av after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

5: Baldus--46 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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9: Eastern Bororo: houses of Indians of Meruri

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177
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10: Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Diretor /Director Priest/ in Meruri.

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

142
177
302

11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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231
291
302
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6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

345
[513]
[996]
616
[476]
177
648
[181]

[p. 39=F]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

are pacified and are being affected to 648
an increasing extent by contact with 177
Western civilization. But in much of
their ceremonialism these people still [181]
retain their native customs.

When a death occurs among the Bo- 764
roro, all the members of the society
put aside the activities of their normal
routine for several weeks and together
perform some thirty separate rituals
that constitute their elaborate and pro-
tracted funerary ceremony.

A few years ago, the author, with 114
the co-operation of the Brazilian In-
dian Service, had an opportunity to
visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga

[p. 39-G]
[text continues on p. 40-C]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the tatou canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

Brazil.

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "bangs." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown chil- 177 dren occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use. 301 177

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied. 437 [126] [802]

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba!*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of [103] [411]

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sª. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[177] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/446 cont./

648 women climbed over the garden walls and climbed trees, as was their habit, to fetch down fruit for themselves.

The province sighed with relief; with customary exaggeration, the Bororó were estimated at 10,000 souls and the entire 10,000 were already visualized as planting mandioca and working in the sugar mills. The government immediately made 70 contos (at 1000 milreis) available for the catechesis and the citizenry voluntarily added three contos, which altogether amounted to about 140,000 marks at that time. The expenses increased within a short time to 118 contos. The Indians were [361] settled in two colonies: the one where the Prata flows into the S. Lourenço was called Thereza Christina after the Empress; the other where the Piquiry flows into the S. Lourenço was called Izabel after the Crown Princess and wife of Count d'Eu. The President also founded a "Collegio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição" for the education of Indian children -- a school that was never attended by pupils.

648 799 Solemnly the entire company was baptized by the bishop. The then President, Don Alvaro Marcondes, and his wife were godfather and godmother for all; Chief Moguyokuri, whose personal acquaintance we shall make -- truly a magnificent figure of an Indian, 1.9 meters tall and, despite some inborn brutality, an exceedingly good-natured gentleman -- was given the name Alvaro. His Christianity, to be sure, was limited to his remembering this name for a few days.

648 [177] "Muguiocury," reported the Jornal do Commercio in a Cuyaban letter, "seems to be completely identified with the cause of civilizing his tribe, assiduously visits the palace to call on the President and bring him presents; he manifests the greatest sympathy toward him and calls him 'Godfather,' kissing his hand as often as he sees him. Each time he meets the President he shows his satisfaction with much laughter and repeated embraces."

Difficile est, satiram non scribere /it is difficult not to write satire/. It is indeed very difficult. Good Moguyokuri undoubtedly had the best intentions, within the limits of his intelligence, as

/447 cont./

The soldier received 600 reis in supply money per day, which, in view of these prices, was very little for him and his housewife. He received five milreis in pay per month, as well as five milreis bonus.

"I am well aware," said one of the presidents, "Duarte has found a California." Yet even the president could not change anything; he scarcely gets a picture of the situation before he has to leave his post, and the more he wants to check the mismanagement, the more quickly the change comes, because he makes enemies of all who would lose by it. It is not worthwhile to discuss the chief question, whether the /448/ Brazilian soldier, including the good and honest one, would be equal to the by no means easy task of educating the Indians to become a useful element of society. The following pages may bring it out.

II. Pictures of the Catechesis.

To the S. Lourenço. (First acquaintance with neophytes in Cuyabá. Journey.) The inhabitants (Clemente) and the arrangement of the colony. European clothing. Agriculture. Our impressions. Quarrel and women's wrestling match (Maria). Meat distribution. Nocturnal howl of lamentation. Vesper prayer. Row with Arateba. Good Friday. Lament for the dead. Hallelujah Saturday (Judas). Kayapó. Threatened dissolution of the colony. School. The hostile brothers. Discipline. Duarte's arrival. "Voluntarios da patria." Breakfast and serenade.

114 To the S. Lourenço. We were able to examine the first Bororó in July 1887 in Cuyabá; Duarte had brought several to be baptized. We became acquainted with others at the beginning of March 1888. They were barefoot, but otherwise dressed in the prescribed 291 civil fashion and wore on a string around their necks a green 197 cardboard the size of a calling card, on which their new name could be read: "Atahualpa," "Montezuma," "José Domingo," etc. José Domingo was coughing violently; it was said he had caught cold at the baptism. Under their clothes they wore their

/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
●177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
199 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.

[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.

[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakairí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text Continues On P. 553]

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/452 cont. /

177 291 evening; several women, especially those who happened to be carrying on intimate relations with the gentlemen, were distinguished by shirts, jackets, and skirts in large floral prints, but the ones who were more or less clothed were only exceptions for both sexes. The men wore the hip cord and the straw cuff, the women a hip cord [illegible] a bark strip with bast band. Both sexes loved neck and chest ornaments. I shall discuss the details later. I gave Moguyokuri a choice piece that he heartily approved of: a brick-red Turkish, wide-sleeved woman's jacket embroidered with colorful arabesques, which had once been used in the Paint-Box masquerade at the Düsseldorf concert hall. In this elegant fancy-dress costume the ever happily smiling giant was a sight for the gods.

[123] →

[142] [302] ←

Fig. 126. Bororó girl.

"What shall we do?" complained Captain Serejo in the military colony. "When the large crowd embarked for Cuyabá, 430 suits were provided. Many more were added in Cuyabá. And when the Indians returned, there was nothing left of all that." First, because the merchants had furnished miserable trash, thin, badly woven material that they could not otherwise sell, then because the clothes were too tight and too short, the shirts did not even come together over the broad chests and the unmentionables ripped, but, finally, because the Bororó treated the gifts of civilization with terrible negligence. As soon as they felt inconvenienced, they would toss off the clothing; as soon as they needed a bag, for example, to carry away meat or fish, they would use their blankets and shirts. They wrapped their grease-smeared bodies

/452 cont./

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
291 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/453 cont./

177 648 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a [192] wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly [273] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

/457 cont./

000 After the roll call the men took off their caps and hats and sang, or rather bawled, with one clear voice predominating:
O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, vós sois a advogada dos peccadores, criais todos cheia de graça com a vossa feliz grandeza, vos soís dos céos princeza, do Espíritu Santo esposa.

Maria mãi de graça, mãi de misericordia, rogai Jesus por nos, recebai (!) nos na hora de morte! Senhor Deus pequei (?), Senhor, misericordia. Por vossa mãi, Maria Santissima, misericordia!*

* Satirical verse: "O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, pagai o nosso soldo, deixai da caçoada! (pay us our wages and never mind the rotten jokes).

●177 As in the "pronto" calls, Indians who happened to be passing by lustily joined in the singing; inside the house Caldas was practicing on the violin. At the end all of them, including the guard and the cadet with the sugar cane, knelt down. The Bororó did not pay any particular attention to the procedure, which had
[533] long since been familiar to them. But about an hour later a dozen boys appeared before our door and sang -- the music was correct, the words, except for the beginning, unintelligible and not understood -- "O, Santa Maria, mãi de graxa," ** as they put their arms

** "Mother of fat" (pronounced grascha).

around one another, giggling, and lined up in a row leaning crookedly against one another.

648 Toward nine o'clock Moguyokrui had appeared before the
273 cadets and demanded alcohol. For a change the chief "identifying himself completely with the civilization of his tribe" wore a woman's red petticoat and a white linen jacket; he insisted that the key to the supply room be fetched and he actually got his bottle; he achieved his purpose no less when, on occasion, he would rouse the gentlemen in the middle of the night.

Row with Arateba. He is once again totally drunk and demands more; this time, however, the famous key is refused. He alarms the whole colony with his yelling and scolding; he hastens to

/465 cont./

Their hatred toward the administrator increased to a small uprising when one of their comrades was locked up because of his calumny to the effect that he had made propositions to his housemate and promised her a new dress from his supply room. They wanted to make an assault upon the jail and shoot Ildefonso, "this family man." They were calmed after it was pointed out that Duarte was arriving soon and would settle the dispute. Ildefonso, however, was very excited. He had only said good day to the girl. In former times, he would not deny it, he had permitted himself such things, but now "a woman was only an ideal" for him, he said.

Duarte's arrival. On 11 April toward noon, loud cries and great excitement: "dyuãte, dyuãte!" They emerged from the woods -- no operetta could offer anything handsomer. Fourteen Bororó, one behind the other, barefoot, in snow-white sailor suits trimmed with red braid, in wide-brimmed, bright straw hats, from under which the long black hair flowed out in waves, with thick red tufted tassels and fluttering red bows, on which was written "Colonia Thereza Christina." Swords with decorated belts and hilts, large round whiskey bottles, here and there an open sunshade. And behind them Duarte on horseback and three chiefs mounted on mules, in marine-blue uniforms, with red galloons as wide as a hand, which contrasted sharply with the bare feet, guns in their hands, and on their sleeves gleaming brass shields with the inscription "Voluntarios da patria." Long live Donna Carmina, Madame President! For this is the catechesis of the Excellentissima Senhora! The sturdy fellows looked splendid enough as they came striding along in the sunshine and marched straight up to the main building: fixedly they stared straight ahead with terribly grave mien, really "fixedly," for they did not even cast a sidelong glance at the loudly howling women and children, who seemed mad with joy.

177 Even in the dining room they maintained their solemn com-
152 posure. Like strangers they sat on the benches around the table and along the wall, a sharp contrast to their /466/ boisterous naked fellow-tribesmen. Four women in particular were lamenting

/466 cont./ Four women in particular were lamenting
177 pitifully, their faces bathed in tears, and reported on the events
152 since the parting; the most excited one cut the skin on her breast,
785 arms, and legs and, in wild distress, with her wet, loam-yellow body streaming with blood, writhed before her husband sitting stiffly on the bench in his theatrical costume.

The commander of the colony was followed, on 12 April, by two huge carts loaded with goods, each of which was drawn by a dozen oxen. For the soldiers a change took place when, in the evening orders, it was announced that the sale of alcoholic spirits was to be suspended from now on in view of the fact that many had been intoxicated when the Lieutenant arrived.

After such business was finished, Duarte was given a proper welcome by his subjects on the following day. First at breakfast with good port wine. To be sure, two cadets drank from one glass, but there was no shortage of the stuff. Duarte himself was very moderate out of consideration for his liver. The wine was followed by a collection of bottles of light export beer, the labels of which reminded us of home: the brewery was in Hannover. Six toasts were drunk to Duarte, as a Paraguayan soldier, as a family man, etc.; again and again he was offered a wealth of eulogies, to all of which he responded with a friendly "obrigado," "thank you very much."

This session, however, was merely a prelude to the "serenade" in the evening: Caldas violin, Duarte guitar, Ildefonso coxó fiddle. It turned into a fine, jolly evening, and it filled us with the greatest respect for Brazilian drinking ability; I would never have believed that there could be such hearty guzzling in the sertão. Two good-sized cases of beer were emptied to the last drop before the liquor came. But even more endless was the stream of talk. I dedicated my toast to the originator of the Bororó catechesis, President Galdino Pimentel, who is not to blame if wrong methods were subsequently adopted, and in this way I avoided the dilemma of lying or offending needlessly. Duarte thereupon also spoke and rather well. He was dissatisfied with the government; the "governo ingrato" was blamed for whatever prevented conditions from being perfect. It was also unfair that

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237 301 Claws, small ones from rodents and large ones from armadillos, were put together by twos and thus formed the shape of a half-moon; in the center, where they were joined and covered with resin, hung a bunch of strings, while a few shell ringlets were pressed into the resin.

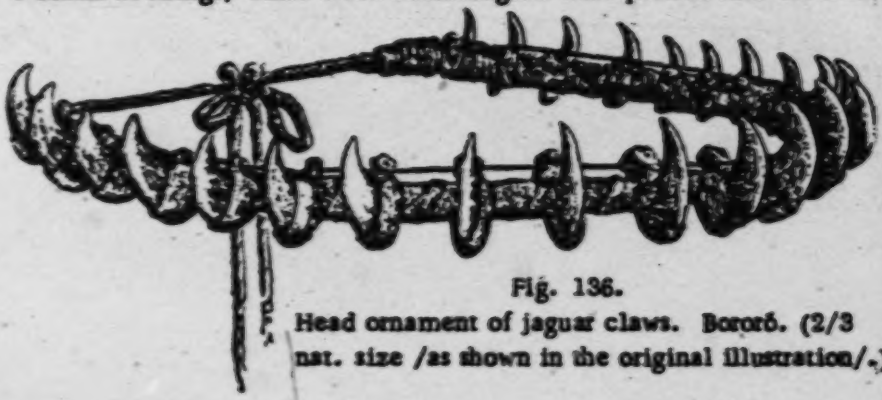

Fig. 136.
Head ornament of jaguar claws. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[171] We found the claws of the giant armadillo on the Kulisehu in a very similar arrangement, not as an ornament, but as a tool /Fig. 135 ap-
[177] pears here; see Fig. 25, page 205. The Bororó imitated the claw ornament by cutting pieces of the same shape and size out of the tin of Brazilian tin cans. The process was very interesting because nothing about the tin half-moons betrayed their origin from two claws, and they were even declared to be proof of the "moon worship" of the Bororó by a Cuyaban, as I discovered to my delight. See Fig. 135 /sic; probably Fig. 129, p. 589, is meant/, the ear ornament of the mother. This was the way the Indians were already working metal. Lip pegs were also cut out of tin.

[171] Jaguar claws were joined together into a head hoop, see Fig. 136, an ornament very similar to the Aueto chief's neck-chain of the same material in Fig. 5, page 90.

/480/ There were chains made of shell- and nut-beads, small pieces of bone, and pierced seed kernels, but they were far less important than on the Schingú. Beads made out of the armadillo carapace were most highly prized. I shall give more details about this in my description of the activity in the men's house. In that connection I shall also discuss the ornamental strings for both sexes, which we called "suspenders."

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
372 the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because
[177] the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
14. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
15. Ẹ́wāguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębege^{w}ō
16. Ẹ́wāguddu bo'pokeje^{w}ō čębege^{w}ō
17. Ẹ́wāguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaāge
(cābōge^{w}ō half) 18. Ẹ́wāguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čābōge^{w}ō
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čābōge^{w}ō baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čābōge^{w}ō
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ẹ́wāguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

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177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same
737 for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. p. 117--Analyst]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent. [178] 224

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown. [222] [462] [756] [231]

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests. [263] [574]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes* [342] [345] [184]

[Bororo da Campanha]

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space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina 574
to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had 735
been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. 342
The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleep- 352
ing either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no 592
further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make 323
pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no indus- 287
try whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were 411
several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language 177
being almost forgotten even by the older people. 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, 574
they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one 533
for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the 535
men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Sev- [273]
eral times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[79] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[538] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[195] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform- 114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re- 178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot- 167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept 177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother
842 is terminologically expressed by the category imuga ("moth-
* 601 er"), of which the only member is one's own mother.

Marriage

582 Ideally, marriage should be contracted with some of the lineages from the opposite moiety which are in yorubodare
[178] relationship ("alliance") to one's own lineage. Though, because of depopulation, this is rarely the case today, the Bororo are still proud when they can say: I mugu paga karegure, itoreduje apore imugure, ikoge, ivire, tadare imugure which can be translated, "I do not live in this place (his wife's house) just by chance. I stay with my wife, I
104 stay among my spouses." It is difficult to render into English the Bororo paga which I translated "by chance." (The Brazilians have the adverb "a toa" that renders it better. This adverb is used very much by the Bororo when they speak Portuguese.) The sentence means that the man is married ac-
582 cording to tradition. In saying "I stay with my wife," the Bororo means to say, "I stay with a woman who, by prescription, should be my wife." Every story which describes the establishment of special relationship between two clans by virtue of some gift has the same conclusion "... and so he made them his yorubodare ("allié"), his husbands, and his wives" (Oinore ure uyorubodaredo, ukogedo, uviredo apo).

585 A marriage ceremony is very simple. The mother of the girl brings food to the house of the boy, and, if he accepts the offer, he will eat the food (Colbacchini and Albisetti

553 this statement, but if we look at the lineage structure and ideology, things become clearer. For example: Kaigu was the founder of one lineage in the clan of Bokodori Echerae. He had many names, but the one used most often was Kaigu. Theoretically he should have transmitted five or six of his clanic names to his nephew, the first born son of his eldest sister (utuye boetojiwudo onaregedu imedu boetojiwu: lit., "his older sister/ the first born one/ her child/ the first born one"). When Kaigu became old he left it to his nephew to perform most of the ceremonial duties, and when he died his nephew became the head of the lineage. He inherited all the rights, the duties, the place of the house in the village, and the names of the dead Kaigu. Then he is Kaigu,
827 he has a nephew, and the story repeats itself. Any living Bororo is considered to be not only the descendant of a long line of ancestors but also identical to all of them. When I wondered about some contradictory deeds ascribed to the great chief Baitogogo in the myths, my informant explained to me that there were many Baitogogo: one did this, the other did that. On another day, when I did not understand the name of a particular hero mentioned in the myth, he pointed at a man passing by and said, "He did it!" For the passerby had the same name as the hero. Thus conceptually the Bororo consider themselves equivalent to their matrilineal ancestors.

553 Today, as the Bororo population is dying out, occasion-
178 ally a child does not have any classificatory brother from

553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other
[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to
* [601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called <u>iyedaga</u>, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That
613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father
582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full analysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 613 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here, allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase in population and consequent clustering of the members of the same lineage within a single village can motivate the less important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other places where they will be more appreciated and will have the chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies. [362] [591] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can become more independent, but there is always the risk that she and her children will in time be classified as younger brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names [361] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 178 361 613 With the decrease in population that has been going on from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization, the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[551] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the village of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e.,

613 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only
626 man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted
178 to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (ǫ) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was
[52] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 Another possibility open to a man without descendants
614 (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In
the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire
these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with
their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing
it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in
silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would
try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
but also when their children do some harm to one another or
578 when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
521 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to
be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing
152 this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend,
gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the
/149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and
slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the
world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive;
and easily become irritated when someone finds something
to say about them themselves.

Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
586 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
178 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not
593 going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian,
and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman."
As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide.
It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would
happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the
other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives
liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

/152 cont./

301 hole pierced in both ear lobes, so that the individual wears a pair of these
301 earrings. The one represented in
613 Figure 1, which has a tooth above and one below, is peculiar to the clan of the Aroia; it was worn by Mario Bokodori Kudde, pictured in Plate 21, even though this man does not belong to said clan. /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ But he had killed an ounce and had given the cadaver to the Aroia, delivering with this, a recently deceased member of that clan from being
[431] incarnated in this beast. He then received, as it is the custom in such a case, gifts of honor from the Aroia, especially the bow splendidly decorated with plumes, and permission to make and to wear "without fear and shame" all the ornaments with which their clan distinguishes itself from the others. One can obtain this permission from any clan as soon as a dead ounce is handed over to it, delivering in this way one of their dead from incarnation in this feline. I still wish to observe that the wife of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Plates 19 and 20) was an Aroia and, therefore, owned earrings like those which the
[178] husband wore. The same man told me that in the past these earrings were worn the opposite way, that is with the points turned upward.

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[2433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sa. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
● 178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[199] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose
[181] clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
556 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured
614 products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre čåbōgeʷōge, Ẻwåguddudoge čåbōgeʷōge, and Ẻwåguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ẻwåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O čera clans.

The Bādejebage čębegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[538] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[196] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

000their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on mar-
582 riage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a
593 normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of
[835] specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often
[837] does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual rela-
842 tions with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father.
[593] It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as
181 legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

613 It is not known if the other two names, Badajeba Kudoro and
553 Jakorari, were actually used by the original Ki Bakororo, but
173 this is not important. It may have happened that ten generations after the original Ki Bakororo, two of his descendants with the nicknames of Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari made themselves famous and established their own separate lineages. But the relationship of equivalence is not directional, so the names Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are retroactive, and the Bororo can say that Ki Bakororo is Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari.

181 Western anthropologists may consider themselves structuralists, but they still sometimes need historical explanations to understand better the structure of a system. The Bororo do not have this historical bias; their view of the world is entirely structural. We have already seen evidence of this world view in the symmetry of relationships between father and son and husband and wife and in the relationship of equivalence between a man and his name-giver; now it is evident in the hierarchical relationship among brothers who are "really the same person."

000 Ki Bakororo could be considered the unmarked term of this set, while Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are marked. In this specific example, Badajeba Kudoro is also considered the unmarked member in opposition to Jakorari, because Badajeba Kudoro is his older brother, and the relationship is transitive.

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation--employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense--gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

114 121 772 time ago (1936: 178-97), imply that the units involved in the first case exchange dissimilar objects or acts (e.g. obedience for leadership) while those in the second case relate through the exchange of similar or equivalent things (women for women). To establish the validity of this deduction for the Bororo and to relate it to the contradiction mentioned above requires the exposition of another dimension of Bororo normative order, that found in the two origin myths" (1969: 50).

121 772 There are, however, two other logically possible "principles of organization:" First, like items could be equal: one monkey could be just as good as another; second, unlike items could be unequal. Although Crocker says that monkeys and armadillos are non-comparable, he then proceeds to compare them by saying that they are equal. If they are comparable then they could also be unequal: tapirs could be better, bigger, or handsomer than monkeys. Thus, there exist four logically possible kinds of relationships:

	inequality ignored	inequality recognized
like items	A	B
unlike items	C	D

772 It is my belief that the structure of the Bororo society 181 rests upon the first three "principles of organization:"

772 A. Equality of like items, or the relationships of
● 181 equivalence,[1]

B. Inequality of like items, or the relationships of proper inequality,

C. Equality of unlike items, or the relationships of symmetrical reciprocity.

I did not find the fourth possibility expressed in the Bororo social structure: inequality of unlike items; though the work of other researchers indicates that certain forms of hierarchical relationships may exist even between moieties (see page 186).

[61] All three kinds of relationships are expressed most clearly through the idiom of kinship, and all three are necessary to understand the Bororo social and cosmological universe. In previous chapters we have already had the opportunity to see some of these relationships at work. In this chapter I will present the case in greater detail.

A. Relationships of Equivalence

593 The first kind of relationship originates in that between a woman and her child, and by successive extensions includes the relationships between sister and brother (≈ child), sis-

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[1] Equality should be distinguished from equivalence. I consider two items to be equal if they have the same value in respect to some attribute (here it is social status). Equivalent items, in addition to having the same value in regard to the relevant attribute, are also like each other and substitutable for each other.

614 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red
616 macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the
827 Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after
561 the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger
[192] brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo lan-
[773] guage. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger.
844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever be-
[773] ing born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have al-
571 ready been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963:
114 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

181 sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities,
571 participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The
[114] patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

614 The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into sub-
561 clans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and sub-
562 clans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In re-
822 porting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ances-
827 tors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers.

614 The division is not restricted only to animals; many other
562 beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differen-
822 tiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu
827

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujaqureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

In a society where the majority
553 of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the func-
828 tion of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of
829 the possibility of reciprocity and equality.
[181]

Another instance of reciprocal address results from the
553 initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same
881 time are given a common name, which they later use in address-
*[601] ing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past
or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In
Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held
there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways,
they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was
the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other
names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge,
[561] Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the ex-
istence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of
this group of boys bound together by the common experience
of becoming full members of adult society at the same time,
and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor
of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age
groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in
view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo
and the other Gê tribes.

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of
175 these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and
[648] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up
[181] to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering
22 people. They spent only three months of the year, more or
[241] less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is
167 reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.
797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than
131 thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

345
[513]
[996]
616
[476]
177
648
[181]
[p. 39-F]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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are pacified and are being affected to 648
an increasing extent by contact with 177
Western civilization. But in much of
their ceremonialism these people still [181] ●
retain their native customs.

When a death occurs among the Bo- 764
roro, all the members of the society
put aside the activities of their normal
routine for several weeks and together
perform some thirty separate rituals
that constitute their elaborate and pro-
tracted funerary ceremony.

A few years ago, the author, with 114
the co-operation of the Brazilian In-
dian Service, had an opportunity to
visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga

[p. 39-G]
[text continues on p. 40-C]

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial
292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kõge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreõ
G. Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjwo
H. Paiwe čoreõ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ẹwãguddu) Baiaddadaʷ
J. Āróre čẹbegeʷõ
K. Āróre
L. Ki
M. Ẹwãguddu čãbõgeʷõ
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Ạpibore
Q. Ẹwãguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucú seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bãdejebage.

● 182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
301 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[439] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently
taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted
on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms
were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face
was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men
under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of
palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoul-
ders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which
was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one
could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of
many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal
completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on
the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment
of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar'
dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals
in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began
in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts
or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did
not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed
with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side.
His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his
body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the
women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not
leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

613 and Ocha Kudureu (a lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge
614 clan) was older than Bakorokudu, but the younger brothers
571 outgrew their older brothers, and the Bororo made them chiefs. Because of this, he said, the Bororo do not talk about the subclans of these two clans in the framework of older-younger brother relationship but give them special
183 names. It is my opinion that the function of this disagree-
571 ment is to avoid valuing one kind of activity more than the other. And if both kinds of activity are of equal importance, then the brothers who preside over them also have to be of equal importance.

835 but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for
[829] their actions. I could not detect any great concern over
[773] what had happened.

773 Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical
183 past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man
835 will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If
[616] he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with
[614] his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when
[614] he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

773 The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it
183 was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae
835 were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells
616 of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

772 Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture

561 The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

844 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society 787 is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Wheth[illegible] the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear.
114 Von de[illegible]einen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others dis-
[178] puted the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition
224 to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were pre-
[222] dominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also
[462] helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and
[756] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated
[231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.
226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.
262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are
[263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded
[574] or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large
[342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall,
[345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of
● [184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

only the Caboclass

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[894] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
942 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to
[881] the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Women wear a gray parinel band.

841 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a
342 girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture
[431] [383] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São
[386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous
[237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus
[755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92,
237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice
●[184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço
489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding
[481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and
[501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck
[345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage,
[301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards.
[286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [774] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 534

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

Eastern Bororo

B 101 184 361

On the São Lorenço river are a number of colonies of the eastern Bororo, who have not come so much under the influence of European civilization. These people still live apart in their villages and maintain their own institutions and industries. They unquestionably differ from the western Bororo in many ways.

B 114 361

The colonies at Pirigaru, Corrego Grande (São Lorenço), and Rondonopolis were visited by the expedition, but Corrego Grande received most attention. Sound motion-picture studies of the dances and industries were made and rich collections of artefacts obtained.

B 361 184 423

Unlike that of the Western Bororo, the village is still an orderly affair, being built in circular fashion with the men's hut in the center. The men actually live in this hut, the other houses really belonging to the women. Fishing, the cultivation of manioc, and hunting are the main occupations. [Plates IV, 2; V, 1, 2; VI, 1, 2; VII, 1, 2.]

B 114

Since an excellent study of a community of Bororo exists by Colbachini, little could be said of a descriptive nature in this brief paper that would not be duplication. Therefore, it is felt that time and space ought to be given to the Xingu trip.

At the Headwaters of the Xingu River

M 114

My original plans were to descend the Kuluene river, which has never been descended by an ethnographer; in fact, only recently has it been mapped by Major Ramior Noronha. However, after several conversations with Major Noronha at Cuyabá, finding that such a plan would add difficulties which would not bring any added results, I decided to descend the Kuluseu and ascend the Kuluene to the Seventh of September, and then to ascend that river. This had the advantage of avoiding a longer overland trip and many miles of rapids, and offered the opportunity of seeing more aborigines.

For purposes of reconnaisance and as a safety measure, it was decided to make use of the airplane. Accordingly, before beginning the overland trip, two flights were made to the north. We decided to depend on water for taking off and landing, since the country did not offer such open runways that landing on wheels would be safe.

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/131 cont./

562 the following morning, Maria, rich in experience, in whose
831 resistance there could not have been very serious intentions. Did you not want to get married yesterday? I asked. -- Now I am already married, she answered calmly. She was lying down in all /132/ comfort under a red blanket beside her favorite man, and both were cracking nuts from a palm tree. One day we say Moguyokuri encouraging the young men to decorate Maria, who appeared so brave in the struggle and was so submissive now. Immediately six young men threw themselves upon her, painting her."

The fact, however, that the girl taken to the men's house did not figure there in any manner as a slave without a will of her own is evident and thanks to the following observation by Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 489): "While the women, ordinarily, remained away from the men's house, there was rarely missing there a couple of lovers who frolicked lying under a common red blanket. Nobody was concerned about it, except a few friends tormented by a little jealousy, who actually had been refused by the common sweetheart and had to be satisfied with sitting beside the couple, talking to them."

562 Such customs in the men's house do not seem to have
831 existed among the Bororo with whom the Salesian missionaries spent their life. At least Colbacchini never mentions anything
• 184 similar. I did not see any women in the men's house in Toriparu either.

000 It has been affirmed that the custom according to which one sex is much older than the other one in marriage indicates a predominance of the first (Vaerting, o.c., p. 22 and seq.), quoting examples from Egypt, America, and India. From South American Indians, for example, from the hunting and gathering people of the Chamacoco in the Chaco /133/ (Baldus: Indianerstudien /Indian Studies/, Leipzig, 1931, p. 58),

/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the head-waters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII,
[562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
796 intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the
[534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular
[761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 797 533 776 The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.

[776] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
[171] pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
misfortunes.

114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
583 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they, too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in
[554] the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

● 184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
●184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[101] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184 Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados owing to their headdress.

361 In the old days the village (*muktmo*) was built
621 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotóku*) made from a buritá palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imstá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

/511 cont./

775 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form: at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and
775 should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are
772 Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned
825 on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists,
[262] or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

775 The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes
825 become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color,
[186] emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in
[774] life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy individuals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵘ, around 25 years old; 1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.

•191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

> 1. The term võbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:

Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ārõre (Catepillar) clan
Ewåguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

Waura SP18
Aueto SP6
Camayura
Paressi SP19
Trumai SP23
Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25

/For word lists (in German) of the Nahuquá, Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, Mehinacu, Custenaú, Waura, Yaulapiti, Aueto, Camayura, Trumai, Paressi and Bororo, consult 2: Steinen, SP7 Bacairi (category 116 in the foreign text) as follows:

Nahuquá--pp. 524-526
Yanumakapü-Nahuquá--pp. 526-527
Mehinacu--pp. 527-529
Custenaú--pp. 529-530
Waura--pp. 531-532
Yaulapiti--pp. 532-534
Aueto--pp. 535-537
Camayura--pp. 537-540
Trumai--pp. 540-542
Paressi--pp. 542-544
Bororo--pp. 545-547.

The orthographies associated with the above word lists will be found translated into English in 2: Steinen, SP7 Bacairi, category 116, pp. 653-654./

614 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red
616 macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the
827 Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after
561 the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger
[192] brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo lan-
[773] guage. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger.
844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever be-
[773] ing born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have al-
571 ready been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963:
114 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

/453 cont./

177 648 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a [192] wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly [273] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

2: Steinen--653 E,D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/523/

Appendix.

000

I. Word List of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paressí, 11. Bororó.

T B 192 171

The following lists, which I have arranged as uniformly as possible, are limited to substantives, personal pronouns of the first and second person, colors, numbers, negation. With anything else I should necessarily have to enter into grammatical discussions which would lead me too far afield. For this reason I have also been obliged to dispense with any kind of comparison.

T B 194 171

Anyone who studies the words a little more closely will easily recognize a number of regular forms of phonetic change and will be able to convince himself of the important fact that in the various groups -- especially in a comparison of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayura/ with the lingoa geral -- there takes place the same softening of the initial sound of the stem that I pointed out for Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and the Karaiben /Carib/ idioms. Everywhere, it seems, with lawful certainty, we come across the three series of the p-, t-, and k- initial sounds as the oldest possession of the base-languages.

T B 104

The spelling has been kept as simple as possible. Note only:

a English a as in walk.
y as in York.
v German w.
ʒ guttural fricative, our German ch formed at the middle palate.
š French ch.
s French c.
z French z.

/524/

ϑ English th.

/516 cont./

114 Language. The linguistic material collected among the Bororó, which will perhaps suffice to establish at least the most important grammatical outlines, has not yet been worked over.
197 Up to now I have not been able to find any linguistic /517/ relationship with other known idioms. In any case, the Bororó belong neither to the Tupí nor to the Gês, as one might at first
[175] think. Nor would it be particularly strange if all efforts remained fruitless, because the vicinity of their territory, over a wide area, has experienced very restless times since the first settling of the
648 Mato Grosso. In the north the road leads toward Goyaz, which they have often harrassed with their attacks; in the south the discoverers came from the province of S. Paulo, and here as well as there years of slave-hunting took place.

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194 In use, various forms of phonetic change and influences on the initial sound of the stem appear. I shall give a few tentative examples:

	Ear	Nose	Head	To go
1.	i-wiya	i-keno	i-taura	i-tua
2.	a-wiya	a-keno	a-kaura	a-tua
3.	biya	eno	kaura	tua
4.	pa-wiga	pa-geno	pa-gaura	pa-dua
5.	te-wiya	te-geno	te-taura	te-dua
6.	e-wiya	e-keno	e-taura	e-tua

/462 cont./

115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
[123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
[145] important elements of the language; they were extremely wide awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/, and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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291
301
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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of
[193] the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
115 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent. He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there immediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

long tongue-like leaf furnishes a silk or band of strands called 222
bokigo, which he rolls into a single strand as he sits cross-legged on [283]
the ground, and by twisting this strand with others he obtains cord-
ing with which to make his fishing nets, harpoon lines, etc. From
the ground he digs two or three varieties of the potato family, which
he boils. Corn is eaten as roasting ears or cut from the ears and
boiled. They use no salt. The large ant bear is considered the 224
most valuable of all creatures. Nearly every part of its body is
utilized. When discovered it is driven to the village for slaughter
in order to secure its blood. After this comes the tapir, which is
also greatly esteemed. When food is plenty they eat nearly all the 264
time when awake, and even rise several times in the night to take a
little food. While we were in the baehytu at the Kogy ao Paro
village we saw 33 men devour upwards of 25 gallons of boiled
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roast ears all the morning. The two men who had accompanied us
from the Ja-Dare-Mano Paro were induced to eat from every pot as
they were brought in one at a time. They seem never to get full,
and will eat as long as there is anything to be had. While at work
making bows and arrows and ornaments, they are nibbling food, if
they can obtain it. They eat the corn mush squatting and standing
around the pot, using large oyster-like shells or broad leaves as
spoons.

Their language seems quite free from clicks and from deep gut- 194
turals. The names given to animals are often in imitation of the
sound produced by the animal. Ki, for instance, means tapir, and
is a close imitation of the note of this animal; pobu means river or
water; pobu camahina is great river; meri rutu, sunset; adugo,
spotted tiger or ounce; and aigo, brown ounce. Báekimo is the
negative; Boe by báekimo means "Indian die not"—"I will not
die."

They are wonderful whistlers and seem able thus to communicate 198
whatever they otherwise would by speech.

All the fine and ornamental work is done by the men. A great 462
deal of time and labor is spent in making seemingly unimportant
articles, and the time consumed in shaping and burnishing an arrow
is astonishing, generally the larger part of two days. The shell [321]
ornament worn around the neck is made by the reciprocating motion [322]
of the point of a sharp instrument of flint or of iron or steel, if they
can obtain it, fastened near the center of a roughly shaped shell.
A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into
another bit of wood. When holes have been made in bits of roughly

/516 cont./

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2: Steinen--653 E,D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/523/

Appendix.

I. Word List of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paressí, 11. Bororó.

The following lists, which I have arranged as uniformly as possible, are limited to substantives, personal pronouns of the first and second person, colors, numbers, negation. With anything else I should necessarily have to enter into grammatical discussions which would lead me too far afield. For this reason I have also been obliged to dispense with any kind of comparison. Anyone who studies the words a little more closely will easily recognize a number of regular forms of phonetic change and will be able to convince himself of the important fact that in the various groups -- especially in a comparison of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayura/ with the lingoa geral -- there takes place the same softening of the initial sound of the stem that I pointed out for Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and the Karaiben /Carib/ idioms. Everywhere, it seems, with lawful certainty, we come across the three series of the p-, t-, and k- initial sounds as the oldest possession of the base-languages.

The spelling has been kept as simple as possible. Note only:

a English a as in walk.
y as in York.
v German w.
ʒ guttural fricative, our German ch formed at the middle palate.
š French ch.
s French c.
z French z.

/524/

ϑ English th.

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[538] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[196] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.
768
616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother,
[602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the
[593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily
[764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 A different set of terms, which are considered more po-
533
765 etic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:
195

*601	ikimamomo	is substituted for			iyedaga
533	ikimado	"	"	"	imarugo
765	itare	"	"	"	iyogwa and itoredu
• 195	itaredo	"	"	"	imuga and itoredujе
	imana aredu	"	"	"	ituya
	inokori	"	"	"	iviye imedu
	inokorodo	"	"	"	iviye aredu
	ikiwainogo	"	"	"	ivagedu
	ikiwainogorodo	"	"	"	irago

iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore (all in plural) are substituted for any or all dead relatives as a group.

We see again, as was the case in the preceding paragraph, that husband and father and wife and mother are classified together. The terms ivuri and imana remain unchanged when used in songs or crying, while there is confusion on how itonaregedu should be called. Some informants (women) say that they should be called in the same way younger siblings are (inokori or inokorodo), but others (also women) maintain that they should be called as older siblings are (ivuri, imana, imana aredu). Both of these assertions are denied by male informants who maintain that one's children should be classified under the general terms used for any dead person (iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Otuké SF18 Bororo SP8

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçaes* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Ararimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kajari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently. 574 735

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut. 342 352 512

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 323 287 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people. 411 177 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance 574 533 535 [273]

/516 cont./

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6.	e-wiya	e-keno	e-taura	e-tua

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
[161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*muktmo*) was built
621 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

Bororo SPB

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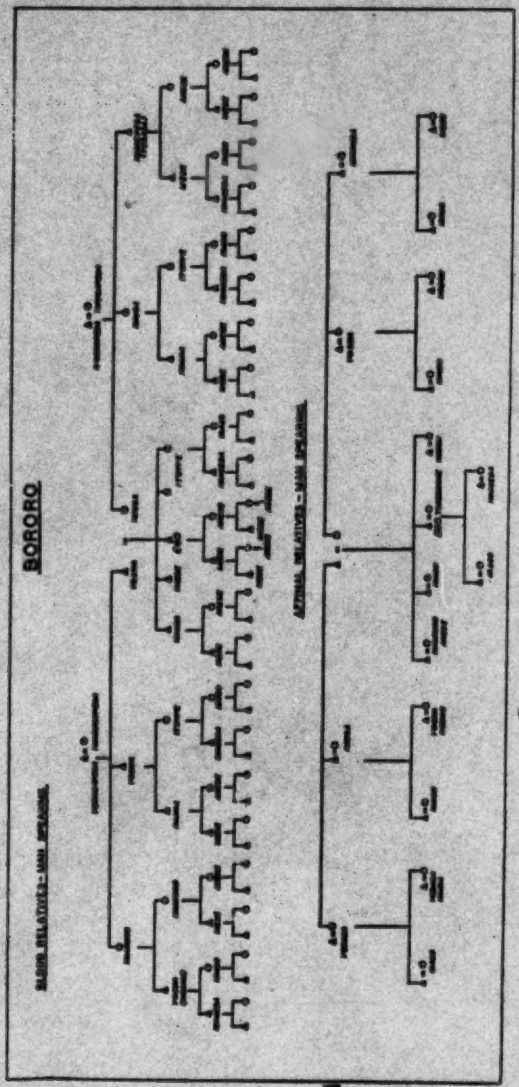

CHART 11.—Bororo, unrelated. (See Appendix 2.)

[p.121]

Bororo SP8

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[p. 122]

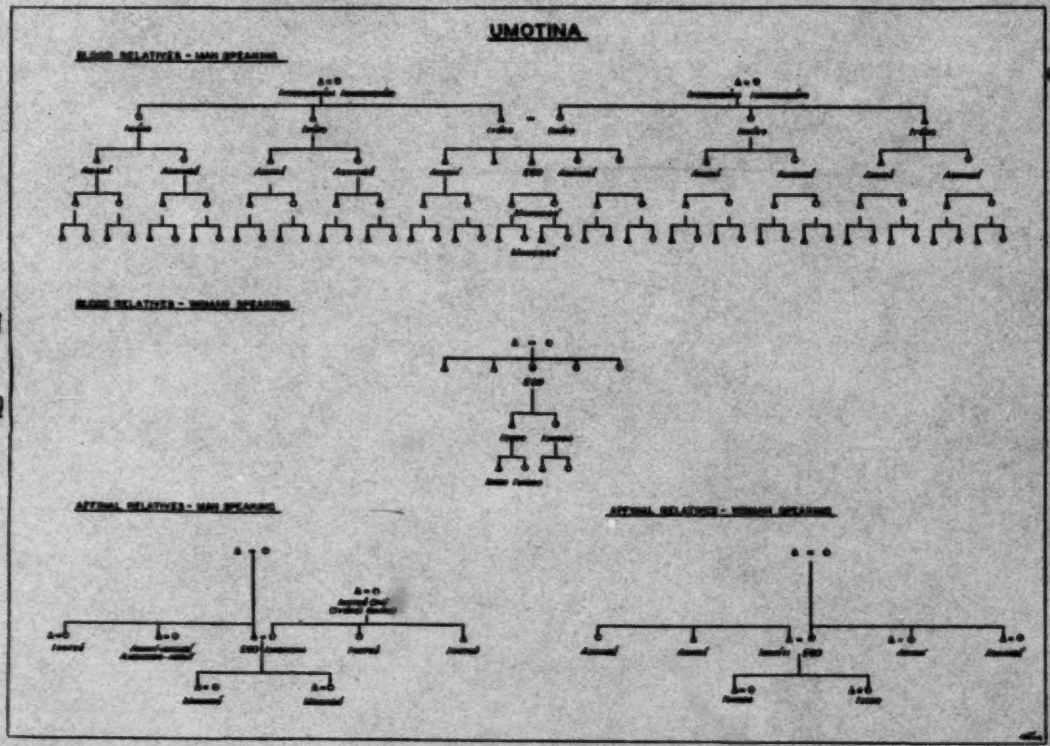

CHART 12.—Umotina, related to Bororo. *Abi* (brother) is considered more respectful than *Amend*. *Ambiende* is used to designate younger brothers. *Ambiedo* and *Abiti* designate younger sisters. *Parepe* is added to *Mesundi* to designate son or grandson. *Omundi* is added to *Mesundi* to designate daughter or granddaughter.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

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A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into
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8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

their tribe, and always responding *pardukuʔ*—I do not know, who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony is not performed for a female child. 551 553

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives. 855 [861] [597]

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand. 198● 516

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four; therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands." 802

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mîdo* at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around. [262]

/456 cont./

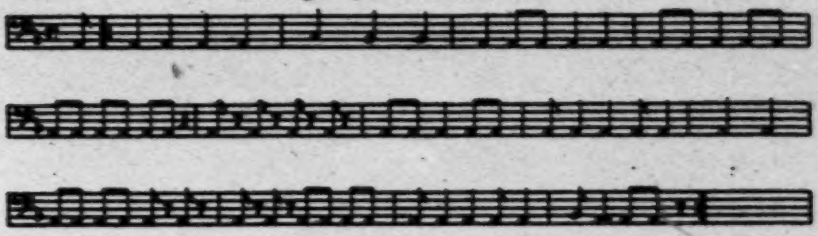
198 224 Nocturnal howl of Lamantation. Evening after evening, from at least four or five huts, came the incessant howls of lamentation by individual women. These are the wives of men who are on a hunting expedition and are expected back in a few days. Bábela bábela bá.... baba éh. The lament lasts until far into the night; it is scarcely possible for us to sleep. It has a very definite purpose, however. The women say that afterwards, [787] when they lie down to sleep, they will find out in their dreams when their husbands will return. They will know it the next 763 morning. At the moment they are all the more occupied with this matter since the wife of one of the absent ones, the Indian "Coqueiro" (coconut palm), has just died. In the men's house the red covering of the dead has been spread out, a pot and two work-shells of hers have been added; two baris let resound a lengthy song of lament, while a number of mourning women remained in the background.

Vesper prayer. At eight o'clock in the evening the "reza," the vesper prayer of the soldiers, takes place. Yesterday we followed the procedure more closely, and, when the horn-player gave his signal, we took our places in front of the prison door in order to watch. Gradually 32 men, besides the ever present guard, gathered at the main house /457/ and "arranged" themselves in two rows, tall and short, as they happened to come, in whatever garb, but each one equipped with his Comblain rifle. The full moon shed its mild light on the strange fellows. Facing them stood two cadets, one of whom read the names by the light of a candle, the other cut himself pieces of sugar cane and sucked contentedly. As soon as a name was called, the bearer answered, sometimes loudly, sometimes softly, depending on his mood, "pronto," "present." To our astonishment, the "pronto" suddenly sounded behind us in a hollow, sepulchral voice issuing from the guardhouse cell; through a crack in the door we were amused to see, from the shadow moving back and forth, how the culprit in a bright light inside was swinging in his hammock.

/494 cont./

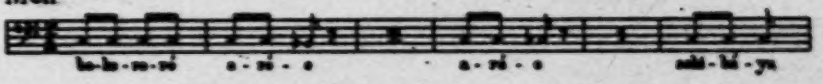
533 diadem) – ehé would be sung; again, however, this did not occur at the ceremony for the dead, but only in connection with hunting.

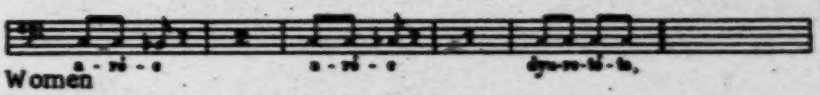
First song, by the Men.



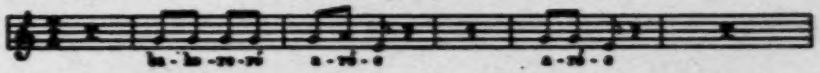
533
539 Second Song, by the Men and Women.

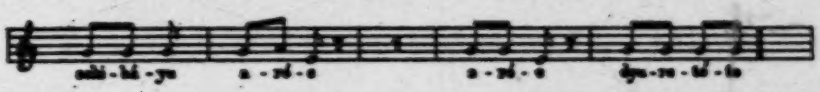
Men





Women





535 Rohde speaks of a "fararu dance," for which one is adorned with
[534] feather crowns, bells, and other ornaments. A dance leader, the gourd rattle in each hand, bells made out of deer hoofs on his feet, is in the center of a circle which the men form and which the women surround with a larger circle. They dance rhythmically, leap and rattle for a long time; finally the leading dancer roars hau! and makes a wild final leap which the entire company imitates. Waehneldt saw dances with imitations of animals and calls the howling-monkey dance, with an imitation of all the sounds and movements, particularly extravagant. "In the jaguar-skin dance men and women take part; the latter are never able to see the skin of the jaguar which one man is wearing on his back, who, however, tries to show it to them with his movements at every step." The fear of the women is the point /495/ of the dance.
[198] "The dance, which consisted of their imitating (?) the customs of

/495 cont./

535 198 their ancestors, was a bit clumsy and accompanied by songs in a language different from the present one. The most melancholy and 535 sorrowful dance was dedicated to the memory of their dead; in it they portrayed the latter as present, conversed with them, and bestowed all kinds of endearments on them."

On page 567 I have described the dance for courage in battle against the hostile Kayapó /Cayapo/, in which we had to take part. Details about the dance and song at the ceremony for the dead will be given in the specific report about the burial of Coqueiro's wife, and I shall also describe there the dance of the evening before, during which the belongings of the dead woman were burned.

We saw an amusing dance, on 8 April, the "pare" dance. Four young men in the parîko finery appeared behind the ranchão, led by Domingo who was swinging a rattle gourd in each hand. They rhythmically made small jumps with both feet and danced this way in a circle, in sudden alternation turning to face now inward, now outward. Then came three young girls; each danced timidly behind one of the youths, holding on to his hips. The onlookers were enjoying themselves, but their merriment increased considerably when now a fourth, more dashing person with bark belt and bast band, who was easily recognizable as a man in spite of a headcloth concealing the face, leaped into the circle. He was wearing strings of beads around his neck and carried a small mat in his hand, with which he fanned rhythmically toward the ground. The entertainment lasted about a quarter of an hour; the women, the sham one in the lead, stepped out, the men danced around once more in an accelerated tempo and went bathing.

526 Wrestling bouts, peaceful ones, took place according to the following rules. A person who wants to challenge another seizes him by his right wrist. The two stand opposite each other, and each one places his hands together under the shoulders or in the small of the back of the other one; in this embrace the two stand with almost horizontal torsos, their feet are as far apart as possible, and the one looks at the back of the other. Smiling, they remain this way for a while, perfectly quiet, but then they

/156 cont./

301 other sex or to his own or shows him superior to the other
562 sex or to his own can only be answered in facing this or that particular case. Thus, this answer has only individual-psychological value, and not general value, concerning the significance of the adornment for the position of the sexes.

562 Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 497) writes that among
201 the Indians "it is proper for the woman to cry and 'to tremble' always, when animals, enemies, or merely cataracts threaten, and always to need protection."

I confirmed in my experiences that this is true in general; and when it is observed that the woman, in anger and in fear, utters sharp cries or moans, while the man almost always tries in any case to preserve a more tranquil dignity, we are inclined to see in this behavior a superiority of the man. And even if the cause for the woman's behavior is only her intention "to win by means of weakness" in the relations between the sexes, that seems to us an indication of social inferiority.

000 In the majority of the native tribes the men even want the women to show fear, and certain dances are performed for this purpose. According to Wilhelm Koppers (Unter Feuerlandindianern /Among Fuegian Indians/, Stuttgart, 1924), the Indians in Tierra del Fuego narrate that in ancient times they were completely dominated by the woman, because the latter had joined together in secret leagues and performed rites thanks to which they kept the men in /157/ permanent fear. But one day the men discovered this stratagem and then did the same with the woman; and since that time the latter have been intimidated
[171] by means of practices of sorcery and dances. In the dances of the Inãpẽsẽ of the Chamacoco in the Chaco (Baldus, Indianerstudien, p. 94), what the men want, by means of their mysterious and frightening tricks, is to protest against the power of the women.

/496 cont. /

534 965 were to be found in ordinary use. The poari served as a signal horn in hunting; it was a gourd of the shape and size of a large apple, [202] had a round cutout below, and a finger-long, thin little tube set on top, into which a tongue was cut at the side. With small bundles of the hair of the deceased hanging on them, the poaris were to be acquired from the Bororó only with difficulty. The only flute or trumpet that we saw is shown in Fig. 144; it was 1.21 meters long and was blown at the ceremony for the dead and when the bone-baskets were carried back to the house. A drum which was used at the same ceremony in the ranchão did not give the impression /497/ of originality; it was a wooden mortar with a piece of oxhide stretched over it; a couple of sticks of seriba palm wood served as drumsticks.

Of greater interest are the whizzer sticks, both on account of the air of mystery connected with them, and on account of the

[524] Fig. 143. Maize ball and feather whip. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

painting, for they represent the only painted implement. I have reported on page 381 how the whizzer sticks are used. Whereas they are used on the Kulisehu only for the jolly masquerades or as a toy, they are put to use on the S. Lourenço only in connection with the

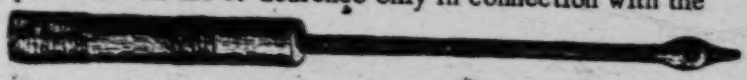


Fig. 144. Death flute. Bororó. (1/11 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

practices of the ceremony for the dead, first of all when the belongings of the dead person are burned and, in a pantomimic dance, it is made clear to the dead, who themselves appear, that nothing

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 847 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated
[516] on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuǐawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuǐawa, the

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[71] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of
175 these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and
[648] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up
[181] to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

22 But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering people. They spent only three months of the year, more or
[241] less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is
167 reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.
797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than
131 thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/140 cont./

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women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being
462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi-
482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads
[434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

462 It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the
22 wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat.
[241] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in
[171] the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
363 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the population. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage° was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the
[221] economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

/284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[796] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active
[533] part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

used with fatal effect against traders ascending narrow streams in canoes, for the savage manipulator, hiding behind the dense masses of trees and bushes that lined the bank of the river, stealthily launched his deadly darts without being discovered.

721 411 In war, the Bororó, like many other South American tribes, prefer a hand to hand attack with heavy clubs. If they can choose the hour of attack, they select a moment just before dawn, or else the evening just after dark. They yell fiendishly when making an attack.

361 433 221 The Bororó always build their villages near some important stream, for they look more to the water for their flesh food than to the forest, and are far more expert fishermen than hunters. Though when fish are scarce, which they are during several months each year, they scour the forest in search of game. At such times, entire families leave the village to wander far away through forest and jungle, remaining absent two or three months.

224 They bravely attack, hand to hand, even the most ferocious game—the jaguar. When this powerful beast attacks a man, it springs to within a few feet of him, then rises up on its hind feet, like a bear, and closes with him. It is remarkable that an animal of the cat family should assume this position; but perhaps it is suggested to it by the upright position of the man. When forced to meet the beast in close combat, the Brazilian hunter provides himself with a heavy bar of wood five or six feet in length and terminating in a fork. Grasping this with the left hand, he holds it inclined in front of him with the foot resting upon the ground, and parries the attack by receiving the brute in the fork, which gives him time to thrust into its vitals the long knife held in the right hand.

But the Bororó hunter rarely uses the fork, employing, instead, a still more dangerous method. Having wound fifteen or twenty yards of hair rope around the left arm, he presents it, doubled, to the great cat when it rises to attack him, and at the same instant, plunges a knife into its heart. I saw

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear.
114 Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others dis-
[178] puted the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition
224 to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were pre-
[222] dominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also
[462] helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and
[756] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated
[231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.
226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.
262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are
[263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded
[574] or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large
[342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall,
[345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of
[184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[539] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[429] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[196] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[229] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

772 Commentary:

1. village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[72] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[229] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure arego-
dure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara,' akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare ure. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Mi, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does the heavier and economically more valuable work has a position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier
462 or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den
222 Steinen (o.c., p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them, "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought by the women has greater importance because it is obtained with more regularity and in abundance. The women look for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the 'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/ and of the piquí, /Caryocar brasiliense/, etc."

462 The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians,
[224] hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow; in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in
462 many she also helps in the construction of the house. But,
141 considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps, be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

[171] 3. In contrast let there be indicated the following tribes described by Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, Rondonia, 3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): "Tembés -- Male stature, in general, shorter than the female. Women tall and thin; men short and fat. Mundurucús -- They are muscular. Men shorter than the

222
273

WOMAN scrapes well in an ocuri palm, above, after top has been chopped off. Sap seeps upward, and while it collects a leaf covers the cavity. When well is full, below, a woman draws off the sap by using a long reed tube as a pipette.

[142
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415]

[p. 41-B]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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renewed effort to call forth the spirit of the dead Bororo.

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The ritual dances of the Bororo depict in lively and vigorous fashion many aspects of their relations with the spirit world. All the dances take place in the village plaza, and most of them continue for hours at a time, requiring tremendous physical endurance. As one by one the dancers become exhausted, they drop out of line. Weary and covered with perspiration, each one squats unceremoniously on the shallow grave, while someone pours a pot of water over him. These shower baths have a twofold purpose: they refresh the dancers and also moisten the ground, thus hastening decomposition of the body.

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222●
[765]
[595]

Before the dancers return to strenuous activity, they may sip palm "wine." This weakly fermented beverage is prepared from sap of the *acuri* palm, a tree that grows in profusion near the village. To collect the sap, a man climbs to the top of the tree and cuts off the uppermost fronds. Next, his wife ascends and, with a shell, scrapes the pith from the heart of the

[p.45-c]

palm, leaving a deep well in which the 273
sap collects by upward seepage. She 222
covers the opening with leaves, and
by the next day the well is full. A number of women then suck the sap into
reeds, which they use as pipettes. [445]
When a reed is full, they close the top
quickly with a thumb and transfer the
sap to large pots. It is then taken back
to the village and left in the shade for
a day to ferment.

FOR a change of pace from the ritual 526
dances of the funerary ceremony, [764]
the Bororo engage in an unusual kind
of relay race. Two teams of young
men—each team representing one of [616]
the two moieties of the society—oppose
each other. Men of the two groups cut
stems of buriti palms, trim them to a
uniform length, and tie them into two
huge circular bundles resembling cart
wheels. Each one is about three feet
in diameter and may weigh more than
one hundred pounds. With a "cart
wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man
from each team begins running toward
the village. When he tires under his
heavy burden, the bundle is taken over

[p. 45-D]

[text continues on p. 46-B]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 412 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to furnish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in 433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and 226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January, 222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the [283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

long tongue-like leaf furnishes a silk or band of strands called 222
bokigo, which he rolls into a single strand as he sits cross-legged on [283]
the ground, and by twisting this strand with others he obtains cord-
ing with which to make his fishing nets, harpoon lines, etc. From
the ground he digs two or three varieties of the potato family, which
he boils. Corn is eaten as roasting ears or cut from the ears and
boiled. They use no salt. The large ant bear is considered the 224
most valuable of all creatures. Nearly every part of its body is
utilized. When discovered it is driven to the village for slaughter
in order to secure its blood. After this comes the tapir, which is
also greatly esteemed. When food is plenty they eat nearly all the 264
time when awake, and even rise several times in the night to take a
little food. While we were in the baehytu at the Kogy ao Paro
village we saw 33 men devour upwards of 25 gallons of boiled
shelled corn within an hour and a half, and they had been nibbling
roast ears all the morning. The two men who had accompanied us
from the Ja-Dare-Mano Paro were induced to eat from every pot as
they were brought in one at a time. They seem never to get full,
and will eat as long as there is anything to be had. While at work
making bows and arrows and ornaments, they are nibbling food, if
they can obtain it. They eat the corn mush squatting and standing
around the pot, using large oyster-like shells or broad leaves as
spoons.

Their language seems quite free from clicks and from deep gut- 194
turals. The names given to animals are often in imitation of the
sound produced by the animal. Ki, for instance, means tapir, and
is a close imitation of the note of this animal; pobu means river or
water; pobu camahina is great river; meri rutu, sunset; adugo,
spotted tiger or ounce; and aigo, brown ounce. Báekimo is the
negative; Boe by báekimo means "Indian die not"—"I will not
die."

They are wonderful whistlers and seem able thus to communicate 198
whatever they otherwise would by speech.

All the fine and ornamental work is done by the men. A great 462
deal of time and labor is spent in making seemingly unimportant
articles, and the time consumed in shaping and burnishing an arrow
is astonishing, generally the larger part of two days. The shell [321]
ornament worn around the neck is made by the reciprocating motion
of the point of a sharp instrument of flint or of iron or steel, if they [322]
can obtain it, fastened near the center of a roughly shaped shell.
A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into
another bit of wood. When holes have been made in bits of roughly

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At [304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war- 462
like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer.

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, 222
may be seen going forth in various directions with huge bas- [482]
kets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their fore- [854]
heads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him.

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is con- 582
tracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age 584
of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken 839
for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Be- [584]
cause of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old.

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
584 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *Ta Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *Ta Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

/489 cont./

732 Sometimes Dyapokuri gave a performance. The men were far from regarding the feeble-minded one, who could only babble, as a superior creature. He liked to portray the quarreling of the women by launching into the most enraged gestures and vigorously demonstrated the mutual scratching and hair-pulling. He flew into frightful agitation himself, however, when a soldier teased him on account of his setting out to pursue the Kayapó (page 568) and, a stick over his shoulder, hitched along with huge, lunging strides: the poor devil foamed at the mouth with indignation, threw his burning chunk of wood at the mocker, and, since he did not know what else to do, snatched up a few wood chips from the ground and, with a teeth-baring grimace and unintelligible sounds of rage, depicted -- the mustache of the soldier. After a while he calmed down again and, for the funeral ceremony, practiced rattling with two rattle gourds and the rhythmic aróe grunts.

123 The hours in the ranchão were instructive and agreeable. There was only one thing that was intolerable, the incessant begging for tobacco. My pipe traveled from one man to another. The men dictated pages of Bororó to me, each one having to present in sentences whatever was going on at the moment, listened to me repeat it, and then laughed, just as gratified [157] as the Bakaïrí. The more intimate we became, the more striking was the agreement in temperament and character with the Kulisehu Indians. On a post in the men's house, after we had taken the anthropological measurements, /490/ my height was also indicated. A piece of charcoal was crushed with the teeth, pulverized with saliva in the hand, and above my head a black ring was painted around the post.

433 Food: "consecration." According to Clemente's report, in spite of all the hunting, the plant food obtained by the women is of the greatest importance, because it comes in more regularly 222 and abundantly. The women look for roots with a pointed stick, climb up the palm trees with great agility, among which preference is given to the oaussú and akurí, gather the nuts, cut the "palm cabbage" in the crown, look for jatobá and pikí fruits, 292 and so forth. The palm nuts are roasted or pounded in a mortar 574 and mixed with water to make a thickish drink, the refreshing

301 The principal ornaments used by men consisted
[237] of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitúta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*akopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pacoó*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *patúka*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5
534 inches in length. During dances the men fastened rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otsíyo*), sweet manioc (*otsíyo biborúno*), maize (*omatúka*), black and red beans (*dumatúka*), sweetpotatoes (*balarkúpo*), and cará (*tapatúka*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podri*), cotton (*akyámani*),
[276] and urucú (*nodókahírika*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past.
● 222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*keír*), mangaba (*botorúkua*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *kashorúkua*).
237 Honey (*peíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*ántho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The

634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to
[616] be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
824
284

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent. [178] ●224

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown. [222] [462] [756] [231]

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

952 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests. [263] [574]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes* [342] [345] [184]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

301 Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
806 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
428 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
433 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 Marriage.—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and 582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage 174 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as 585 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous 591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is 763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk 602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors 764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's [622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve 224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he [616] has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him 881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for 764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread 764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

[726] [224] [782] 237 [825]

272 273 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

[756]

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baere (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, macréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

[821] [753] [262] [756] [787] [773]

771 756 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

[787] [754] 771 756 755 [562] [262] [778]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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Plate 28 — Bororo house decorations. At le Cerqueuils. Front and rear views. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432-G]

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[539] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[765] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[195] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform- 114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re- 178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot- 167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept 177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

*601 To a man who is making love to a woman in mourning his
522 companions will say: "Stay away from her, she is our "little
[765] mother," our "poor-little mother." After the hunt, it is a
[224] duty of the "ceremonial father" to carry the game to his wife ("the mother") who has to cook it for the "meal of the spirits." If, for some reason, the "father" did not join the hunt, this will provoke many jokes and comments from the other hunters. They will say, "Our father did not come, but we have here another 'our father' who will carry the meat," alluding to the sexual relations between this other man and "the mother." If the woman had many affairs in the past, which is quite usual among the Bororo, each man in his turn will deny being the most qualified "father" pointing to somebody else as the one who should carry the meat.

Conclusion

*601 When one arrives in the field he is immediately con-
114 fronted both with a complicated set of relations and with different systems crosscutting each other. At this point all ideas about an ordered conceptual universe appear to be nonsense. It seemed to me that the Bororo were also confused, but ignored the contradictions and pretended that things were clear and simple. I tried to construct full genealogies but
551 did not succeed. For one the Bororo avoid uttering the names of dead people, and if persuaded to produce them, another difficulty arises. Everyone at birth receives several names and during his life he acquires many new ones. A good hunter about forty-five years old had fifty different names. Some

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother
will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad
dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers),
she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
846 into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffo-
cate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's
lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
224 duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
226 the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
461 ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
276 drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
545 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
593 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
827 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from
846 the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and final-
ly go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times
until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and
fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big
leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility.
After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
826 only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
252 or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
291 white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
292

585 1942: 39). If a child marriage is to be contracted, the
[304] girl's family will ask her future husband, instead of her
[224] brother, to pierce her ear lobes. A more elaborate ceremony is performed when the girl is given as a wife to the hunter who has killed a jaguar for some of her dead brothers. In this case, however, she is only one of the gifts that are given to him in exchange for the jaguar skin. The other gifts, bow and arrows and poari (a musical instrument) are obligatory. Of particular interest for us is the speech that one of the girl's brothers makes when he delivers her to the hunter. He says:

585 539

> "This is your wife, stay with her. This is the place for your bow, for your arrow. Here is the place for you to eat nokodu, noa, noidoya, the place for you to eat motore and honey. Here your ruwobo, your aria, your pori (different kinds of containers) are waiting for your fish, for your game. Here you will eat nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu. You should look after this girl, take care of her, so that she will make kodo as your mat, beto as your blanket. She will make the basket where your arrows will stay. She will wash you and give you to drink. She will go to meet you when you come back from fishing or from the hunt, when you come back from the woods or the hills. You do not have a mother, older sister, or younger sister anymore. This girl will be your mother, your older sister, your younger sister. You should treat her with care. Do not scare her when she goes to get water, when she goes to get firewood. Do not scare her when she is eating fish or when she is eating meat. You should defend her from other bad women, from the things she is afraid of. Do not scare her. You will be her mother, her father, her brother, and she will love you with all her heart."[1]

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[1] Akoredujereo, awudo apore amugure, atugo pare, awoiga pare, ake nokodu, noa, noidoya jetareo, ake motore jetareo, ake miyawoe gigodugedu jetareo. Woere aruwobo, akaria, apori jeture ako karo togi, ako barogo togi. Woere a mode nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu kowuje, woe. Awudojire aeture

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 men is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will
264 of the others.)

881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
573 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
794 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

614 gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one
621 commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on
181 the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

622 When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say
[173] that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they
[224] themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the
[701] center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer
[728] of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
12 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Arce—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[772] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[229] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Arce are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

/135 cont./

593 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents'
[512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not
[354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the
[603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother
[855] nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are
836 evident from the following indications of the same explorer
431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls
[411] in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love
[602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the
[421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

224 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to
602 which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
114 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does the heavier and economically more valuable work has a position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier
462 or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them,
222 "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought by the women has greater importance because it is obtained with more regularity and in abundance. The women look for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the 'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/ and of the piquí, /Caryocar brasiliense/, etc."

462 The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians, hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the
[224] house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow; in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in
462 many she also helps in the construction of the house. But,
141 considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps, be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

[171] 3. In contrast let there be indicated the following tribes described by Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, Rondonia, 3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): "Tembés -- Male stature, in general, shorter than the female. Women tall and thin; men short and fat. Mundurucús -- They are muscular. Men shorter than the

/144 cont./

000 goddess of the earth, had in common seven rings. "When they met at night, they would decorate themselves with these rings, that is, the one who was lying on top always wore the first four rings, and the one who was lying underneath wore the remaining three rings" (Leo Frobenius: Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes, /From the Cultural Realm of the Continent/, Berlin, 1923, p. 112). According to an ancient Syrio-Judaic tale, Adam and Eve argued in paradise about which of the two, during coitus, had to lie underneath and which one on top (Frobenius, ibidem).

/145/ To what point the socially inferior position of the woman in our civilization is manifested also with respect to the sexual life is shown by the following expressions: "to possess" or "to use" or "to dishonor" a woman. Our collective morality does not tolerate the woman's using such expressions also with respect to the man. She cannot "possess him," but must "belong to him," she cannot "use him," but she must "surrender herself," and she can never "dishonor him," because she must seduce him in such a way that he considers himself the seducer.

Among our Indians, we shall look in vain for a mentality 562 that establishes similar violent differences between the sexes. This is not contradicted by what Koslowsky (o.c. p. 384) relates about the western Bororo /The following quotation has been translated from the Spanish/: "When they get 562 ready for hunting/the ounce [H.B.]) they begin by • 224 observing certain ceremonies, which consist principally of [411] not sleeping with one's wife for four days before leaving to hunt the feline; in this interval he starts by painting his face with urucú, he prepares his arrows at the heat of the fire in order to harden the fibers of the tacuara /bamboo/. Under no circumstance is the woman allowed to touch the point of the arrows, since the Indian believes that with her contact they would lose their power of penetration and that it would [833] attract misfortunes to him." -- When the man avoids relations

/145 cont./

562 with the woman, supposing that these weaken him physically
224 and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his
833 sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the
173 past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but
[224] today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much, for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is
832 the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to
833 which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the
173 pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.)). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

They say that the only form of sexual caress known by
832 the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

838 Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the
839 Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes
171 visited by me.

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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made from the mourners' hair, which the hunter wraps around his left wrist to prevent it from being injured by the snap of the bowstring.

EVEN though the shaman has "learned" the location of a jaguar from the spirit of the deceased, several days may pass before the hunter succeeds in finding one. The ensuing struggle between hunter and hunted is a feat of great daring and skill. As soon as a jaguar comes within shooting range, the hunter releases an arrow. He then immediately lifts his bow into a horizontal position and extends it toward the jaguar, pointing the far tip directly at the beast to parry its attack (a single arrow is seldom lethal). This maneuver must be accomplished with great speed before the jaguar pounces. Enraged by pain, the jaguar leaps at the end of the bow, clawing and biting it. Eye to eye the two struggle, the hunter warding off the beast with his bow held rigidly in both hands. When the jaguar recoils to pounce, the hunter quickly looses a second arrow and again raises the bow to protect himself. When the jaguar finally falls to the ground, weakened by the wounds, a last arrow is shot to end the struggle. If the hunter does not deliver this coup de grâce, he may lose the contest, for the jaguar may still have enough strength to attack when the hunter least expects it.

With the help of a companion, the hunter carries the dead jaguar

[p. 42-C]

[text continues on p. 44-B]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [441] [531] [766]

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

765 535 825 782

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each party eating separately.

224 226 533 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the unearthly. [532] After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mēdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arēda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 583 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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long tongue-like leaf furnishes a silk or band of strands called 222
bokigo, which he rolls into a single strand as he sits cross-legged on [283]
the ground, and by twisting this strand with others he obtains cord-
ing with which to make his fishing nets, harpoon lines, etc. From
the ground he digs two or three varieties of the potato family, which
he boils. Corn is eaten as roasting ears or cut from the ears and
boiled. They use no salt. The large ant bear is considered the 224
most valuable of all creatures. Nearly every part of its body is
utilized. When discovered it is driven to the village for slaughter
in order to secure its blood. After this comes the tapir, which is
also greatly esteemed. When food is plenty they eat nearly all the 264
time when awake, and even rise several times in the night to take a
little food. While we were in the baehytu at the Kogy ao Paro
village we saw 33 men devour upwards of 25 gallons of boiled
shelled corn within an hour and a half, and they had been nibbling
roast ears all the morning. The two men who had accompanied us
from the Ja-Dare-Mano Paro were induced to eat from every pot as
they were brought in one at a time. They seem never to get full,
and will eat as long as there is anything to be had. While at work
making bows and arrows and ornaments, they are nibbling food, if
they can obtain it. They eat the corn mush squatting and standing
around the pot, using large oyster-like shells or broad leaves as
spoons.

Their language seems quite free from clicks and from deep gut- 194
turals. The names given to animals are often in imitation of the
sound produced by the animal. Ki, for instance, means tapir, and
is a close imitation of the note of this animal; pobu means river or
water; pobu camahina is great river; meri rutu, sunset; adugo,
spotted tiger or ounce; and aigo, brown ounce. Báekimo is the
negative; Boe by báekimo means "Indian die not"—"I will not
die."

They are wonderful whistlers and seem able thus to communicate 198
whatever they otherwise would by speech.

All the fine and ornamental work is done by the men. A great 462
deal of time and labor is spent in making seemingly unimportant
articles, and the time consumed in shaping and burnishing an arrow
is astonishing, generally the larger part of two days. The shell [321]
ornament worn around the neck is made by the reciprocating motion
of the point of a sharp instrument of flint or of iron or steel, if they [322]
can obtain it, fastened near the center of a roughly shaped shell.
A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into
another bit of wood. When holes have been made in bits of roughly

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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used with fatal effect against traders ascending narrow streams in canoes, for the savage manipulator, hiding behind the dense masses of trees and bushes that lined the bank of the river, stealthily launched his deadly darts without being discovered.

In war, the Bororó, like many other South American tribes, prefer a hand to hand attack with heavy clubs. If they can choose the hour of attack, they select a moment just before dawn, or else the evening just after dark. They yell fiendishly when making an attack.

The Bororó always build their villages near some important stream, for they look more to the water for their flesh food than to the forest, and are far more expert fishermen than hunters. Though when fish are scarce, which they are during several months each year, they scour the forest in search of game. At such times, entire families leave the village to wander far away through forest and jungle, remaining absent two or three months.

They bravely attack, hand to hand, even the most ferocious game—the jaguar. When this powerful beast attacks a man, it springs to within a few feet of him, then rises up on its hind feet, like a bear, and closes with him. It is remarkable that an animal of the cat family should assume this position; but perhaps it is suggested to it by the upright position of the man. When forced to meet the beast in close combat, the Brazilian hunter provides himself with a heavy bar of wood five or six feet in length and terminating in a fork. Grasping this with the left hand, he holds it inclined in front of him with the foot resting upon the ground, and parries the attack by receiving the brute in the fork, which gives him time to thrust into its vitals the long knife held in the right hand.

But the Bororó hunter rarely uses the fork, employing, instead, a still more dangerous method. Having wound fifteen or twenty yards of hair rope around the left arm, he presents it, doubled, to the great cat when it rises to attack him, and at the same instant, plunges a knife into its heart. I saw

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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a Bororó whose arm had been crushed between the jaws of 224
a jaguar in a battle of this kind.

The great ant-bear is a much-prized game with the Bororó. Finding one, they do not kill it at once, but drive it to the village. This is easily done since the brute always runs straight away from its pursuers at a slow pace; hence it can be driven in any direction by the hunter appearing on one flank or the other. The savages make use of every part of its body—blood, flesh, skin, hair, bones and entrails.

The Bororó are marvelous fishermen. Their principal 226
method for catching fish is with a huge sack-like net which [286]
is made with large meshes and of the same kind of cordage as the bow strings. The mouth of the sack is secured to two parallel rods ten or twelve feet in length, which are bound together at the extremities; and the sack is opened by springing the rods apart. Equipped with these sack-nets, a group of the
primitive anglers plunge into the river a few miles above [526]
the village and descend with the great, muddy current, swimming and diving, and exploring the depths of the river; and by the exercise of astonishing skill, succeed in bagging fish that weigh ten or fifteen, or even one hundred pounds. When the fish is once inside the sack, the mouth is allowed to spring shut, and the sack is then gradually rolled up by revolving the poles; and finally, when the fish is in such close quarters that it is helpless, and has been brought to the surface of the water, the fisherman seizes the small club which he has been trailing from the back of his neck, and pommels it until it is dead. The sack is now unrolled and the fish removed, strung on a cord and trailed behind with the club; then the almost amphibious man proceeds once more to explore the depth of the river for more fish. The whole operation of catching and disposing of the fish is performed in deep water; and when the savage angler finally lands at the village, he may drag after him half a dozen or more ten or fifteen-pound fish. Sometimes, four or five large fish are caught at one scoop. When the fisherman bags a fish nearly as large as himself, he is forced to call a companion to assist him.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the 533
notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, 825
growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its 151
bakororó, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures.

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting 533
expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages [224]
intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* [574]
is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune.

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the 532
savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space 224
of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, 825
especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals.

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these prim- 000
itive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state.

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

B /243 cont./
*171 one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the
20 vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself
532 that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory
[124] sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me.
To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imitated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since the man does not understand our language, how can we in this case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the behavior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language, easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
B that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may per-
[53] haps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
BO natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom
171 I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory
532 way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for draw-
BO ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They
[224] were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing, but had already advanced to sedentary farming.

/456 cont./

198 Nocturnal howl of Lamantation. Evening after evening, from
224 at least four or five huts, came the incessant howls of lamentation by individual women. These are the wives of men who are on a hunting expedition and are expected back in a few days. Bábela bábela bá.... baba éh. The lament lasts until far into the night; it is scarcely possible for us to sleep. It has a very definite purpose, however. The women say that afterwards, [787] when they lie down to sleep, they will find out in their dreams when their husbands will return. They will know it the next 763 morning. At the moment they are all the more occupied with this matter since the wife of one of the absent ones, the Indian "Coqueiro" (coconut palm), has just died. In the men's house the red covering of the dead has been spread out, a pot and two work-shells of hers have been added; two baris let resound a lengthy song of lament, while a number of mourning women remained in the background.

Vesper prayer. At eight o'clock in the evening the "reza," the vesper prayer of the soldiers, takes place. Yesterday we followed the procedure more closely, and, when the horn-player gave his signal, we took our places in front of the prison door in order to watch. Gradually 32 men, besides the ever present guard, gathered at the main house /457/ and "arranged" themselves in two rows, tall and short, as they happened to come, in whatever garb, but each one equipped with his Comblain rifle. The full moon shed its mild light on the strange fellows. Facing them stood two cadets, one of whom read the names by the light of a candle, the other cut himself pieces of sugar cane and sucked contentedly. As soon as a name was called, the bearer answered, sometimes loudly, sometimes softly, depending on his mood, "pronto," "present." To our astonishment, the "pronto" suddenly sounded behind us in a hollow, sepulchral voice issuing from the guardhouse cell; through a crack in the door we were amused to see, from the shadow moving back and forth, how the culprit in a bright light inside was swinging in his hammock.

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

● 224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
[276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on
[533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.
[756] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink-
[534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical
757 413 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage
765 304 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one.
512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable
● [224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt
302 was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally,
757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after
237 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children
301 were always doéte /sick/(Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply
[164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with The men fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the [824] colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

•224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in [251] carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

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* In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [147] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/490 cont. /

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
515 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri, Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones;
[437] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

•224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular burití fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beixhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*zumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 The siriva palm wood bow (*boíko*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in [726] war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*ísho*) is made by fixing a notched 411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. ●224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow [824] pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p. 107 (1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SPS

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókuu*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buritĩ palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hdlaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*umána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the population. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the [178] Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

224 At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband [222] would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals [462] included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending [756] over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated [231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are [263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is [574] served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large [342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, [345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of [184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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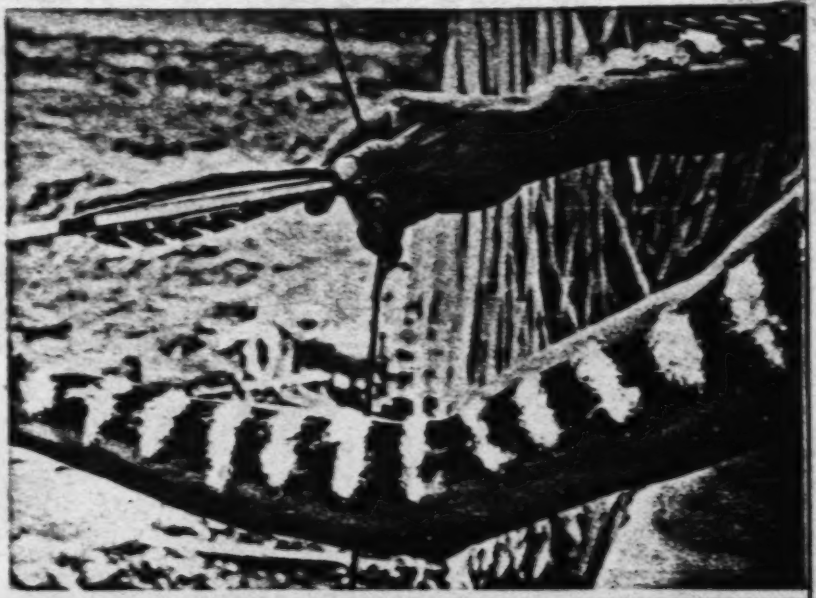

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PLATE 24.—Bororo archery. Top: Arrow release. At village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) Below: Rio Lourenço, Bororo shooting fish. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432 - D]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

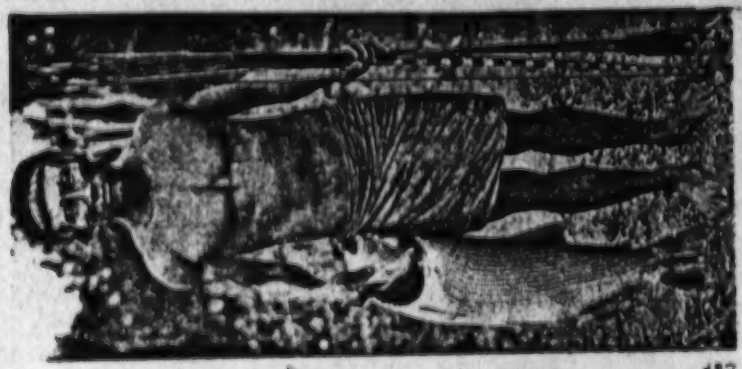

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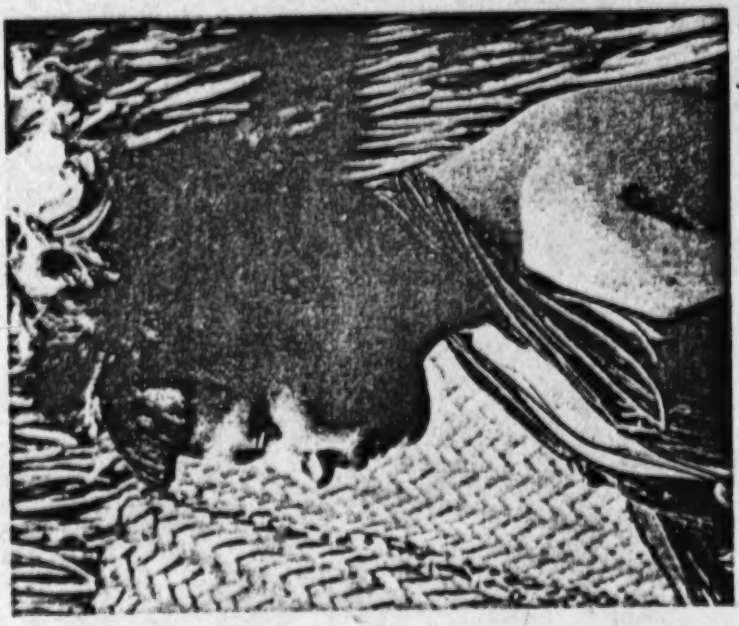
PLATE 18—Bororo Indians. Left: Young man at Kiriri village (Cuiabá Lake region). Right: Mr. Lowie's son (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)



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[P. 432-J]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

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FIGURE 1. AIR VIEW OF THE UPPER PARAGUAYAN VALLEY

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FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO SHOOTING FISH

[P.102]

[Plate IV]

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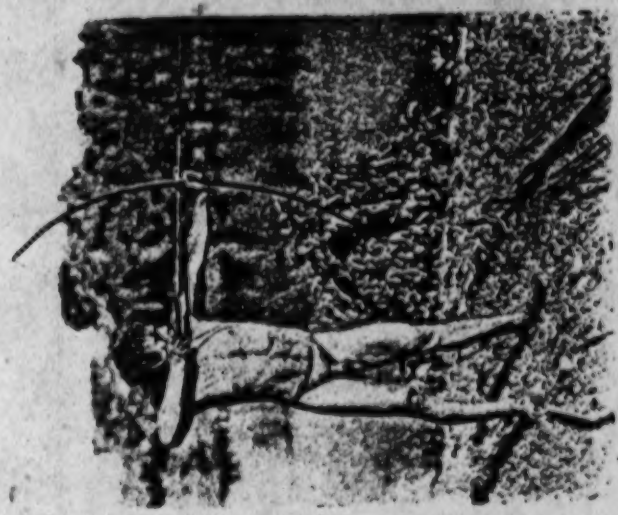

Figure 2. São Lourenço Bororo Drawing the Bow

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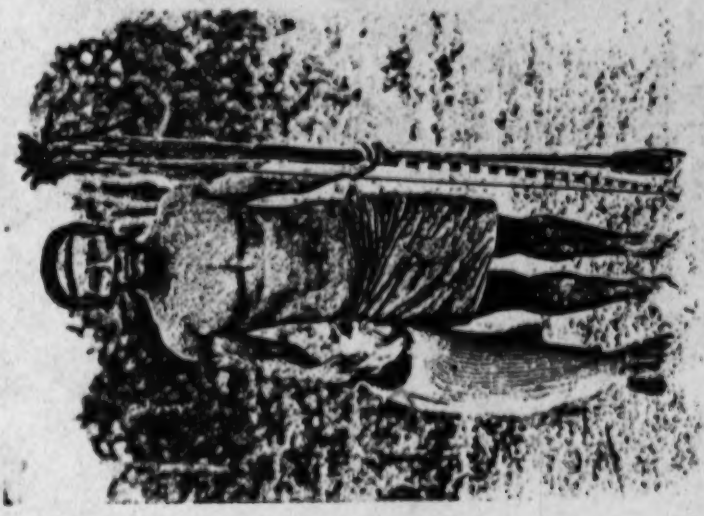

Figure 1. São Lourenço Bororo with Final Hit Shot

[P.105] [Plate V]

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform-
114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re-
178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot-
167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept
177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[844] [846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
[226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
[261] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
[276] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
[545] 593 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
827 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
846 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[824] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 man is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226 226 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will
264 of the others.)

881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
593 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
796 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

6:Kozfik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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DRUGGED FISH try to escape weir and are netted when they enter its chutes.

[p. 39-B]

8:Kosak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1983
SP8 Bororo SP8

Mr. Kosak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152 304] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 326 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

778 being made for the funeral prelude. There was deep silence, and
123 the word bope was whispered low and mysteriously. Certain warning calls are given some hours in advance of the time for bringing the roarers into use, and, hearing these warnings, the females enter their huts, close the openings, and hide their heads. The roarers are manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush. We had difficulty in securing examples of these instruments. They were brought to us at night securely wrapped and amid the greatest secrecy, every precaution being taken to make sure that we would keep them where there would be no possibility of a female seeing them. We also had much difficulty in obtaining the base flute which is played only over the bones of their dead. A captain said to me, "That is a very bad instrument; you must not take it. If you do you will never return."

481 The Bororó are expert swimmers and are fishermen of the highest
226 order. One mode of fishing is to swim out into the river, three or four miles above the village, with a net called buke, like a great bag, its mouth secured to two parallel rods nine to twelve feet long, bound together at their ends. When one or more fish are seen, the mouth of the sack is opened by springing the rods apart, and with wonderful dexterity the fish are bagged and the mouth of the net quickly closed by allowing the rods to spring together. The fisherman then plays the game, especially if it be large; gradually rolls the net over the rods till the fish cannot move, brings it to the surface and kills it with a club, which he trails by a cord from his neck. The fish is now taken from the net, strung on a cord, and floated along with the club. Sometimes two or more fish of twelve or fifteen pounds will be taken at one catch, or maybe one weighing as much as the man himself will be bagged in this way. A Bororó will remain in the water an hour or two continuously, and return ashore with six or eight large fish. They have learned to turn their bodily strength to the greatest account while in the water.

226 Another method of fishing is with a bone harpoon, to which is secured a long cord and a short detachable bamboo staff. With this the fisherman enters the water, and, finding a large fish in the shadow of a rock, following it with great expertness if it moves, he plunges the harpoon into it even at a depth of fifteen or twenty feet, while the staff detaches itself and remains in his hand with the end of the cord secured to it. The fisherman now returns to shore and plays the fish until he lands it.

Another method, when fish are scarce, is for one gang of men to enter the water with their sack nets, three or four miles above the

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

village, form a chain across the stream and make a great commotion and drive the fish downstream to a point near the village where another gang with sack nets awaits to bag the game. Sometimes they fish at dead of night, but as a rule they rarely leave the village after dark except in war. 226

Late one cloudy afternoon we had the pleasure of seeing the Bororó play Mano, the name of the small banana-like plant used in this game. It seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of ants. Indeed, the imitating of nature occupies a large part of the Bororó life. Early in the day they went up the river and cut many of these plants, which grow three or four feet high, floated them down on rude bamboo rafts, carried them to a point about 600 yards from the village, and placed them in two piles, one for each of the two parties into which every village is divided—the Xeráede and the Ta Nagarêde. Each group prepared its material by cutting off the tops of the mano, leaving a spongy stem about eighteen inches long, and when all was ready each made its pile into a huge wheel. This was done by two men for each wheel standing face to face, about five and a half feet apart, with two long, strong, parallel cords between them, reaching from the ground up over their shoulders, for binding the material into a wheel. The mano was then piled in between each pair of Indians acting as posts, and when the weight pressed too heavily upon them, they were supported by other Indians leaning against them, back to back. When the mano was all in place the cords were drawn over the top and tightened. The wheels were next laid flat on the ground and a string of men pulled with all their strength on each of the four ends of the cord for each wheel, while others pounded the spongy mass so close that it could not burst. Each wheel was again set upright to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village. But the Bororó must do things decently and in order, so a Ta Nagarêda man, with much ceremony steps quickly over to the Xeráede, takes a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel and stops in front of it, meaning by this that his wheel is delivered to its party, and the same ceremony is repeated by the other side. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces others of his own party just as he himself was introduced, until all surround their own wheels. At a given signal each group seizes its wheel, throws it up on its shoulders, and runs pell mell in a race to the village. Each squad of these human ants tries to keep its wheel upright as it sags this way and that, or finally rolls over on the carriers, to be quickly straightened up, and rushed along again, each crowd endeavoring to 524

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each 224 party eating separately.

226 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are 533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the unearthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, [532] and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. 583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spar or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to fur-
412 nish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in
433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and
226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January,
222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the
[283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

The
226 savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
433 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
[593] She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The
302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in
593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum
301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

a Bororó whose arm had been crushed between the jaws of 224
a jaguar in a battle of this kind.

The great ant-bear is a much-prized game with the Bororó. Finding one, they do not kill it at once, but drive it to the village. This is easily done since the brute always runs straight away from its pursuers at a slow pace; hence it can be driven in any direction by the hunter appearing on one flank or the other. The savages make use of every part of its body—blood, flesh, skin, hair, bones and entrails.

The Bororó are marvelous fishermen. Their principal 226
method for catching fish is with a huge sack-like net which [286]
is made with large meshes and of the same kind of cordage as the bow strings. The mouth of the sack is secured to two parallel rods ten or twelve feet in length, which are bound together at the extremities; and the sack is opened by springing the rods apart. Equipped with these sack-nets, a group of the primitive anglers plunge into the river a few miles above [526]
the village and descend with the great, muddy current, swimming and diving, and exploring the depths of the river; and by the exercise of astonishing skill, succeed in bagging fish that weigh ten or fifteen, or even one hundred pounds. When the fish is once inside the sack, the mouth is allowed to spring shut, and the sack is then gradually rolled up by revolving the poles; and finally, when the fish is in such close quarters that it is helpless, and has been brought to the surface of the water, the fisherman seizes the small club which he has been trailing from the back of his neck, and pommels it until it is dead. The sack is now unrolled and the fish removed, strung on a cord and trailed behind with the club; then the almost amphibious man proceeds once more to explore the depth of the river for more fish. The whole operation of catching and disposing of the fish is performed in deep water; and when the savage angler finally lands at the village, he may drag after him half a dozen or more ten or fifteen-pound fish. Sometimes, four or five large fish are caught at one scoop. When the fisherman bags a fish nearly as large as himself, he is forced to call a companion to assist him.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

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226 When fish become scarce, part of the men of the village, taking their sack-nets, form a cordon across the river, then bellowing, screaming and diving, treading the water and making a great commotion, drive the scattered fish down the river, much as cowboys round up cattle; while the remaining men, with their sack-nets, form a line across the river two or three miles below to complete the round-up. Thus they corner and bag the fish.

[411] [227] Another method of fishing employed by the Bororó, is with a harpoon. The point, including the one or two barbs, is of bone, and detaches from the staff, which is eighteen inches in length. Fifty or one hundred yards of strong line is wound around the point part and one end secured to the detachable staff. Armed with this weapon, the fisherman dives very quietly to the bottom of the river at a spot which he knows to be the lurking place of a *jahú*, for instance, a fish that grows as large as a man. Espying one as it rests in the shadow of some rock, he approaches it with great stealth, lying, perhaps, motionless in the water and allowing the current to float him gently within reach of his prey. Then, suddenly, he plunges the harpoon into it, and retaining the staff in his hand, he rises quickly to the surface, lands, plays his game, and finally brings it ashore. This method of fishing is practiced when the water becomes less charged with earth.

[411] [227] Still another method of catching fish is with the bow and the large harpoon arrow with the line attached. Thus armed, the fisherman awaits his game at some shallow place, or where the fish pass near the surface of the water; or at a spot where they approach the edge of the river to feed upon certain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

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When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the [103]
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The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They [501]
have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them.

One of the most striking traits of character of these chil- 151
dren of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) 825
is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *bepi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from [237] the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

At the *méri rútu*—the birth of the sun—the following morning, the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus [533] and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, [785] was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; [302] and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with [226] the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
● [226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the [824] colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in [251] carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

487 * In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [142] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians ĩka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

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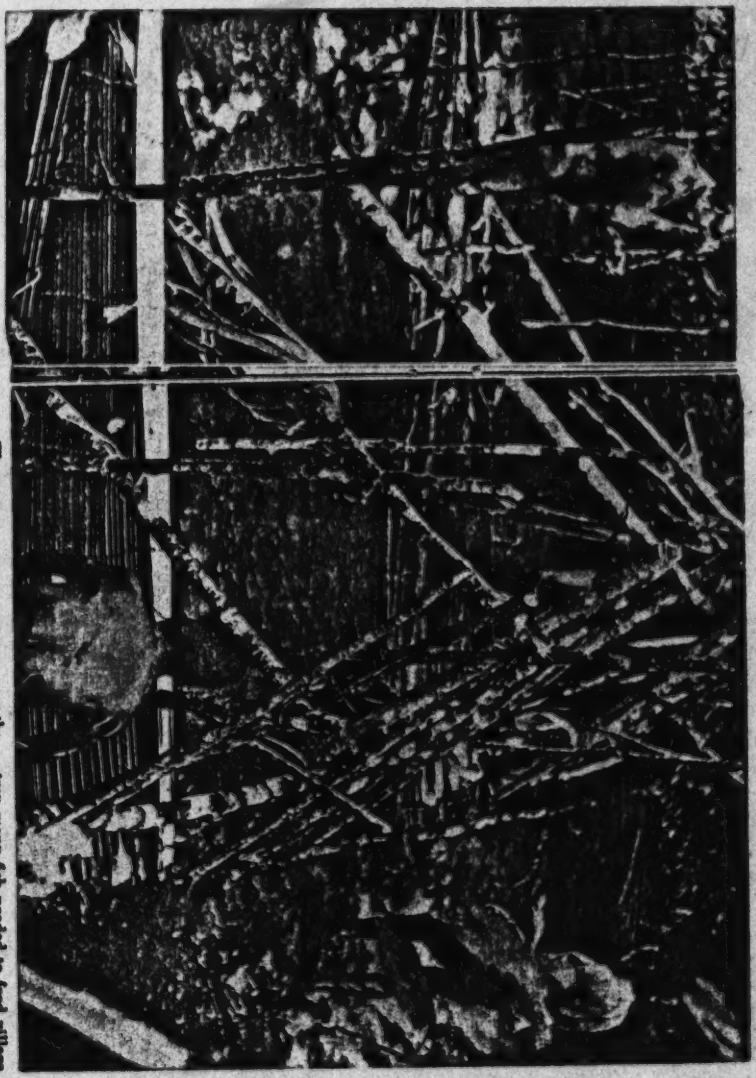

WEIR IN BUILT across a stream near the village after a death. Fence is used to trap many fish needed to feed village people during the long funeral rituals.

[p. 39-A]

6;Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Barono SP8

SHAMAN, into whose care all of the caught fish are first given for ritual treatment, here places a large fish on palm leaf and cuts it in small pieces.

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[P.40-B]

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular burití fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *julupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*zumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 [726] The siriva palm wood bow (*boíko*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*tako*) is made by fixing a notched 411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. 224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 [824] Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (a)]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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DRUGGED FISH try to escape weir and are netted when they enter its chutes.

[p. 39-B]

Brazil.

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8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

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131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent. [178]

224 At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown. [222] [462] [756] [231]

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests. [263] [574]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes* [342] [345] [184]

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

[p. 40-f]

After biting fish, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

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8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

five feet broad, which is partitioned off into a large number of apartments and occupied by an entire village of twenty or thirty families. It is a primitive tenement house.

231 The Bororó have no domestic animals whatever; and no captive wild creatures except the brilliant plumaged macaws and parrots, which are kept for their feathers, and for the pleasure of their companionship.

241 433 About the only agricultural work the Bororó do, in common with many other South American tribes, is to raise a little yellow corn, though they obtain but a mere handful of their annual food supply from this source. Agriculture is always carried on with extreme difficulty where the savages have no steel instruments with which to cut down the forest and prepare the soil. Those tribes that have secured axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives, sometimes plant considerable ground.

241 461 433 But the fact that all these tribes are communistic societies; that is, have all things in common, operates seriously, it seems to me, against their engaging in agriculture on a scale sufficiently large to produce their entire food supply. Their social arrangements are such that if any family should raise a quantity of produce, they would have to divide it with the rest of the community; so, after all their labor, they would find themselves without anything for tomorrow, and on a level with those who had not toiled. Consequently, there is but little incentive to provide food except as hunger drives them forth, in common with the other denizens of the wilds, to procure something for immediate consumption.

Therefore, the primitive man has knowledge of nearly everything in his savage world that is edible, whether it belongs to the animal or vegetable kingdom, and knows just when and where it is to be found, and how to obtain it. Some tribes look almost exclusively to the forest, others to the river, for their meat supply. Thus different tribes are either expert fishermen, or expert hunters. When fish become scarce, as they do at certain seasons, the fishermen tribes are forced to become vegetarians, largely.

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 514 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the 339 241 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be ●231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 621 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 291 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians ĩka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

/490 cont./

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
516 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[23] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*ysthabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

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●232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by

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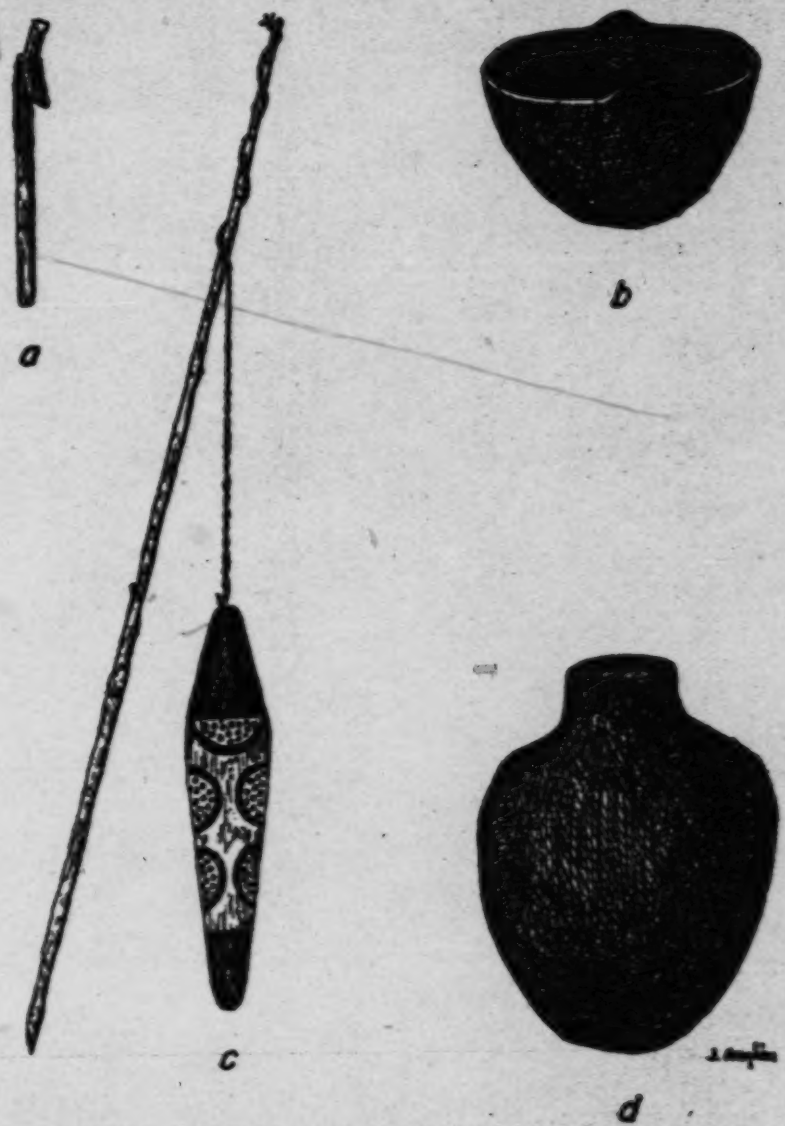

FIGURE 52.—*Bororo* manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of lutra rodent teeth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

/490 cont./

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
515 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
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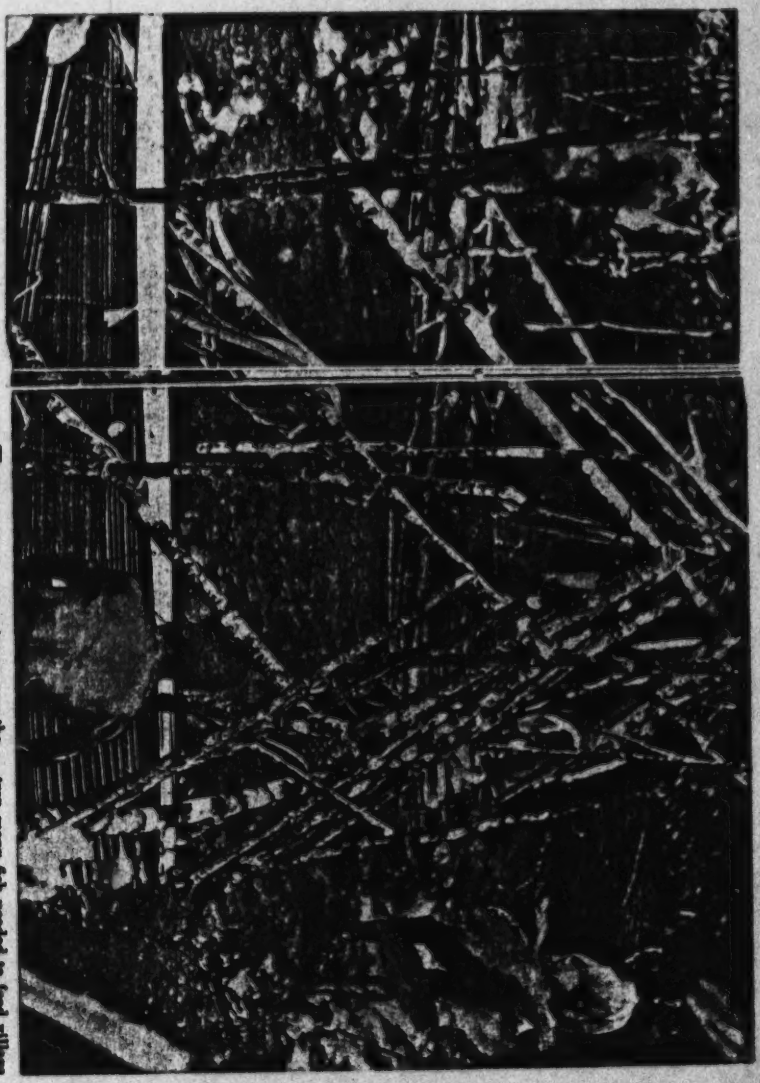

WEIR IN BUILT across a stream near the village after a death. Fence is used to trap many fish needed to feed village people during the long funeral rituals.

[p. 39-A]

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 idered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 elieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[439] Tuŭawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose
[181] clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
•237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
556 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured
614 products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre ˇčåbōgeʷōge, Ė́wåguddudoge ˇčåbōgeʷōge, and Ė́wåguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ė́wåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O čera clans.

The Bādejebage ˇčębegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 847 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/288 cont./

411 the ceremonial bow. As in the preceding type, /289/ the
531 central part is of bare wood, save for the protective rolling. All
237 the rest of the bow is covered with ornamentation which varies with different specimens: sheaths of glued on feathers, rings of feathers or fur, mosaics of feathers of different colors, etc.... All along the wood long feathers or throat feathers of the arara, in pairs or singly, are attached. Finally, some specimens show a bunch of varicolored feathers at the top end.

411 The origin of the bow can be deduced from the three follow-
531 ing elements: 1) nature and color of the casing of the wood;
237 2) number, distribution, nature, and color of the feathers adhering
614 to the wood; 3) nature of the feathers or insignia placed in the bunch at the top; thus, some bows of the Bakoro clan have, in the middle of the feathers at the end, a small wooden lath covered with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, this technique being its privilege.

Figure 17 /see p. 29/ gives four "formulas" for ceremonial bows:

a. Not identified; 1.52 meters long. Wood covered with small red /rouge/ feathers glued on with resin; on the sides two crests of white /blanc/ down broken in the middle.

br: blue and red arara feathers
vr: green and red arara feathers
bj: blue and yellow arara feathers
bn: throat feathers in alternate white and black bands
j: yellow toucan feathers.

b. Āróre clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with red feathers glued on. All the hanging feathers are attached in pairs. Top bunch of small red and yellow parrot feathers, with five long emblematic feathers.

b: blue — r: red
br, bj, bn: as above.

c. Āróre (čębegeʷõ) clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with alternate rings of black, yellow /jaune/, and red feathers glued on.

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
● 237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Ewãguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:

harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;

"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;

bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;

ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

[616] [531] 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
531 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. ᵃKario Bokodori — C. Ewãguddu (?) — D. Apibóre kujagoreb — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore — H. Bãdejeba (Bakoro) — I. Ãróre — J. Kõge Čera — K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Ãróre.

[237] Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

[Text Continues on p. 30]

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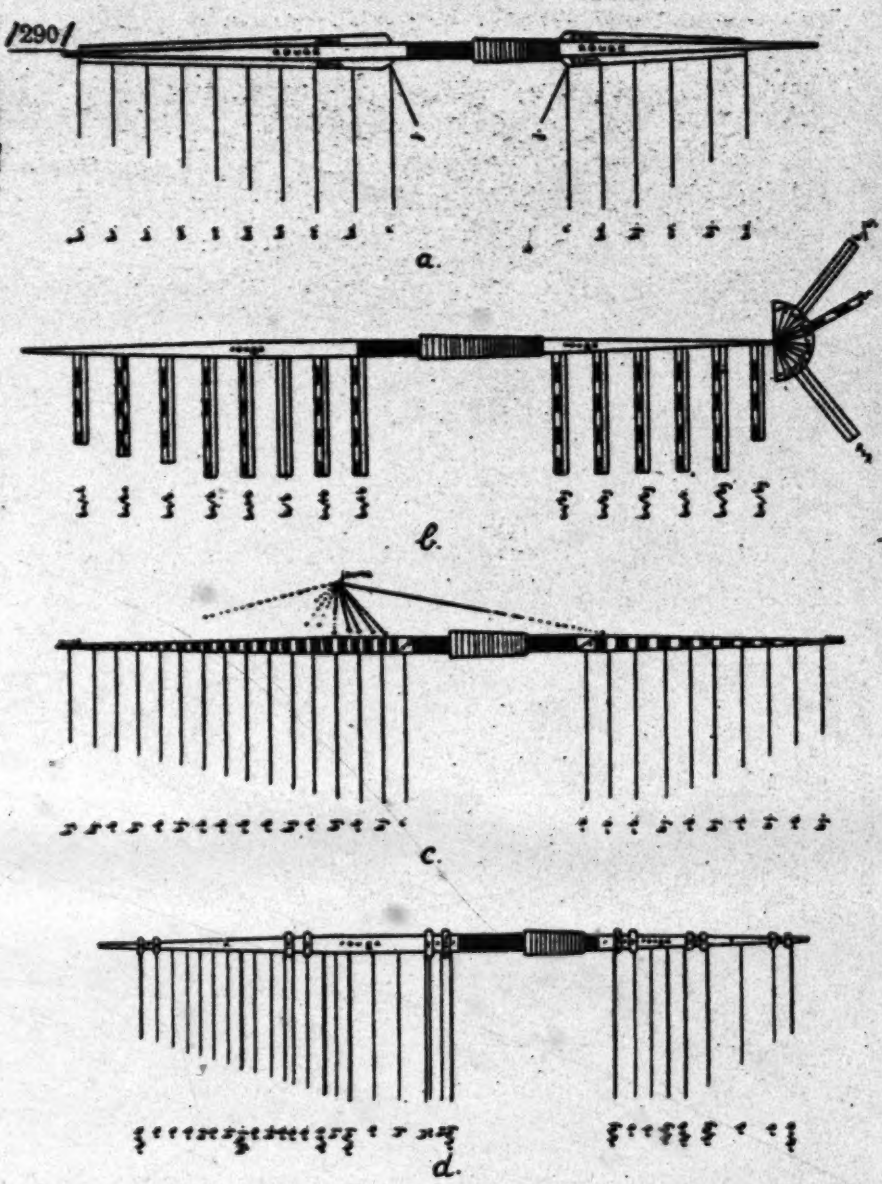

Fig. 17. Ceremonial bows.

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills,
[239] decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Ārōre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -r. -b. -r. -B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the
000 loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

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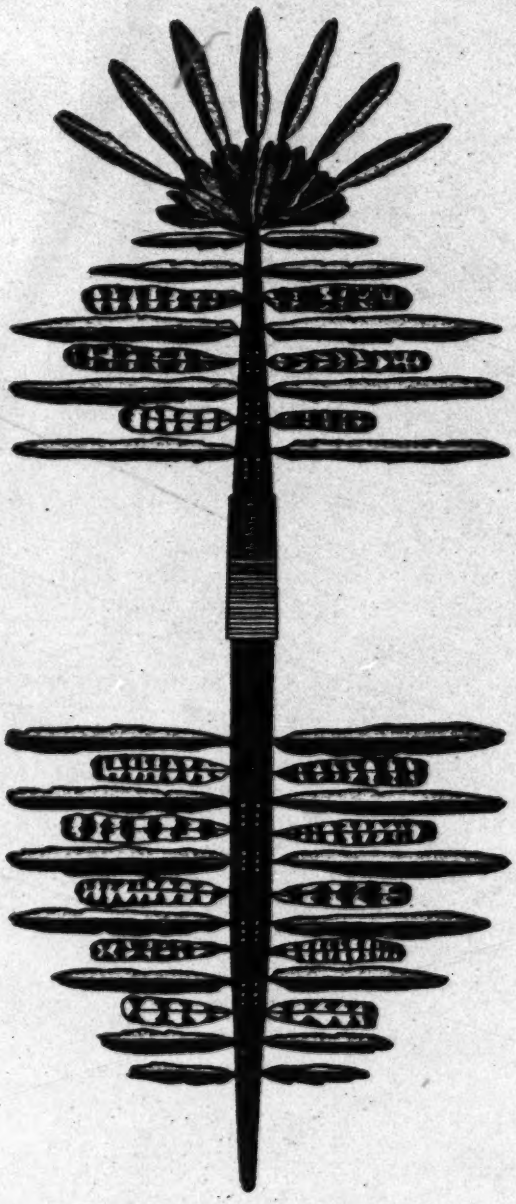

Fig. 18.—Ceremonial bow /in color in original/.

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po^{a}ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers
[973] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Āróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on p. 36]

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Women wear a gray perineal band,
841 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a
292 girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture [431] [583] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São [386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous [237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus [755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92,
337 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice [184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço
489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding [481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and [501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck [345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, [301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by

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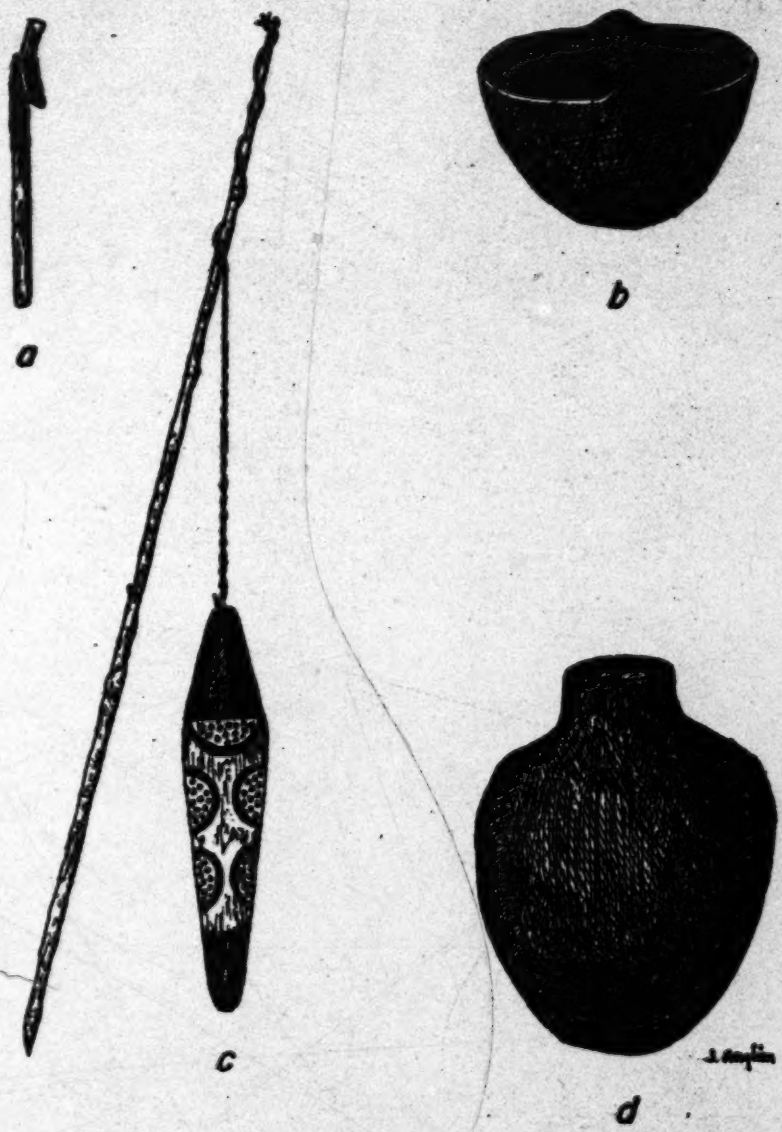

FIGURE 52.—*Bororo* manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent teeth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

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[177]

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

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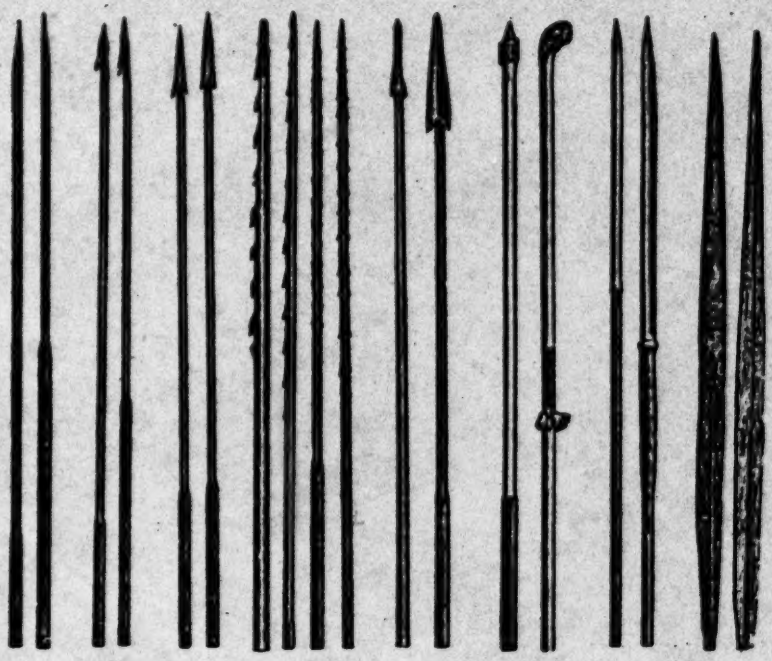

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (¼ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[614] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

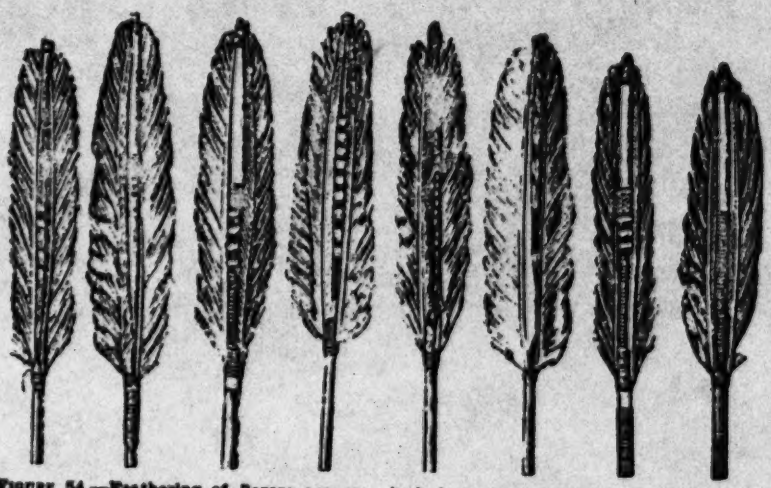

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅓ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
442 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
556 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin [782] described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object [825] of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: 273 the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk [756] by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of 775 bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and [754] confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest [778] morsels.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 16.—Bororo jaguar impersonator. At its Campanha. Front and rear views. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-G]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

YARUMA SP25

PLATE XXI

Y
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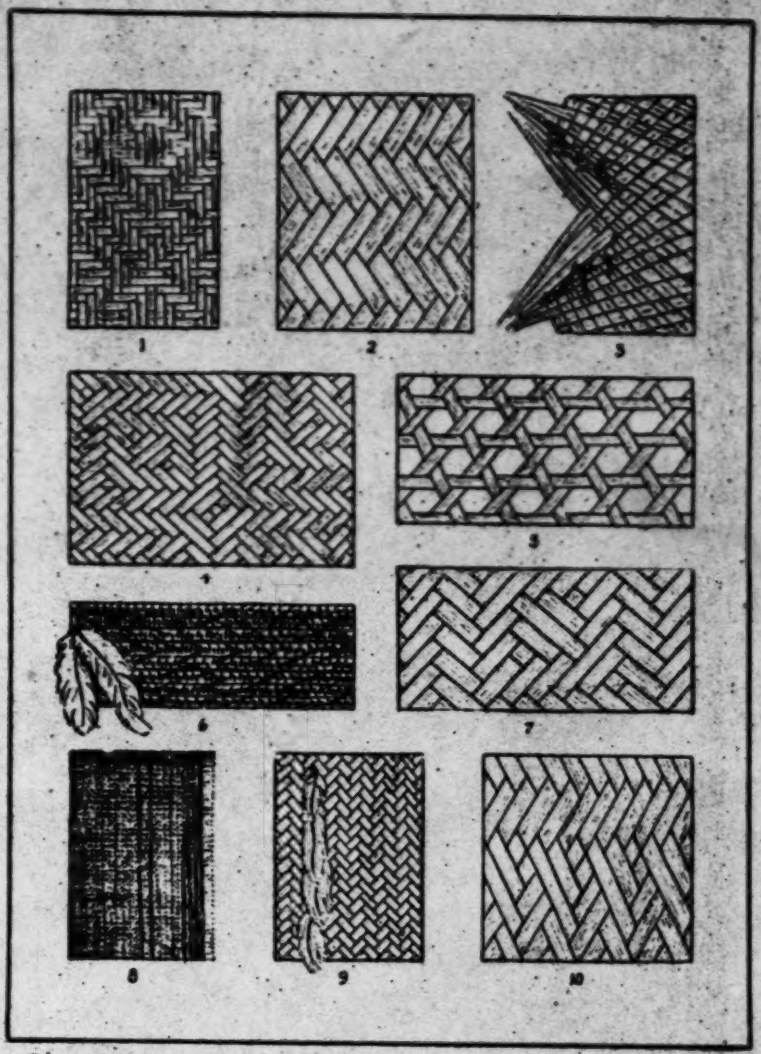

Y
[237]

B
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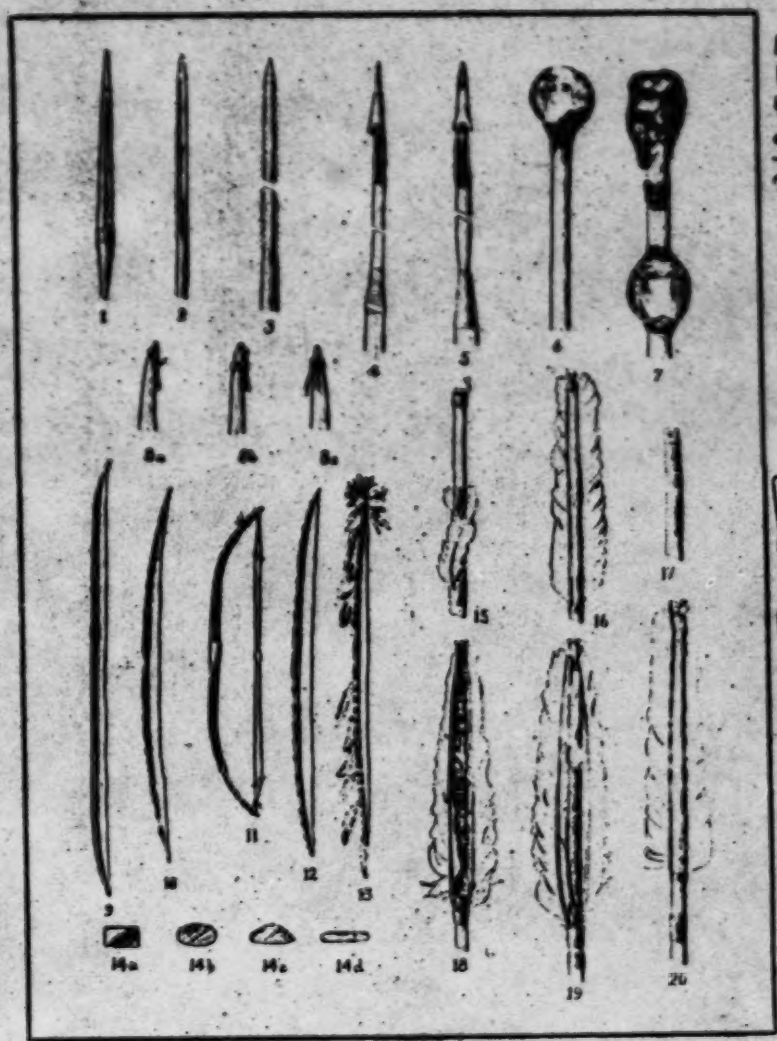
[P.176]

[For captions, see cat. 116, p. 88]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP8

PLATE XXIII



Y
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[P. 177]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp. 88-89]

[553] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
[302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
[301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
[535] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
[534] child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
[302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
[301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
[237] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him
[533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
[301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
[302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
[533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
[304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] [2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

822 796 237 302 614 822 [825] In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
614 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
237 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
411 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
822 brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Heriri ika, Pai
[561] ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
614 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which
822 other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

614 choreu - kujaqureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kurugugwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kurugugwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities are differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (Boroge rore ino jamedu). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

- imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
- uku ika (a musical instrument)
- pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
- baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
- okwadawu "meriri bokodage" (one kind of labret)
- biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
- enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

- imo irogodu (body painting)
- imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
- imo pariko (a headdress)

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
772 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village.
[773] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
831 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
775 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
774
[301]
[237]

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.

773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[616] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
614 lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kurugugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the <u>ika</u>: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

If we want to investigate the importance of the
121 adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask
562 first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with
[237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex.
[304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the
[856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

/152 cont./

301 The earring without a tooth, represented in Figure 2, belongs to the clan of the Paí-we; the one with a tooth, in Figure 3, is from the clan of the Dyakome(r)-koadda.

[237] It is probable that the shape of these earrings might have been taken from the chest ornament made with the claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/ (Priodontes giganteus) called bokodori inoge (bokodori: tatú canastra; inoge: claw), and represented various times by Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 50) and by Karl von den Steinen (o.c.).

[306] I saw a Bororo in Sangradouro also make a chest ornament in the shape and with the size of the bokodori inoge, but out of a sheet of tin plate.
I was not able to find out whether this shape has any connection with the moon.

/153/ We may consider as "individual adorning" among the Bororo the use of transverse cords on the chest and of the narrow woven ribbons on the arms. Both sexes, /154/ adults and children, are in the habit of wearing them occasionally in order to, as I was assured, be protected from illnesses.

[562] [751]

It seems that the chest ornament made out of animals' teeth serves for the same purpose. Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 479) wrote about this ornament: "Only very rarely does it happen that women also receive these ornaments, which probably results from the change by the colonization, because it is said that among the other Bororo it is common

[237] [751] [562]

/154 cont./

301 562 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care. [237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment" [836] [593] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both [171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first [171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting [613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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•237
764

WOODEN FLUTES, ornamented with bird down and feathers, figure prominently in the ceremonies, as do whistles, and rattles and trumpets made from gourds.

[p. 43-A]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [411] [531 766]

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

765 535 825 782

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My 123
child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged 764
for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red."

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized 301
brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from [304]
a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large.

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear 291
a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks 287
much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, [171]
but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them.

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn 301
constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, 237
six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck.

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope 301
ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human [283]
hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. [764]
The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained

Brazil.

765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *bopi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from [237] the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

At the *méri rútu*—the birth of the sun—the following morn- [533] ing, the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus [785] and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, [302] was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with [226] the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

2: Steinen--i E,D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Pl. I

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Bororó chief.

2: Steinen--588 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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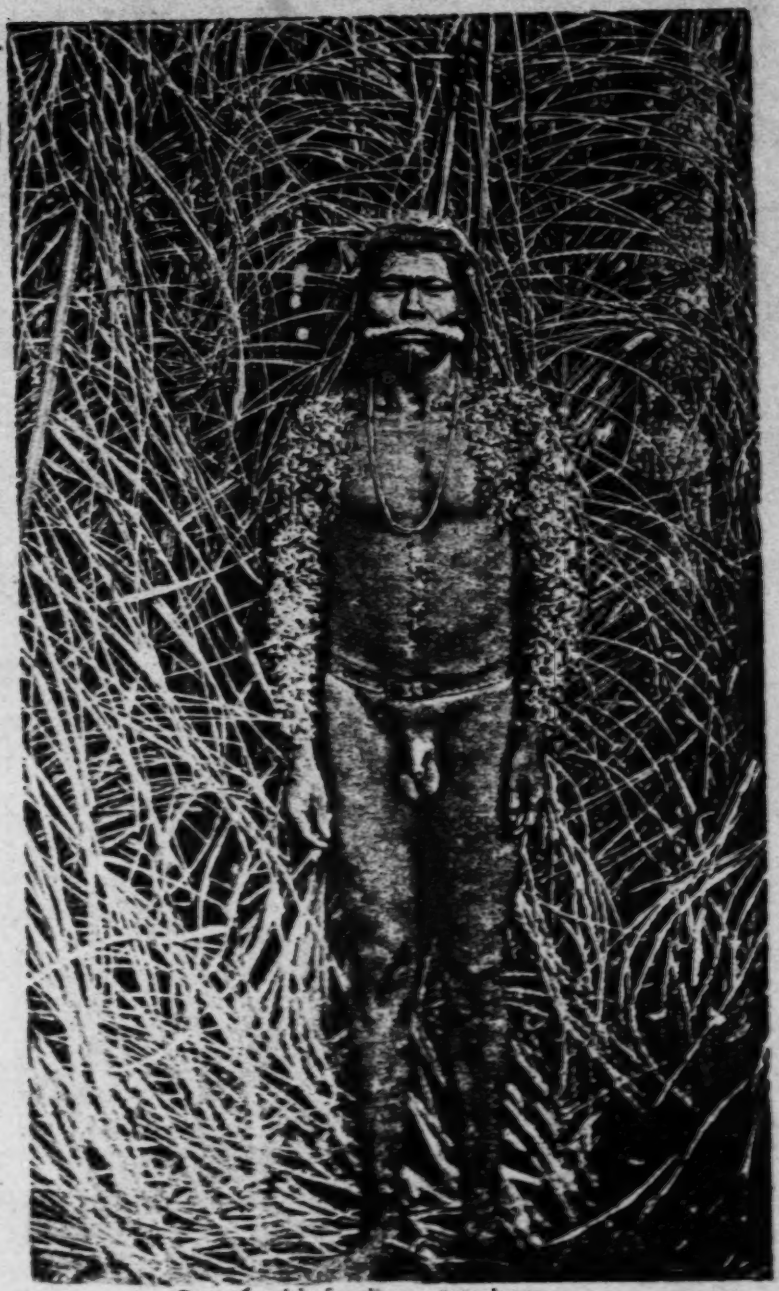


Bororó with feathers pasted on.

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical
757 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/
413 itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage
765 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the
304 result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one.
512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable
[224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the
302 men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally,
757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after
237 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children
30 were always doéte /sick/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply
[164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/476 cont./

757 has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-
237 strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like
301 a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front
[302] edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face,
[302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed
765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeletonized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamentation of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú
531 /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any
237 implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on
136 the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize
302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was
[237] mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing
[386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing, but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

/477 cont./

302 was the painting of the face with a stalk or a slender bamboo stick. Thus, the forehead was not painted with one stroke, but rather the stick, saturated with color, was put on and squeezed off, a stripe gradually being laid across the forehead with this procedure. The lids were also colored, the upper lid well into the fold. Triangles were painted on the cheeks. I shall come back later to the meaning of the cross-stripe and the triangles, cf. under "Art of Drawing" /see p. 625/, after a discussion of the whizzer sticks, where I shall have an opportunity to speak of designs separately.

● 237 301 Ornamental feather-work, as I should like to call it in contrast to the pasting on of feathers, was furnished in the most magnificent fashion. The chief products of the hunters' art are to be found on Plate I /see p. i/ combined in the case of the chief in gala dress.

The parîko, cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 596/, an enormous radial wheel of blue arara tail-feathers, yellow on the reverse side, rises up on the fore part of the head and tilts forward. The arara feathers, 45 centimeters long, are stuck into a wound bundle of stalks that fits the head and is tied on with a string; the lower fourth of the long feathers is covered with several rows of small red and green parrot-feathers. A small diadem, cf. Plate I, is pulled down over the forehead. On the back of the head, tilted backwards and more arched than the parîko, there projects a diadem equal to it in size and made out of cross-banded falcon feathers, the kurugúgua. From the ears down to the chest hang colorful lappets of small red and yellow feathers, prettily arranged in cross-strips, from the breast of the toucan. (The large beaks of the toucans are also worn.) Bunches of wing feathers from the arara, the parrots, and other ornamental birds hang down from the upper arms, as well as from the bow or from the lip-piercer.

/478/ There are all kinds of other feather ornaments. Special consideration is to be given to the very beautiful nabuleága (nabúre, arara), arara feathers with flowing ostrich feathers and white tufts of down, joined together on a small rod that is stuck into the hole

/478 cont./

237 301 of the ear lobe or into the hair, 56 centimeters long; cf. Fig. 134 /see p. 597/. In like manner, a frame of little rods, marobóro, egg-shaped like the rattle-gourd, was stuck in the hair; the frame had white down glued over it and a red arara tail feather fastened on the top. Finally, the feather-decorated chignons of the Bororó men should be mentioned.

Fig. 133. Parîko feather-diadem. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The knot of hair was wound with a feather wreath or densely studded with feathers projecting in rays; see Plate 29 /see p. 633/, the Bororó in the foreground.

/478 cont./

237 301 Teeth were primarily worked into chest ornaments; the most popular ones were large jaguar teeth, usually two pairs plaited together, and small monkey teeth, several transverse rows of which were joined into a piece up to 30 centimeters wide /479/ extending almost across the entire chest; cf. Plate I /see p. 1/ and Fig. 129 /see p. 589/. It was extremely seldom that women were also given these ornaments and, since it is usually reported of the other Bororó that only the men adorned themselves, is probably to be traced back to the upheaval caused by the colonization. It was characteristic that the Indian-thinking and Portuguese-speaking Clemente called the teeth plaited together rosarios, rosaries; in connection with this ornament, the Indians had the idea that it makes one strong [927] and agile. They also extracted teeth from Brazilian prisoners and hung these around themselves; lower jaws of the enemy were worn [283] in the same way. They also [765] promised themselves protection from hair of the dead, which was spun into thread and then plaited into cords which were very difficult to obtain; bunches of hair hung down, along with the feathers, from the arm bands.

Fig. 134. Arara ear-feather. Bororó. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 135. Chest ornament of armadillo claws. Bororó. (1/3 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

/479 cont./

237 301 Claws, small ones from rodents and large ones from armadillos, were put together by twos and thus formed the shape of a half-moon; in the center, where they were joined and covered with resin, hung a bunch of strings, while a few shell ringlets were pressed into the resin.

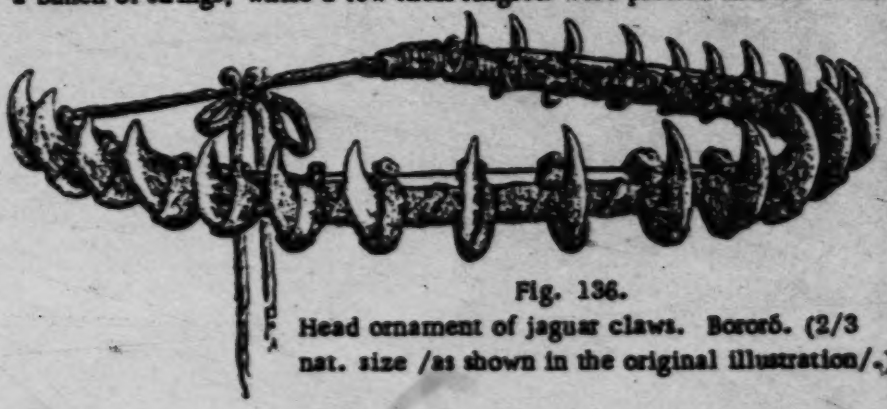


Fig. 136.
Head ornament of jaguar claws. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[171] We found the claws of the giant armadillo on the Kulisehu in a very similar arrangement, not as an ornament, but as a tool /Fig. 135 ap-
[177] pears here; see Fig. 25, page 205. The Bororó imitated the claw ornament by cutting pieces of the same shape and size out of the tin of Brazilian tin cans. The process was very interesting because nothing about the tin half-moons betrayed their origin from two claws, and they were even declared to be proof of the "moon worship" of the Bororó by a Cuyaban, as I discovered to my delight. See Fig. 135 /sic; probably Fig. 129, p. 589, is meant/, the ear ornament of the mother. This was the way the Indians were already working metal. Lip pegs were also cut out of tin.

[171] Jaguar claws were joined together into a head hoop, see Fig. 136, an ornament very similar to the Aueto chief's neck-chain of the same material in Fig. 5, page 90.

/480/ There were chains made of shell- and nut-beads, small pieces of bone, and pierced seed kernels, but they were far less important than on the Schingú. Beads made out of the armadillo carapace were most highly prized. I shall give more details about this in my description of the activity in the men's house. In that connection I shall also discuss the ornamental strings for both sexes, which we called "suspenders."

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs ●237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [531] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

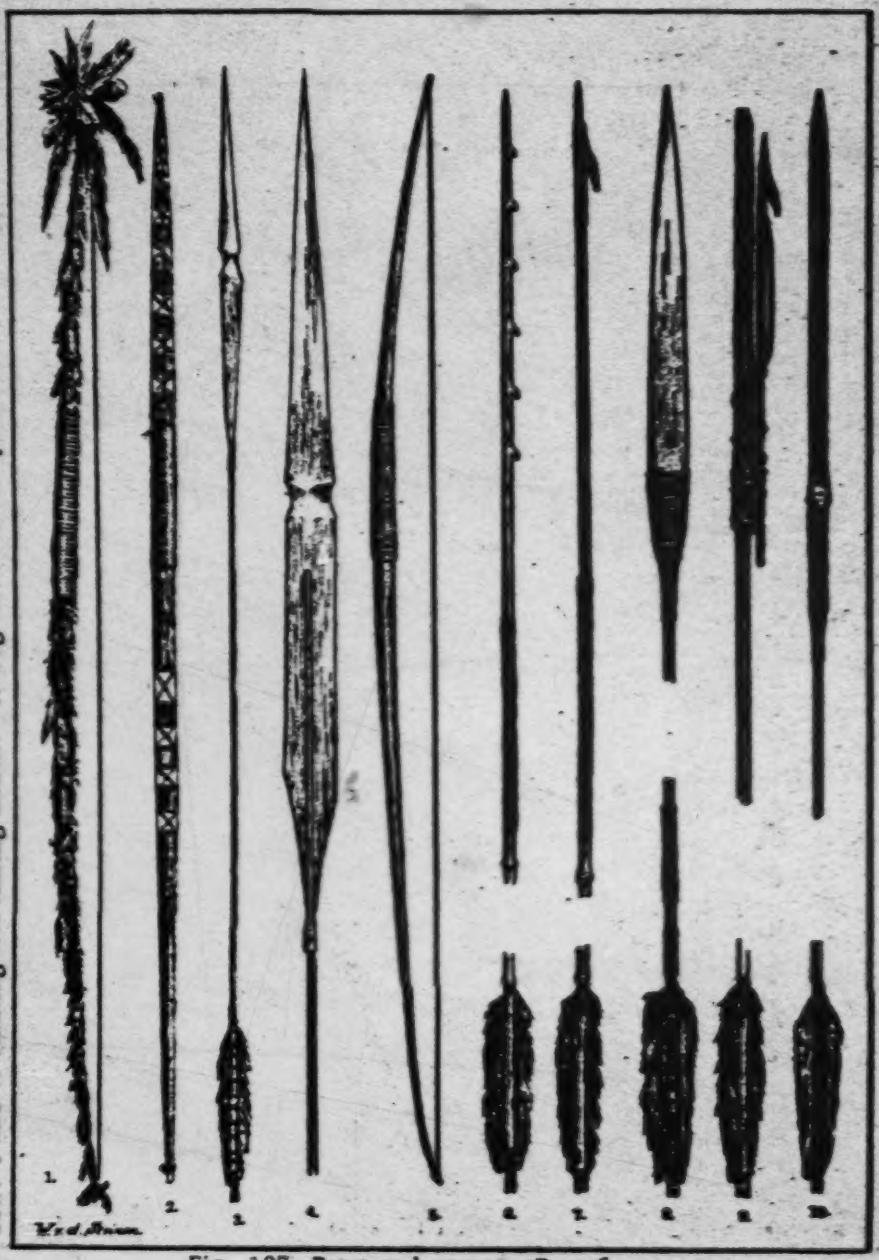
[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

2: Steinen--605 FD-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8



1. Bow of the chief, 2. of the jaguar hunter. 3. Jaguar arrow. 4. Bamboo point of 3. 5. Ordinary bow. 6 and 7. Hunting and fishing arrows. 8. Pig arrow. 9. Harpoon arrow. 10. War arrow.

Fig. 137. Bows and arrows. Bororó.

/485 cont./

411 The arrows are one and a half to one and three-fourths meters long. In the case of the most common type of hunting and fishing arrows pointed sticks of wood are driven into the kambayuva reed and on them sit a sharpened piece of bone. Or a bone is tied on [239] as a barb, No. 7, or the wood is notched, No. 6. The bones come from the monkey or the tapir. For bird hunting, arrows with blunt points are used; they bear a wooden cone, the wider end at the top, and in the center of the surface they are provided with a pointed knob.

Fig. 138. Bororó shooting.

Other arrows have sharpened pieces of bamboo as points; the bamboo is hung in smoke for a long time, so that it dries out sufficiently. The simplest form, which is used in hunting wild pigs, is shown by No. 8.[1] The flat bamboo point, 30-40 centimeters long, two and a half centimeters wide, is lashed to the reed shaft. No. 3 shows the beautiful seriba arrow for hunting jaguars; the entire arrow is one and three-fourths meters long, the feathered end-piece 24 centimeters, the bamboo point 60 centimeters long and three centimeters wide. The seriba shaft rests in a /486/ groove of the flat

[1] [See P. 605--Analyst]

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because
[177] the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[179] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/487 cont./

412 (Coelogenys paca), a small rodent; they still planed,
237 polished, and bored in good Indian fashion.

Their plane was a Bulimus shell, ruo, ten centimeters long, cf. Fig. 140 (and Fig. 27 /see p. 206/ from the Schingú), into which sharp-edged holes
322 were struck with an oaussú nut. Moreover, they polished wood, for example the whizzer sticks which were made for the burial ceremony, by rubbing it for a quarter of an hour with a wet, smooth stone. Or they took the rough leaves of the lischa and the imbauba tree. They sat with

Fig. 139. Capybara chisel. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[412] [237] [284] →

legs folded and crossed and cut and planed the objects on their foot as a support. On the outer part of the ankle resting on the floor I often felt callous thickenings and even movable pieces as hard as cartilage.
321 Monkey bones for chain ornaments were cut up on their foot, and I constantly feared for their own bones.

Boring was always done with a twirling motion. A nail was fastened to a stick half a meter long and this was twirled between

Fig. 140. Plane-shell. Bororó. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[412] [237] →

the two hands sliding rapidly up and down. In this way they bored through the small shell plates for their lip chains, which they made

/507 cont./

765 In the morning, led by Moguyokuri, a long procession entered the ranchão, all with green twigs in their hands; in the center, the brother of the deceased with the square basket-bag containing the skeleton parts, which had been dug out and cleaned early in the morning. The basket was placed on a mat; four men took out the skull and the lower jaw, which looked smooth and white like the most beautiful specimens, and set about decorating them as well as a new basket-bag with feathers. [302] [301] Moguyokuri sat on a jaguar skin in gala array, skin and hair painted red, an akurí palm branch wrapped around his hips, dark-blue mutung feathers glued on his shoulders, the yellowish red lappets of toucan feathers hanging down from his ears, the most beautiful parſko on his head, the shell chain in the hole of his lower lip. Beside him stood four medicine men [756] adorned with parſkos, who busily shook the rattle-gourds and, rhythmically stamping, jumped up and down, their eyes closed. The entire ranchão was filled with people, chiefly women and children; they joined in the singing and clapped their hands rhythmically. Several of the women stepped up to the bone-basket and laid their hands on it. The oldest woman scratched [785] her arms with broken glass in quick, sharp cuts; the blood dripped on the hands of the others and colored the palm straw of the basket-bag.

[302] [301] The young men in the center first had their lower jaws painted with urucú and covered with white down feathers. Be- [237] side them on the mat they had urucú pigment in an armadillo shell, a little pot containing fish oil, a shell with gum-resin, a mat with little loose white feathers, and a /508/ large bowl filled with little purple feathers. They painted the new basket generously inside and out with urucú, and, while some of them glued feathers on the basket, the others devoted themselves to the skull, into which they set the lower jaw and on which they most carefully pasted the small purple feathers, starting at the back of the skull. Each feather was brushed on the end with a resin stick and set on individually.

301 The principal ornaments used by men consisted
[237] of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitúta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*okopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pasoró*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putúku*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5
534 inches in length. During dances the men fastened rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otúiyo*), sweet manioc (*otúiyo biboróno*), maize (*omatúku*), black and red beans (*dumatúku*), sweetpotatoes (*balarkúpo*), and cará (*tapatúku*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podri*), cotton (*akydmani*),
[276] and urucú (*nodókuhíriku*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past.
222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*heír*), mangaba (*bororúkwa*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *kaskorúkwa*).
237 Honey (*peíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*úntho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tópu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[199] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
● 241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/276 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
•241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same
737 for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. P. 117--Analyst]

/282 cont./

582 601 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] [614] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewáguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuǎwa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out. [241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

Food preparation.—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[77] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

• 241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 175 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of these Indians extended from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and [648] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up [181] to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

22 But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering people. They spent only three months of the year, more or [241] less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is 167 reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.

797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than 131 thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924, as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in /114/ January of 1926, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of 1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26, 37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
291 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane, vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
162 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
[16] only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri, that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44 children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
[13] which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
797 of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/140 cont./

462
141

women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being
462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi-
482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads
[434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

462 It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians
22 the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat.
[241] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in
[171] the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 412 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to furnish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in 433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and 226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January, 222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the [283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

five feet broad, which is partitioned off into a large number of apartments and occupied by an entire village of twenty or thirty families. It is a primitive tenement house.

23 The Bororó have no domestic animals whatever; and no captive wild creatures except the brilliant plumaged macaws and parrots, which are kept for their feathers, and for the pleasure of their companionship.

24 433 About the only agricultural work the Bororó do, in common with many other South American tribes, is to raise a little yellow corn, though they obtain but a mere handful of their annual food supply from this source. Agriculture is always carried on with extreme difficulty where the savages have no steel instruments with which to cut down the forest and prepare the soil. Those tribes that have secured axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives, sometimes plant considerable ground.

24 46 433 But the fact that all these tribes are communistic societies; that is, have all things in common, operates seriously, it seems to me, against their engaging in agriculture on a scale sufficiently large to produce their entire food supply. Their social arrangements are such that if any family should raise a quantity of produce, they would have to divide it with the rest of the community; so, after all their labor, they would find themselves without anything for tomorrow, and on a level with those who had not toiled. Consequently, there is but little incentive to provide food except as hunger drives them forth, in common with the other denizens of the wilds, to procure something for immediate consumption.

Therefore, the primitive man has knowledge of nearly everything in his savage world that is edible, whether it belongs to the animal or vegetable kingdom, and knows just when and where it is to be found, and how to obtain it. Some tribes look almost exclusively to the forest, others to the river, for their meat supply. Thus different tribes are either expert fishermen, or expert hunters. When fish become scarce, as they do at certain seasons, the fishermen tribes are forced to become vegetarians, largely.

Brazil.

775 825 262 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while 775 825 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir, 262 and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every 756 member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade 789 of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

775 825 756 789 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish, for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 262 756 789 Corn also appears to have some connection with the demons, or is under a *tabu*, for the Bororó will not, under any

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

circumstances, eat corn from a field until a few ears have first been brought to the sorcerer that he may perform his incantations over them, biting into them, dog-like. After this, the corn from that field may be freely gathered and eaten without further ceremony. 241 262 756 789

The souls of the departed, the *bopi*, are believed also to haunt and plot evil against the living, who pass their days in almost constant fear, and even in terror, because of them. Every few days, one or another of these superstitious children of the wilds imagines he sees a ghost or spook skulking in the jungle, or some strange object or shadow, or peculiar movement of the branches of the trees, or hears an unusual or seemingly uncanny sound. In a frenzy, he hastens to report what he has seen or heard, and, instantly, the whole city of savagery is wildly excited. These spooks, or wandering souls are nearly always seen just as solemn, mysterious night is taking possession of the land. Sometimes, the scare is a pure invention of the sorcerer. 775

These sorcerers, or tribal priests, are not chosen or appointed by men, the Bororó say, but by the *bopi*. Their calling to the priestly office appears to be somewhat in this manner: Some day, a Bororó is taken with some kind of a fit, and the village sorcerer, is called in to declare the nature of the case, and to say if the patient will live or die. Having considered the matter cunningly, he may say to the family something like this: "Piadudu is in mortal combat with a *bopi*. If he surrenders to the demon he will become a sorcerer, but if he continues to resist, he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is thought that he has given himself up to the *bopi*, and therefore fully qualified for the priesthood. But it seems to me that the certificate of priesthood lies largely in the ability of a Bororó to throw himself at will into a savage ecstasy or trance; or he may possess some powers of "mediumship," or metaphysical powers believed to emanate from the *bopi*, together with a good degree of native cunning and ready wit. These sorcerers are the most depraved men in the tribe. They are the bane of tribal life. They must nurture the illusion 756

B /201 cont./
*171 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
174 and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
241 present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaírí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gẽs, and probably also an older
T one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the
[192] most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common
[181] conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B hunters. The Bakaírí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[173] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate
[261] earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of de-
[241] velopment are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we
[153] shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
[241] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and
[179] also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
●241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/452 cont./

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
291 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
●241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/490 cont./

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice
574 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

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Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

301 The principal ornaments used by men consisted
[237] of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitúta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*akopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pascóó*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putúku*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5
534 inches in length. During dances the men fastened rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

● 241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otuíyo*), sweet manioc (*otuíyo biborónó*), maize (*omatáka*), black and red beans (*dumatáka*), sweetpotatoes (*balarkúpo*), and cará (*tapatúku*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podri*), cotton (*akyámani*),
[276] and urucú (*nodókuhúrika*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past.
222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*heír*), mangaba (*botorúkwa*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *kashorúkwa*).
237 Honey (*peíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*ántho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]

●241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*sumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 [726] The siriva palm wood bow (*boíko*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*ísho*) is made by fixing a notched 411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. 224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 [824] Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*bókye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (A)]

/275 cont./

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1983
SP8 Bozoo SP8

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LARGE CATCH is smoked and dried on split-ended sticks set up close to fire.

[p.40-A]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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All the Bororo gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152] [364] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 226 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 361
club where visitors are received and entertained. The barbytu of 346
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and
are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 482
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food.
When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 572
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 764
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

8:Cook • M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

The
226 savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
435 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
[593] She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The
302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in
593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum
301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The
354 "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
352 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, sup-
251 ported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck
353 around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the [824] colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in [25] carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

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* In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [147] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

244 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed [178] the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent. 224

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly [222] hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped [462] returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various [756] birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites [231] for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown. 226

Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

● 252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. [263] Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, [574] are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large [342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, [345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of [184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.
[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
364 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
616 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the
614 southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho
River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground,
354 over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.
353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
842 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[881] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear orna-
302 ments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
[226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
[261] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
[276] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
[545]
593 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
827 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
846 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[826] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
273 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role. According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[301] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [857]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would [516]
sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and distortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

Brazil.

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove," is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by
353 the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
● 252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

Brazil.

The palm-tree in its numerous varieties, is the never-failing 824
friend of the "children of the wilderness." It will provide 262
them with food of some kind every day in the year, even 252
when there is nothing else to be had. Every day, unfailingly, they may obtain the white, cheese-like heart of a kind that grows but six feet high. The outer rings are stripped off, leaving a vegetable like the solid part of a cabbage. I found it an excellent food, when cooked. The savages eat it raw. The spongy, fiberous trunk of another palm, when pounded and wrung out, yields a white, starchy liquid, like milk. This is boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm. It is considered good broth. Or, the uncooked liquid may be evaporated, and the starch thus obtained made into a kind of bread. The large, yellow, plum-like fruit of the burity-palm is eaten raw with a relish by the Bororó, though I found it far from palatable.

Another variety of palm furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose-egg. This nut is first thrown into the fire for a few minutes, then the thin outer shell is peeled off and a layer of an insipid substance, somewhat like slippery-elm, is scraped from it and eaten. Next, the nut, which is very thick, is split, and the small, white, woody kernel removed and eaten raw, or pulverized in a wooden mortar and made into a cake, which is wrapped in green leaves and baked in the ashes. The Bororó consider this a delicacy. Still other varieties of palm furnish the Bororó the 824
material for his bows and arrows, and cordage for fish-nets and harpoon lines, besides the material with which to build his hut.

Charles Darwin describes a very interesting palm found 000
on the Andean ridge. When fallen up hill and the top cut off, it yields an incredible quantity of sweet sap, from which syrup and sugar are made.

But the most remarkable tree is the famous "vegetable cow," found in Venezuela and in the Amazonian forests, which yields an amazing quantity of milk. Humboldt describes this wonderful plant in his book of travels in tropical America.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *areda* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-
[26] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

B /200 cont./
153 ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
487 ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
*191 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.
433 The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical re-
B quirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for
[281] warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually
[252] not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later
BO among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but
433 among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predomi-
[252] nated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
181 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
825 completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakairí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world; he saw

/454 cont./

578 Today the younger of the two wives of Moguyokuri, a large, big-boned woman who seems to scorn all clothing, suddenly burst in with coarse vituperation. She had a bunch of mandioca [252] roots in her hand and in a fury tossed them at Eliseo's feet. We had already noticed the general mandioca-roasting today in the men's house; the planting had once again been prematurely robbed of the thin root stalks. Moguyokuri's Xanthippe had apparently been unjustly accused of the theft; others had given her the mandioca. The quarrel took on ever greater proportions and lasted until evening. Two hostile parties among the women opposed each other. The loudest noise was made by "Maria," [554] Arateba's sister, who, in general, played the most important role of all the Indian women. Maria had been Duarte's mistress, and it was rumored that he had decked her out with riding habit and feather hat; now, at any rate, she was walking about in only her national costume, a small, sturdy, nimble, and, according to our ideas, moderately attractive person with sparkling eyes...

When the squabble had reached its height inside one of the huts, it was to be fought out in a sort of wrestling match. Everybody rushed out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Amid lively talk and gestures, they placed three women on one side and Maria opposite them alone. One of the three leaped forward with a big jump, Maria towards her. They clasped each other around the waist and a wild wrestling commenced. But in a few seconds they formed the center of a thick knot of onlookers and fellow combatants, a knot which itself kept milling about in the thick of things, and with a larger, looser crowd of people along the houses; it was a mad shoving and pushing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with amusement, the women vying with each other in their howling, while the two opponents were locked in a tight embrace and clutched each other's hair. Finally they were pulled apart, but the word-wrangle began all the more violently, with several yelling at several others. One old woman in particular drowned out all the others with her shrill voice. Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
●252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
[177] the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/490 cont. /

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
615 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

●252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular burití fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jakupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*sumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 The siriva palm wood bow (*bóku*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in [726] war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*bóko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*iako*) is made by fixing a notched 411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. 224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow [824] pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (A)]

be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunting or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat, drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a white one just as she does when she is menstruating.

6;Kozák C-5 (ca.1964) 1963
SPS Borono SPS

SHAMAN, into whose care all of the caught fish are first given for ritual treatment, here places a large fish on palm leaf and cuts it in small pieces.

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[p.40-B]

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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123 articles from us without offering us anything in exchange.
431 One would say, "*Bororó*, headache—handkerchief, red"—Meaning, my head aches; give me a red handkerchief to tie around it. Or, "*Boé* sick—tobacco,"—I am sick. Give me a piece of tobacco to make me well. Or, again, "*Boé* pursue tapir—catch him not. Give tobacco." At other times, they sought to obtain things on credit, saying, "*Bororó*, bring"—I will bring you something. But they usually forgot "to bring." Sometimes they tried a little flattery. One day a chief man came to me saying: "Captain"—myself—"good—Captain very good. Bororó cry when Captain go away. Bororó ask Captain not go." But this was largely to pave the way to ask for something. When I had to refuse them and they seemed displeased, I said to them: "*Bororó*, good; *Bororó*, very good. Captain, bad—very bad." They always hastened to say in reply to this, "No, no; Captain, good—very good."

157 When fish became scarce and a hunting expedition had
261 not resulted successfully, and they were, consequently, with-
[433] out food, they came to us acting as if they longed to become
[123] our slaves forever. After much self-abnegation, they would say, timidly, "*Boé tapira*,"—I like beef. *Tapira* is their word for cattle, cow, bullock or beef. But when they made a good haul of fish, their demeanor underwent an entire change, and seeming unable to recognize any one, they hastened to their huts without looking to the right or to the left. If spoken to, they feigned deafness. They do not wish many friends at such times as this as they would have to divide their catch with them. This is much like the civilized man, who, having acquired a fortune, is unable, longer, to recognize his less favored friends and relatives.

764 A death occurred in the village the day after our arrival, and as custom among these people forbids that any member of the family of the deceased should leave the village to fish, hunt, or to forage, until all the obsequies, which continue many days, are over, they must trust to the generosity of their
[123] neighbors for food. Consequently, the father of the bereaved

over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening. 574 576 261 262 264 [252]

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes. 122 000

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more. [123] [461]

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the 000

B 524 532 261 *171 80 261 ● B *171 524 532

/282 cont./ We found similar dolls made of whitish, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being eaten by the Kulisehu Indians, whereas among the Bororó I saw that they absent-mindedly broke off and nibbled little pieces of the wall of the station house in front of which we stood talking.

Fig. 70. Loam doll. Bakaïrí. (1/6-1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Among the Bakaïrí we discovered a small female doll of baked clay, which they attributed to the Auetõ, the only one of its kind. Among the Auetõ themselves we did not find anything similar. The arms are broken off close to the shoulder, the legs somewhat lower

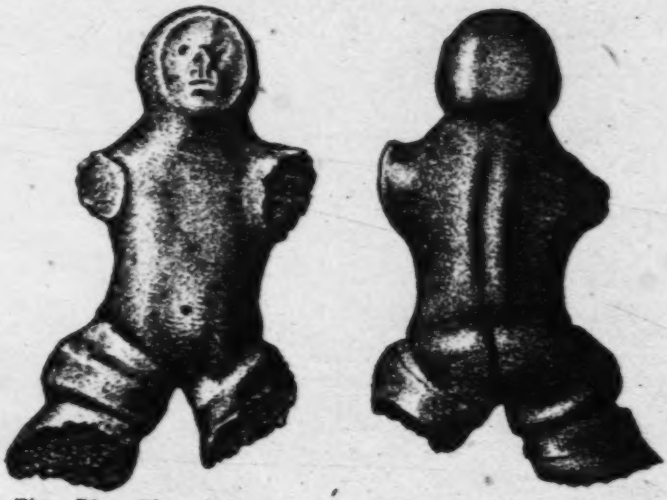

Fig. 71. Clay doll. Auetõ. (3/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the middle of the shapeless, swollen thighs. /283/ Aside from this elephantiasis, the modeling is not bad at all. The torso especially is praiseworthy, the navel is in the right place, and the back, both in

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
● 261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/275 cont./

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[114]

(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ewãguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
773 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
[262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character. Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado)
[614] appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

57 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
[115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from
The beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear.
114 Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others dis-
[178] puted the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition
224 to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were pre-
[222] dominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also
[462] helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and
[756] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated
[231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.
226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

952 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.
● 262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are
[263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded
[574] or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large
[342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall,
[345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of
[184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: 273 the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk [756] by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and 776 rival functionaries.

775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baere (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a [754] jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:
773
[539]

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together—they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians: the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/162 cont./
723 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

After biting fish, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

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[p. 40-F]

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152] [304] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 326 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow." 114

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity. 114 123 [276] [262] [685]

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents 302 [142] 302 593

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [357]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and dis- [516]
tortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazil.

The palm-tree in its numerous varieties, is the never-failing 824
friend of the "children of the wilderness." It will provide 262
them with food of some kind every day in the year, even 252
when there is nothing else to be had. Every day, unfailingly, they may obtain the white, cheese-like heart of a kind that grows but six feet high. The outer rings are stripped off, leaving a vegetable like the solid part of a cabbage. I found it an excellent food, when cooked. The savages eat it raw. The spongy, fiberous trunk of another palm, when pounded and wrung out, yields a white, starchy liquid, like milk. This is boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm. It is considered good broth. Or, the uncooked liquid may be evaporated, and the starch thus obtained made into a kind of bread. The large, yellow, plum-like fruit of the burity-palm is eaten raw with a relish by the Bororó, though I found it far from palatable.

Another variety of palm furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose-egg. This nut is first thrown into the fire for a few minutes, then the thin outer shell is peeled off and a layer of an insipid substance, somewhat like slippery-elm, is scraped from it and eaten. Next, the nut, which is very thick, is split, and the small, white, woody kernel removed and eaten raw, or pulverized in a wooden mortar and made into a cake, which is wrapped in green leaves and baked in the ashes. The Bororó consider this a delicacy. Still other varieties of palm furnish the Bororó the 824
material for his bows and arrows, and cordage for fish-nets and harpoon lines, besides the material with which to build his hut.

Charles Darwin describes a very interesting palm found 000
on the Andean ridge. When fallen up hill and the top cut off, it yields an incredible quantity of sweet sap, from which syrup and sugar are made.

But the most remarkable tree is the famous "vegetable cow," found in Venezuela and in the Amazonian forests, which yields an amazing quantity of milk. Humboldt describes this wonderful plant in his book of travels in tropical America.

their tribe, and always responding *parduku?*—I do not know, 551
who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony 553
is not performed for a female child.

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind 855
to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents [841]
seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should [597]
whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives.

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by 198
this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, 516
moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand.

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four; 802
therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands."

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mêdo* [262]
at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around.

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of feathers, or of the teeth and claws of beasts, and one or two 765
articles of wearing apparel made of bark. To us, they were 768
merely a heap of rubbish, but to the poor natives, precious
treasures. Having vanished in flame, the effects were con- [775]
sidered transferred to the invisible world, and so *transub-*
stantiated that they could be of service to the newly arrived
shade, or *bopi*.

One reason that the Bororó give for burning the belongings of the deceased is, that if they were allowed to remain in the hut, the family, constantly reminded by them of their lost ones, would be weeping, wailing and uttering lamentations continually, for it is their custom to cry and jibber loudly whenever anything revives the memory of their dead. An- [775]
other reason for burning the effects is, that if they should not be burned, and hence not transferred to the shadow land, the soul would return to haunt and injure the family.

It was now about sunset, and the ceremonies of the day 765
being concluded, all the men seated themselves cross-legged upon mats in two groups just outside the great hut, and a primitive banquet, or collation, was served. The banquet always forms an important part of every social function among savages.—Indeed, a social function among them is inconceivable without it. But do not banquets, suppers and buffet lunches constitute an important part, if not the most important part, of social events among civilized men? Yet civilized men do not usually have a banquet at a funeral, with the decomposing corpse lying but a few yards in front of them.

The chief items on the menu at this savage banquet were 765
big clay potfuls of a kind of broth made of a starchy liquid 262
wrung from the spongy stems of a dwarf palm and mixed with a sauce made from the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm, called *pyky* (peekee), *pyky* eaten raw, three kinds of wild potatoes, boiled or baked in the ashes, and a sort of cocoanut bread made by pulverizing in a mortar the meats of palm-nuts and baking the mass in the ashes. There were no condiments. As each pot or tray of food appeared, a cheer was given by the group for whom it was intended.

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Chapter XXXV.

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THE SORCERERS.—EXORCISING AND FRIGHTENING AWAY DEMONS.—THE MYSTERY INSTRUMENTS.

The souls of the departed are believed by the Bororó to dwell, for a time at least, in the bodies of certain fish and mammals. But they do not appear to identify the disembodied soul—*bopi*—with the creature it inhabits, as do those people who believe in what is known as "transmigration of the soul." The Bororó soul is simply a tenant in the body of the creature it inhabits, maintaining a separate, independent existence, and continuing forever, supposedly, without any change occurring in its personality or character; though it is doomed to suffer evictions everlastingly from its temporary fleshly abodes at the hands of the conjurer, or because of the natural death and destruction of the body of the creature it lives in. The Bororó say that the moment a newly disembodied spirit—the soul of a member of their tribe who has just died—enters the body of some creature, the bones of the soul's former self disappear from the cemetery. The evil-minded sorcerer, doubtless, is responsible for the disappearance of the bones—if they really disappear. The Bororó do not think that every wild creature is tenanted by some wandering *bopi*—soul—but only those that bear unusual markings, such as especially bright colors, or are very large, or have some other peculiarity. They much admire a fish called *dourada* by the Brazilians, part of the body of which is a bright,

775 825 [262]

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775 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved
825 dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they
262 catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while
775 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost
825 souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir,
262 and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every
756 member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade
789 of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

775 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish,
825 for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the
756 entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been
789 deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 Corn also appears to have some connection with the
262 demons, or is under a *tabu*, for the Bororó will not, under any
756
789

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circumstances, eat corn from a field until a few ears have first been brought to the sorcerer that he may perform his incantations over them, biting into them, dog-like. After this, the corn from that field may be freely gathered and eaten without further ceremony. 241 262 756 789

The souls of the departed, the *bopi*, are believed also to haunt and plot evil against the living, who pass their days in almost constant fear, and even in terror, because of them. Every few days, one or another of these superstitious children of the wilds imagines he sees a ghost or spook skulking in the jungle, or some strange object or shadow, or peculiar movement of the branches of the trees, or hears an unusual or seemingly uncanny sound. In a frenzy, he hastens to report what he has seen or heard, and, instantly, the whole city of savagery is wildly excited. These spooks, or wandering souls are nearly always seen just as solemn, mysterious night is taking possession of the land. Sometimes, the scare is a pure invention of the sorcerer. 775

These sorcerers, or tribal priests, are not chosen or appointed by men, the Bororó say, but by the *bopi*. Their calling to the priestly office appears to be somewhat in this manner: Some day, a Bororó is taken with some kind of a fit, and the village sorcerer, is called in to declare the nature of the case, and to say if the patient will live or die. Having considered the matter cunningly, he may say to the family something like this: "Piadudu is in mortal combat with a *bopi*. If he surrenders to the demon he will become a sorcerer, but if he continues to resist, he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is thought that he has given himself up to the *bopi*, and therefore fully qualified for the priesthood. But it seems to me that the certificate of priesthood lies largely in the ability of a Bororó to throw himself at will into a savage ecstasy or trance; or he may possess some powers of "mediumship," or metaphysical powers believed to emanate from the *bopi*, together with a good degree of native cunning and ready wit. These sorcerers are the most depraved men in the tribe. They are the bane of tribal life. They must nurture the illusion 756

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616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *areda* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-
[261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

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over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
177 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.

[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.

[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakaïrí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text continues on p. 553]

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
[177] the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Ganella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/490 cont./

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice
574 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

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Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

/490 cont./

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
515 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on s[illegible]t hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/492 cont./

756 simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same
784 ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their
825 death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as
[775] the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vái vái, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara, tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires
[262] the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends,"
[824] who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akurí nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

/511 cont./

775 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form; at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and
775 should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are
772 Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned
825 on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists,
[262] or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

775 The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes
825 become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color,
[186] emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in
[774] life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
[761] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

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CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent. [178] 224

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown. [522] [462] [756] [231]

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 262 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests. [263] [574]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes* [342] [345] [184]

/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:
535 wure̤ wure̤ foot, foot
533 kaia kaia pestle, pestle
manó marid'do dance of the marid'do
čegu'e̤ we others
čę̤ we burn
uoro buriti wine
hu hu yes, yes
čęgiga we joyous

764 of the Ewāguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bādejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewāguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them. . . ." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[571] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassù (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text continues on p. 27]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
806 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
576 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
224 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest
425 relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[978] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 men is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226
264 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will of the others.)

881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
593 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their un-
[881] married children. After initiation the sons move into the
422 men's house, but all their belongings remain in their moth-
264 er's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their
[588] natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their
591 mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind,
5% in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman
[264] cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared.
5% They also help each other care for the children. If a woman
855 is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated--separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

---

[1] "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

/134 cont./

616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty, and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in public, even though not so scrupulously: it will, however, be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to be together, except when they leave the house and both go to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest: this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal), while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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long tongue-like leaf furnishes a silk or band of strands called 222
bokigo, which he rolls into a single strand as he sits cross-legged on [283]
the ground, and by twisting this strand with others he obtains cord-
ing with which to make his fishing nets, harpoon lines, etc. From
the ground he digs two or three varieties of the potato family, which
he boils. Corn is eaten as roasting ears or cut from the ears and
boiled. They use no salt. The large ant bear is considered the 224
most valuable of all creatures. Nearly every part of its body is
utilized. When discovered it is driven to the village for slaughter
in order to secure its blood. After this comes the tapir, which is
also greatly esteemed. When food is plenty they eat nearly all the 264
time when awake, and even rise several times in the night to take a
little food. While we were in the baehytu at the Kogy ao Paro
village we saw 33 men devour upwards of 25 gallons of boiled
shelled corn within an hour and a half, and they had been nibbling
roast ears all the morning. The two men who had accompanied us
from the Ja-Dare-Mano Paro were induced to eat from every pot as
they were brought in one at a time. They seem never to get full,
and will eat as long as there is anything to be had. While at work
making bows and arrows and ornaments, they are nibbling food, if
they can obtain it. They eat the corn mush squatting and standing
around the pot, using large oyster-like shells or broad leaves as
spoons.

Their language seems quite free from clicks and from deep gut- 194
turals. The names given to animals are often in imitation of the
sound produced by the animal. Ki, for instance, means tapir, and
is a close imitation of the note of this animal; pobu means river or
water; pobu camahina is great river; meri rutu, sunset; adugo,
spotted tiger or ounce; and aigo, brown ounce. Báekimo is the
negative; Boe by báekimo means "Indian die not"—"I will not
die."

They are wonderful whistlers and seem able thus to communicate 198
whatever they otherwise would by speech.

All the fine and ornamental work is done by the men. A great 462
deal of time and labor is spent in making seemingly unimportant
articles, and the time consumed in shaping and burnishing an arrow
is astonishing, generally the larger part of two days. The shell [321]
ornament worn around the neck is made by the reciprocating motion
of the point of a sharp instrument of flint or of iron or steel, if they [322]
can obtain it, fastened near the center of a roughly shaped shell.
A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into
another bit of wood. When holes have been made in bits of roughly 000

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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dry season, the *arĕda* carries all the family effects, and perhaps also a child four or five years old, while her lord marches a few paces in advance of her, carrying only his bow and arrows, and perhaps also a fire-brand. The party makes but short marches, however, halting frequently to rest for an hour or two around the little fire which they always kindle, and to roast and eat a bit of meat, if they should have it, or to nibble some vegetable food.

Some of the Rio Negro savages, mentioned by Wallace, subject their females to a terrible ordeal when they approach womanhood. At the first sign of puberty, the poor, innocent maiden is placed in seclusion in the family hut where she is kept a month and allowed only a small quantity of one kind of food, and water, as if she had committed a crime. When the time of her imprisonment is about to end, all the relatives and friends of the family are assembled, each of whom brings a yard or two of the stalk of a heavy climbing plant to use as a lash. The unhappy girl is now brought into their presence, entirely naked, and each and every person strikes her five or six heavy blows across the back and breast with his lash. Usually, she falls unconscious under this awful castigation, and sometimes dies. If she recovers, the flogging is repeated four or five times at intervals of about six hours. Each guest must strike hard, for it is considered an insult to the parents of the victim not to do so. Finally, when the castigation terminates, pots of various kinds of fish and game which have been prepared, are set before the company, into which each person dips his lash and passes it to the wretched girl to lick. She is now considered a woman, and may eat anything she wishes, or marry. Boys approaching manhood are subject to a somewhat similar ordeal, but not so severe, which initiates them into man's estate and allows them to witness the playing of the mystery instruments, which correspond to the roarer among the Bororó, and also to marry.

Among these savages, marriages seldom occur between relatives or near neighbors, but the swain seeks a wife at a distant village of his tribe, or even from another tribe. Having

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *areda* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-
[261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening. 574 576 261 262 264 [252]

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes. 122 000

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more. [123] [461]

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the 000

/452 cont./

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
29 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
24 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
583 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
●264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
[177] the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/490 cont. /

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
615 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the orna-
232 mental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers. Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakairí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

324 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buritî palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hdlaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
● [266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

When the immediate family of the deceased have howled, wailed and chanted until they can scarcely articulate, they drink clay water, asserting that this relieves the throat somewhat. 765 [271]

Finally, I saw the basket of bones taken by the mother of the deceased, and buried in the little cemetery two or three miles from the village, where, it was believed, the *bopi* would take possession of them in a few weeks. The sorcerer is believed to know when the *bopi* removes the bones. [775]

A day or two after the conclusion of the funeral rites I witnessed, the father of the deceased, sent by the village authorities, disinterred the basket of bones and brought it back to the great hut. Three of the chief men from a distant village had arrived on a visit, whom it was necessary to receive with honors and entertain with the best festival the village could get up. And what could equal for entertainment a good funeral *bakororó*? But how could they have a funeral *bakororó* without a corpse, or at least the bones? As soon as the basket of bones was again brought into the great hut, pandemonium was once more in session, and the rattling, roaring, groaning, squatting, snorting, barking, weeping and wailing continued all the rest of the day and all night. At daybreak, the following morning, an intermission was taken in order that the players and actors in this savage drama might go fishing. They fished and hunted all day that they might have something to feast upon, for, of course, a *bakororó* without a banquet would scarcely be a *bakororó*. But when the darkness of night again enshrouded the land, the hideous uproar of the savage horde again burst upon our ears and did violence to the peace and tranquillity of the night until the dawn, when it was once more hushed, and the basket of bones was again entombed. [574]

Some of the Indians of the Rio Negro, hereinbefore mentioned, a score or two of families of whom live in one immense hut,—a primitive "flat,"—always bury their dead inside this hut under a few inches of earth, depositing the tobacco, ornaments and trinkets of the deceased in the grave with him. Some days after burial, a large quantity of fermented liquor is

/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:

535 wure wure foot, foot

533 kaia kaia pestle, pestle

manó marid'do dance of the marid'do

čegu'ę we others

čę we burn

uoro buriti wine

hu hu yes, yes

čęgiga we joyous

764 of the Ewãguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bãdejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewãguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau prepared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous
[576] ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 **Dances.**—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 273 **Beverages.**—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk [756] by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of 775 bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and [754] confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

/489 cont./

732 Sometimes Dyapokuri gave a performance. The men were far from regarding the feeble-minded one, who could only babble, as a superior creature. He liked to portray the quarreling of the women by launching into the most enraged gestures and vigorously demonstrated the mutual scratching and hair-pulling. He flew into frightful agitation himself, however, when a soldier teased him on account of his setting out to pursue the Kayapó (page 568) and, a stick over his shoulder, hitched along with huge, lunging strides: the poor devil foamed at the mouth with indignation, threw his burning chunk of wood at the mocker, and, since he did not know what else to do, snatched up a few wood chips from the ground and, with a teeth-baring grimace and unintelligible sounds of rage, depicted -- the mustache of the soldier. After a while he calmed down again and, for the funeral ceremony, practiced rattling with two rattle gourds and the rhythmic aróe grunts.

123 The hours in the ranchão were instructive and agreeable. There was only one thing that was intolerable, the incessant begging for tobacco. My pipe traveled from one man to another. The men dictated pages of Bororó to me, each one having to present in sentences whatever was going on at the moment, listened to me repeat it, and then laughed, just as gratified [157] as the Bakaïrí. The more intimate we became, the more striking was the agreement in temperament and character with the Kulisehu Indians. On a post in the men's house, after we had taken the anthropological measurements, /490/ my height was also indicated. A piece of charcoal was crushed with the teeth, pulverized with saliva in the hand, and above my head a black ring was painted around the post.

433 Food; "consecration." According to Clemente's report, in spite of all the hunting, the plant food obtained by the women is of the greatest importance, because it comes in more regularly 222 and abundantly. The women look for roots with a pointed stick, climb up the palm trees with great agility, among which preference is given to the oaussú and akurí, gather the nuts, cut the "palm cabbage" in the crown, look for jatobá and pikí fruits, 292 and so forth. The palm nuts are roasted or pounded in a mortar 574 and mixed with water to make a thickish drink, the refreshing

/490 cont./

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice
574 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

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Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring maté, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently. 574 735

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut. 342 352 592

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 323 287 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people. 411 77 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance 574 533 535 [273]

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[273] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz., naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[553] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is
[773] not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

cause their Echorae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

835 but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for
[829] their actions. I could not detect any great concern over
[773] what had happened.

773 Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical
183 past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man
835 will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If
[616] he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with
[614] his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when
[614] he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

773 The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it
183 was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae
835 were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells
616 of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[301] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

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WOMAN scrapes well in an *acuri* palm, above, after top has been chopped off. Sap seeps upward, and while it collects a leaf covers the cavity. When well is full, *below*, a woman draws off the sap by using a long reed tube as a pipette.

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[p. 41-B]

6:Konfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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Palm sap, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p. 45-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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renewed effort to call forth the spirit of the dead Bororo.

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The ritual dances of the Bororo depict in lively and vigorous fashion many aspects of their relations with the spirit world. All the dances take place in the village plaza, and most of them continue for hours at a time, requiring tremendous physical endurance. As one by one the dancers become exhausted, they drop out of line. Weary and covered with perspiration, each one squats unceremoniously on the shallow grave, while someone pours a pot of water over him. These shower baths have a twofold purpose: they refresh the dancers and also moisten the ground, thus hastening decomposition of the body.

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Before the dancers return to strenuous activity, they may sip palm "wine." This weakly fermented beverage is prepared from sap of the *acuri* palm, a tree that grows in profusion near the village. To collect the sap, a man climbs to the top of the tree and cuts off the uppermost fronds. Next, his wife ascends and, with a shell, scrapes the pith from the heart of the

[p.45-c]

palm, leaving a deep well in which the sap collects by upward seepage. She covers the opening with leaves, and by the next day the well is full. A number of women then suck the sap into reeds, which they use as pipettes. When a reed is full, they close the top quickly with a thumb and transfer the sap to large pots. It is then taken back to the village and left in the shade for a day to ferment. 273 222 [415]

FOR a change of pace from the ritual dances of the funerary ceremony, the Bororo engage in an unusual kind of relay race. Two teams of young men—each team representing one of the two moieties of the society—oppose each other. Men of the two groups cut stems of buriti palms, trim them to a uniform length, and tie them into two huge circular bundles resembling cart wheels. Each one is about three feet in diameter and may weigh more than one hundred pounds. With a "cart wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man from each team begins running toward the village. When he tires under his heavy burden, the bundle is taken over 526 [764] [616]

[p. 45-D]

[text continues on p. 46-B]

B /345 cont./
*171 by ordinary means. This brings about the amusing reverse situa-
755 tion whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The
276 more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, ãgukuriõku or (çipó de cobra) snake-vine, seũwi or timbo vine (Paullinia pinnata), the leaves of the forest tree ãtĩko. Everyone listens
B attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his
787 stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his
B shadow after he wakes up from deep narcosis. He becomes a
756 great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts; like many other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid
BO folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best
756 palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous
273 drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication, makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination coincide.

B The tobacco narcosis of the doctor is the most common
276 medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among many others; the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient, but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time; the doctor permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and, with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

A The Auetõ chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet
622 undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often
755 done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall ill. The Auetõ chief had already been dead. When the medicine

/453 cont. /

177 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of
648 the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a
[192] wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly
[273] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

/457 cont./

000 After the roll call the men took off their caps and hats and sang, or rather bawled, with one clear voice predominating:
O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, vós sois a advogada dos peccadores, criais todos cheia de graça com a vossa feliz grandeza, vos soís dos céos princeza, do Espíritu Santo esposa.
Maria mãi de graça, mãi de misericordia, rogai Jesus por nos, recebai (!) nos na hora de morte! Senhor Deus pequei (?), Senhor, misericordia. Por vossa mãi, Maria Santissima, misericordia!*

* Satirical verse: "O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, pagai o nosso soldo, deixai da caçoada! (pay us our wages and never mind the rotten jokes).

177 As in the "pronto" calls, Indians who happened to be passing by lustily joined in the singing; inside the house Caldas was practicing on the violin. At the end all of them, including the guard and the cadet with the sugar cane, knelt down. The Bororó did not pay any particular attention to the procedure, which had
[533] long since been familiar to them. But about an hour later a dozen boys appeared before our door and sang -- the music was correct, the words, except for the beginning, unintelligible and not understood -- "O, Santa Maria, mãi de graxa," ** as they put their arms

** "Mother of fat" (pronounced grascha).

around one another, giggling, and lined up in a row leaning crookedly against one another.

648 Toward nine o'clock Moguyokrui had appeared before the
●273 cadets and demanded alcohol. For a change the chief "identifying himself completely with the civilization of his tribe" wore a woman's red petticoat and a white linen jacket; he insisted that the key to the supply room be fetched and he actually got his bottle; he achieved his purpose no less when, on occasion, he would rouse the gentlemen in the middle of the night.

Row with Arateba. He is once again totally drunk and demands more; this time, however, the famous key is refused. He alarms the whole colony with his yelling and scolding; he hastens to

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
[276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars. Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on
[533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.
[756] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink-
[534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/463 cont./

872 after the other, the boys had to recite after him. For hours they practiced, gaily waving their paper, "bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul." In several months they had not gone beyond this. Caldas himself seemed impatient, and during the short time that we were able to endure the performance he asked three times what time it was. Two Bororó fathers were sitting in the /464/ corner and occasionally also murmured absent-mindedly bal, bel, bil, bol, bul. Among my linguistic notes I find that the Bororó told me, "he is teaching the boys to read"; the sentence in literal translation corresponds exactly to the situation: "he is
876 teaching the boys to look at the paper." Caldas hoped, however, that there would soon be progress; he said the boys were an ill-behaved lot who first had to learn obedience. Up to now he had hit their fingers with a ruler if they did not pay attention. Now, however, he had an improved system of "palmatorios," two specimens of which he showed us. They looked like wooden spoons, except that they had a circular, flat end-piece, and this -- here was the improvement -- was perforated with holes like a sieve. The air whistles through the holes and this increases the pain. Well, I hope the new palmatorios stood the test and that the boys have meanwhile progressed at least as far as xal, xel, xil, xol, xul. In our day the entire result was always just dal, del, dil, dol, dul.

578 The hostile brothers. On 9 April Arateba, in his drunkenness,
[273] again put on one of his sensational performances. Burning with rage, he tears down the house of a widow who would not let him have his way. He is quickly finished with this work, even though he threatens to fall over backwards with each jerk. His brother and two sensible friends hoist him on their shoulders and take him to his hut. There he has the weeping blues for a quarter of an hour, but after cold water has been poured over him he pulls himself together again and appears in front of headquarters. He
593 strides up and down like a roaring lion in a cage and challenges his brother, upon whom he heaps abuse in front of all the people, to a fight. His brother leaps at him and, crouched over, hops back and forth in front of him for a while; then they clutch each other with furious holds. Arateba is thrown to the ground four times.

/464 cont./

593 Then Maria, their sister, steps in with determination and clasps him so firmly that he is unable to move. The brothers are led off in different directions. From Arateba's hut comes the sound of ugly quarreling; again the swaying drunkard appears -- he has a regular criminal's face and, to top it off, a smoothly shorn head -- and forces his way into the hut where his brother is hidden. Resounding blows, blustering voices, a general scuffle. The excited crowd, in the center of which Moguyokuri's figure towers, comes outside, several wrestle with each other, Arateba again lies on the ground, the women now throw themselves heavily into the fray, Maria overpowers the drunken one, and he is dragged away. Everyone is laughing; they go back to the ranchão
[273] and several of them say, not unjustly: "piga* pega," "whiskey

* = Portuguese pinga, drop. Vulgar expression for alcohol.

is a bad thing."

000 Discipline. Where such scenes were the order of the day, how could it have been otherwise but that a harmful reaction upon the soldiers /Pl. XXVI appears here/ /465/ would result? The men
[648] were embittered because the Indians were idle and they had to do all the work, because the Indian obtained free alcohol to the point of the most flagrant abuse, and they had to pay two milreis for a bottle or five times as much as in the city, because the Indian was permitted to say a contemptuous filho da puta /bastard/ to the faces of the officers without punishment, and they were obliged to go into the xadrez* for their offences. Good-natured Eliseo,

* The detention room. Literally, "chessboard."

however, who was unable to change the system, was guiltless -- indeed, he was lenient enough, for example, to pardon a man who went for him with a knife. Of course, their pay was wasted in card-playing. When payday came, one of them had lost 100 milreis in vinte e um or trinta e um. If they had no money, they would sell their household utensils for a song.

[Text Continues on P. 576]

/466 cont./

Eliseo had not yet been promoted; he himself, however, had been obliged to advise against having his young friend take over the other colony, Izabel, as proposed, because he might spoil his entire career by a mistake! For an outsider it was, indeed, remarkable to see how very much the cadets trusted his paternal care, which he alone profited by, and seemed truly devoted to him. I estimate that there were 30-35 toasts during the evening and calculate that more than 20 were to Duarte's well-being. Good-natured Eliseo was priceless. He first asked fluent Ildefonso to speak for him, but after a while he got up himself and /467/ began with determination: "não tendo a devida intelligencia," in fact, once the ice was broken, he gave one toast after another, each time beginning with the excuse that he did not have the necessary mental powers, and each time, at the end, appealing for the coadjuvencia of those present, debaixo de todo enthusiasmo he drank the health successively of the individual members of Duarte's family, his wife in Cuyabá, his brother, and especially his eldest daughter. The more beer that was drunk, the more moving and serious the speeches became. The apothecary was a poet, he knew a great deal about all kinds of flowers and compared the uncouth cadet Joaquim to a bud, he extolled woman who -- part one -- was only a child, and for him -- part two -- a goddess who forever remains an unfathomable mystery to us men. To the soft accompaniment of the guitar Caldas recited stirring verses; the beautiful words often tumbled over one another with uncanny speed, and with equal alacrity our emotion was obliged to leap from the tender to the pathetic, from the strong to the sweet. Everyone was deeply moved. Duarte was embraced like a father, Eliseo knelt before him and begged him for his blessing, which the father, however, gently refused with a "isso não," "oh friends, not these tones."

648 I have not yet mentioned the Bororó. They were by no means
574 absent, however, and were very much part of things. For the
[293] first time I saw a proud Indian chief uncork a bottle of German export beer. They did very well by the juice of barley and sugar cane and drank far more than they could stand; they kept

/467 cont. /

648 interrupting the sentimental speeches with their eager chatter,
574 but no one paid any attention to it, they raised their bottles when
[273] the glasses clinked and would join in, they exhausted themselves and us with tender embraces. Moguyokuri also sat down and sang a resounding song and played the guitar, sweeping across the strings like a tapir through bamboo. Only the Indian women were absent during the serenade. Before it started, however, two young people had been brought by Moguyokuri to Duarte's room next door. There they looked out of the window the next morning and let themselves be admired, tortoise-shell combs in their hair, talmi chains around their necks, rose-colored circlets around their wrists, and demurely dressed in long shirts covered with a huge, iridescent palmetto design.

648 Perhaps I may be permitted to close up my peep show here. The pictures would merely be repeated. Until our departure on 18 April we had no occasion to observe whether the absence of the leader of the catechesis might be to blame for our unfavorable first impressions. Quite the contrary. Duarte went bathing, took a walk to the brickyard or the like; otherwise he sat all day in his room, in which there were always many Bororó. They all begged. Some received something, others received nothing. There were always drunken ones among them. The soldiers brought wood and palm leaves, which they obtained in the forest, for a new building. A few Bororó helped /468/ occasionally, because they received whiskey for it. If the purpose of the colony was doing nothing and passing the time on the part of officials and Indians, it could be regarded as a shining example for all others.

III. Observations.

000 Anthropological. Dress (hair, sexualia, artificial injuries, painting, ornaments). The aróe. Hunting and agriculture. Weapons. Work in the men's house and techniques. Food; "consecration" by the baris. Dance and play. Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Art of drawing. Law and marriage (customs of the family and of the men s house). Birth; names. Death rites. Soul and

/491 cont./

756 the latter "doutor." Let us confine ourselves to the term bari or medicine man. His training seems to be less ceremonious than is otherwise the case; it depends more on natural talent. During
[273] the dry season -- the name does not actually refer to thirst -- the most akurí palm wine is drunk; the trees are tapped, and the sap runs into a pot or mortar and is drunk from bamboo beakers. The wine is somewhat sour, but plentiful. Both sexes become as intoxicated as possible. The one who holds out the longest becomes the medicine man. If it is said of him that the birds of the forest understand him, that he converses with trees and with animals of all sorts in their language, hopefully that does not mean /492/ a medical man who is still inspired by palm wine, but refers to study in solitude and to the aróe song in which the animals are
755 called upon. The bari treats his patients in the well-known manner: he groans, writhes, smokes, and sucks the cause of the illness -- customarily a bone here -- out of the body of the patient. Two things should be noted, however: first, the bone is merely displayed and does not leave his hand, and the doctor gives treatments only at night.

Waehneldt reports correspondingly about the Bororó on the Jaurú. Curing is done amid great clouds of smoke, unintelligible words, and, "the most important thing," convulsive movements: "I was present at the cure by such a padre, which consisted of his sucking at various parts of the body, and meanwhile he smoked his pipe and chewed up the mouthpiece. After each sucking he spit out the chewed-up pieces of his pipe, telling the patient that it
756 was the cause of his suffering." Furthermore--and now we come
784 back to the hunting booty -- a capibara pig had to be blessed in
825 the "sanctuary" by one of the four to six padres before it could be eaten or even touched. The baris cut off the best pieces and left the rest to the others.

On the S. Lourenço, too, the doctors likewise still lived in the golden age. It would be unjust to speak here of a delightful outgrowth of primitive hierarchy, for the bari was no "padre," but a "doutor" who merely did not yet know more than a "padre." The "consecration" was done in exactly the same way as the attempt to bring a dead person back to life. The logic is very

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276 NARCOTICS AND STIMULANTS--drugs consumed for nontherapeutic purposes (e.g., tobacco, betel, coca, peyote); techniques of manufacture and preparation; methods of consumption (e.g., eating, chewing, smoking); special apparatus (e.g., cigarette holders, pipes, hypodermic needles); users; quantities consumed; physiological effects; behavior under narcosis and stimulation; associated beliefs and practices; social and legal controls; etc. See also:

Psychiatric aspects of drug addiction 158
Cultivation of narcotic plants 249
Condiments 263
Palliation of labor with drugs 461
Illicit narcotics traffic 548
Treatment of drug addicts 733
Notions about drug cravings 828

be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunting or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat, drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a white one just as she does when she is menstruating.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 114
miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dure-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow."

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more 114
than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of 123
all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick [276] and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the [262] white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever [685] there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity.

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females 302
hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the [142]
forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls 302
who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged 593
in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [857]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would [516]
sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and distortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *arrda* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or sixteen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at
[261] least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

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765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
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/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at [824] home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

[251] We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

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* In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [147] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [276] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians íka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

/508 cont./

765 windows, were put on. It looked quite charming and dainty, what the crude hunters had worked out there. Now a special act was performed, the "consecration" of the skull and new basket. A sort of chapel or sanctuary was built in that five bows were planted in a semicircle, mats leaned against them, and coverlets hung on them and over them. In this niche /509/ was placed the decorated basket, three whizzer sticks as yet unpainted were leaned against it, and the skull laid on a mat filled with a loose heap of feathers; the most active of the baris sat down in the entrance, which was blocked by his body and the drummer standing behind him -- now without his drum. To encourage them, two pots of water, loam-yellow river water, and three [533] cigars had been put in the niche. Starting slowly, in a deep voice, the two began their song, and the bari swung a rattle in each hand. The others sat around happily, played little pranks, begged for tobacco, and merely hummed along in the final measure. Gradually, however, the singing became more animated, high women's voices joined in energetically, and at the niche the two leaders of the singing worked with all their might, until, after three-quarters of an hour, they were utterly exhausted. They bent down in the niche in order to drink, but their whole bodies shook as in fever, so that the water jug had to be held; they wiped off the perspiration and were able to stammer only a few inarticulate sounds, to which the chorus responded in [276] unison with several restrained grunts of approval. Trembling, they smoked their cigars.

[535] The coverlets were removed; six men, Coqueiro now among them, swung the rattles, sang, and danced, always with eyes closed, wholly absorbed in themselves. We, too, danced and rattled for a while, to the delight of the Indians. Only one or another would occasionally pause for a while, smoke his cigar meanwhile with great haste, and wipe off the sweat that poured in streams from the bodies of the six. Numerous women sang along, passing the time with delousing, or fanned the dancers rhythmically to cool them, standing behind them; a large number of men lay stretched out along the wall and rested. There was a general pause only once, and the singing was supplanted by the merry jingle of the harmonica coming

Bororo SP8
2: Steinen--645 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Plate XXX

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821

Meteor-conjuration among the Bororó.

/514 cont./

821 789 great excitement, were puffing in all directions toward the sky, squirting a little saliva from their lips, much as the Kulisehu Indians had driven away the thunder clouds. They were trembling and tottering so that one feared they would fall to the ground in a faint. Then they turned toward the place where the meteor had [276] appeared, screamed vué! vué! with a threatening, terrified voice, pressing the hollow of the right hand to the mouth, stretched the left arm toward heaven, and each held up a bundle of span-long maize cigarettes. "Here, look at this," they seemed to say, "all /515/ this tobacco we are spending to drive away the evil. Woe to you, if you do not leave us in peace!"

[152] A strange mixture of fear and courage, the latter, unfortunately, being tinged with something just as artificial as on the occasion of the exorcism of the Kayapó danger. The trembling increased, their entire bodies vibrated, their bent-back heads wobbled, they touched themselves with twitching movements and passed their hands over their chests and stomachs in order to force away everything evil.

[276] After this spectacle had gone on for a while, their cigar bundles were taken out of their hands and lighted at the fire while the excited doctors, whimpering and shuddering, caught their breath for a moment. Half a dozen men got up, took a few puffs for comfort and strength, and gave the cigars to the baris, who resumed their cure. They puffed at the whole bundle, howled even more shrilly and reproachfully toward heaven than before, stroked their bodies even more assiduously, scratched their heads vigorously, puffed at their bundle once more, sucked convulsively at their forearms as though they were drawing the blood up from the depths, cried vué vuáu vuáu ever louder, shook themselves and blew toward the stars; their joints shook, their muscles flew.

[755] Finally, they suddenly began to look searchingly about them in the throng, talked to those standing nearest them, pointed into the crowd, and joined the main group where they undertook a brief cure of a weak old man, the chief Domingo, and several of the most esteemed who alone could be involved in such a special case. They lifted up their heads, looked at them

/515 cont./

821 searchingly, squirted into their faces, pzü pzü, and, with the
789 hollow of their hands held against their mouths, again uttered their threatening vóu or a shrill hahahó, not forgetting to smoke up their bundle as they did so. The chorus had in general remained grave and quiet; only now and then did it break out in a one-part huhá and now triumphantly repeated it at the end as the two doctors, teeth chattering and murmuring a shivery tédede tedéte, retired. Aróe singing was heard all night long.

The tobacco smoke had been used here in exactly the
[276] same way as the puffing against the thunderstorm, and I gained the impression that the doctor's smoking was very similar to a fumigation. Perhaps, for the original meaning of the method of curing, this should not be underestimated.

755 Domingo had an attack of weakness two days after the meteor conjuration. On the third day, 17 April, he was ill and apparently had a very ominous feeling. He crept about anxiously, his hands tied up in rags and his head and face covered so that he would not be recognized. Since we left the colony on 18 April we were unfortunately unable to find out whether this remedy helped him.

773 Ancestor legend. Arigá-Bororó is the tribal ancestor of the Indians. He had a wife. The puma is called arigá. Later, two men and two women came /516/ to the earth east of the baruparu river (cf. page 646) and reached the S. Lourenço. I was unable
[124] to learn anything more. Clemente was quite useless here; he himself did not know anything and, on the basis of his knowledge of Brazil, interpreted those statements as meaning that the Bororó came from Rio de Janeiro. As far as I was able to understand, the Bororó lived on the source rivers of the S. Lourenço since the time they left heaven, and this origin from the east has nothing to do with tribal migrations, but is again only the result of the very natural reflection that the sun was in the possession of the oldest people and that the oldest people therefore lived where the sun originates.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

301 The principal ornaments used by men consisted
[237] of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitúta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*okopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pasosó*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putúku*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5
534 inches in length. During dances the men fastened rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otuíyo*), sweet manioc (*otuíyo biboróno*), maize (*omatúku*), black and red beans (*dunatúku*), sweetpotatoes (*balarkúpo*), and cará (*tapatúku*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podrí*), cotton (*akyámanú*),
[276] and urucú (*nodókahtriku*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past.
222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*heír*), mangaba (*batorúkwa*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *hashorúkwa*).
237 Honey (*psíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*dntho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

114
128

All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152] [304] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jmi*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 326 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

437 signs than by words. "*Caiba!*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Boé*, sick; *Boé*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of [281] the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day, [532] some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for [126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with super-000 stitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green
palm. Each rung is made of a
bundle of two (big marid'do) or three
(small marid'do) sections. Gradually
during the construction, the ladder
is rolled up on itself until it forms,
in the largest example, a disk 1.50
meters in diameter. The two sides
[283] are then decorated with green palm,
held in place by a net of cords made
of women's hair. The top of the
disk is decorated for a length of about
50 cm. with applications of down.
The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewåguddudoge cõreõ marid'do; the
small one, Ewåguddudoge kujagoreõ
marid'do. But it is not necessarily
natives of this clan who have made
them. Some time before the festival
the two marid'do are solemnly taken
out of the men's house and taken to
the middle of the bororo, where they
are placed parallel, about two meters
apart, and on the axis separating the
phratries. The dance of the marid'do
lasts two days; each protagonist tries to
lift one of the disks at arm's end and
to hold it as long as possible while
running and jumping in the plaza.
Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony
(Pl. VIII, C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X,
B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

129 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills,
[239] decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Ārōre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-y. -b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the
000 loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

/297 cont./

Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never observed spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

[283] [345] [283] [286]

/298/ Note I

614 779 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Čera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

841 Woman wear a gray garinge band,
242 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture [431] [583] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São [336] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous [237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus [755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, 237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice [184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço 489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding [481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and [501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck [345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, [301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

6:Kozlk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Borono SP8

765
531

placed in the special basket that is to be their final repository. Then the skull, still resting on its little mat, is placed in the basket on top of the other bones. The edges of the basket are sewed together with a wooden needle and fiber cord, and until its final burial a few days later, it is hung in the house of the deceased's relatives.

[283]

[p. 48-A]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 412 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to furnish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in 433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and 226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January, 222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the [283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

long tongue-like leaf furnishes a silk or band of strands called 222
bokigo, which he rolls into a single strand as he sits cross-legged on [283]
the ground, and by twisting this strand with others he obtains cordage with which to make his fishing nets, harpoon lines, etc. From the ground he digs two or three varieties of the potato family, which he boils. Corn is eaten as roasting ears or cut from the ears and boiled. They use no salt. The large ant bear is considered the 224
most valuable of all creatures. Nearly every part of its body is utilized. When discovered it is driven to the village for slaughter in order to secure its blood. After this comes the tapir, which is also greatly esteemed. When food is plenty they eat nearly all the 264
time when awake, and even rise several times in the night to take a little food. While we were in the baehytu at the Kogy ao Paro village we saw 33 men devour upwards of 25 gallons of boiled shelled corn within an hour and a half, and they had been nibbling roast ears all the morning. The two men who had accompanied us from the Ja-Dare-Mano Paro were induced to eat from every pot as they were brought in one at a time. They seem never to get full, and will eat as long as there is anything to be had. While at work making bows and arrows and ornaments, they are nibbling food, if they can obtain it. They eat the corn mush squatting and standing around the pot, using large oyster-like shells or broad leaves as spoons.

Their language seems quite free from clicks and from deep gut- 194
turals. The names given to animals are often in imitation of the sound produced by the animal. Ki, for instance, means tapir, and is a close imitation of the note of this animal; pobu means river or water; pobu camahina is great river; meri rutu, sunset; adugo, spotted tiger or ounce; and aigo, brown ounce. Báekimo is the negative; Boe by báekimo means "Indian die not"—"I will not die."

They are wonderful whistlers and seem able thus to communicate 198
whatever they otherwise would by speech.

All the fine and ornamental work is done by the men. A great 462
deal of time and labor is spent in making seemingly unimportant articles, and the time consumed in shaping and burnishing an arrow is astonishing, generally the larger part of two days. The shell [321]
ornament worn around the neck is made by the reciprocating motion of the point of a sharp instrument of flint or of iron or steel, if they [322]
can obtain it, fastened near the center of a roughly shaped shell. A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into another bit of wood. When holes have been made in bits of roughly ooo

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

Uneven holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
● 223 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.
562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

family came to us often, saying "*Nagarda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 287 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Chapter XXXIII.

WEAPONS.—THE BLOW GUN.—HUNTING.—MARVELOUS FISHERMEN.—THE MANO RACE.—THE WILD MAN'S EVENING ANTHEM.—WOMAN.—UNIQUE MARRIAGES.—FIGHTS.—PRIMITIVE ARITHMETIC.

411 The weapons of the Bororó, used both in war and in the chase, are huge bows that are longer than the archer is tall, spear-like arrows four or five feet in length, and two styles of clubs, made of iron-like wood, one of which is shaped like an enormous dagger.

[824] They obtain the wood for their bows from a certain palm-tree, and the fibre with which to make their bow strings [283] from the long, slender foliage of another plam. The fibre is stripped out of the green leaves by the primitive artisan, and twisted, or spun, by rolling between the palm of the hand and the leg above the knee as the spinner sits, cross-legged, on his palm-leaf mat, and lastly, these strands are twisted dexterously into cordage in the same manner. The bow is usually wound half its length with reserve string.

The arrows are made by skilfully fitting together three different pieces of wood. The point, or spear part, is made [824] either of taquara or palm-wood, and in a variety of forms, according to the use to be made of it. Broad blade points are used in hunting large game, and for war, while various styles of harpoon points are used for fishing. A special kind of arrow is made which is six feet in length and very

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
[283] a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects
and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*17 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
[291] praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it
in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
[302] the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
[301] and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
[291] ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
291 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
[287] only within the most modest limits and surely could not have
been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been
used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little
at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the
lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around
themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up
toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the
little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and
turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where
they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
291 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
[287] fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
[841] to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure
of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
[287] tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.
See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

/478 cont./

239 301 Teeth were primarily worked into chest ornaments; the most popular ones were large jaguar teeth, usually two pairs plaited together, and small monkey teeth, several transverse rows of which were joined into a piece up to 30 centimeters wide /479/ extending almost across the entire chest; cf. Plate I /see p. i/ and Fig. 129 /see p. 589/. It was extremely seldom that women were also given these ornaments and, since it is usually reported of the other Bororó that only the men adorned themselves, is probably to be traced back to the upheaval caused by the colonization. It was characteristic that the Indian-thinking and Portuguese-speaking Clemente called the teeth plaited together rosarios, rosaries; in connection with this ornament, the Indians had the idea that it makes one strong [927] and agile. They also extracted teeth from Brazilian prisoners and hung these around themselves; lower jaws of the enemy were worn [283] in the same way. They also [765] promised themselves protection from hair of the dead, which was spun into thread and then plaited into cords which were very difficult to obtain; bunches of hair hung down, along with the feathers, from the arm bands.

Fig. 134. Arara ear-feather. Bororó. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 135. Chest ornament of armadillo claws. Bororó. (1/3 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs 237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [531] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

285 [765] → [142] 301 [302] ←

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-
[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

/488 cont./

283 flock or a few hairs placed together and had fastened them to the short end of the stick, the larger part of the little stick, below the whorl, would be rolled on the right thigh with the right hand, the spindle being held slantwise; thus, the thread was formed on the shorter part of the stick above the whorl. The finished thread was wound on the long part below the whorl.

The hair-threads were plaited into a cord which was worn around the head hair, around the waist, or, for protection against the snapping of the bowstring, around the wrist. Palm fiber cord was twisted by hand on the thigh. The great toe was often used in string work.

[286] Actual weaving, that is to say, the interlacing of threads crossing at right angles, was unknown. The men made narrow [301] bands out of cotton threads, /489/ into which porcupine quills were plaited and which were worn like suspenders, cf. Figs. 141 /see p. 610/ and 129 /see p. 589/, as chest strings by both sexes, as well as arm bands by artfully interlacing threads between two thin rods.

461 How elegantly and neatly the men worked was particularly striking in the making of arrows. There were so many small dexterous movements which one would have expected only from the delicate hands of women. Among these I include particularly the decoration with tiny colored feathers, each of which was placed on the ground one by one and carefully arranged.

Nor can there be more chatter and laughter in a spinning room than there was here in the baitó. True, it was not very womanly when suddenly, for the sake of variety, two of the workers got up and staged a regular wrestling match which was watched with great interest by the others. They stood up, wrestled, threw each other, and resumed their work or lay down again for 517 dolce far niente. For comfortable idlers were never lacking; [832] and there was also seldom lacking, though the women otherwise stayed away, a loving couple who lay under a common red coverlet and dallied. No one paid any attention to them except a few friends troubled by mild jealousy, who at the moment were being neglected by the common lover and had to be content to sit beside the pair and chat with them.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buritĩ fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beizhũ." By the second method they produced chicha (*zumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 The siriva palm wood bow (*boíko*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in [726] war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*ísko*) is made by fixing a notched 411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. 224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubũ or mutũm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow [824] pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (4)]

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kethodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
● [283] using the spindle (*kálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*kutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The

634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
535
824
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/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green
palm. Each rung is made of a
bundle of two (big marid'do) or three
(small marid'do) sections. Gradually
during the construction, the ladder
is rolled up on itself until it forms,
in the largest example, a disk 1.50
meters in diameter. The two sides
[283] are then decorated with green palm,
held in place by a net of cords made
of women's hair. The top of the
disk is decorated for a length of about
50 cm. with applications of down.
The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewãguddudoge cõreõ marid'do; the
small one, Ewãguddudoge kujagoreõ
marid'do. But it is not necessarily
natives of this clan who have made
them. Some time before the festival
the two marid'do are solemnly taken
out of the men's house and taken to
the middle of the bororo, where they
are placed parallel, about two meters
apart, and on the axis separating the
phratries. The dance of the marid'do
lasts two days; each protagonist tries to
lift one of the disks at arm's end and
to hold it as long as possible while
running and jumping in the plaza.
Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony
(Pl. VIII. C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X,
B /see p. 48/), the following words

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots.
323 The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by
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[462]

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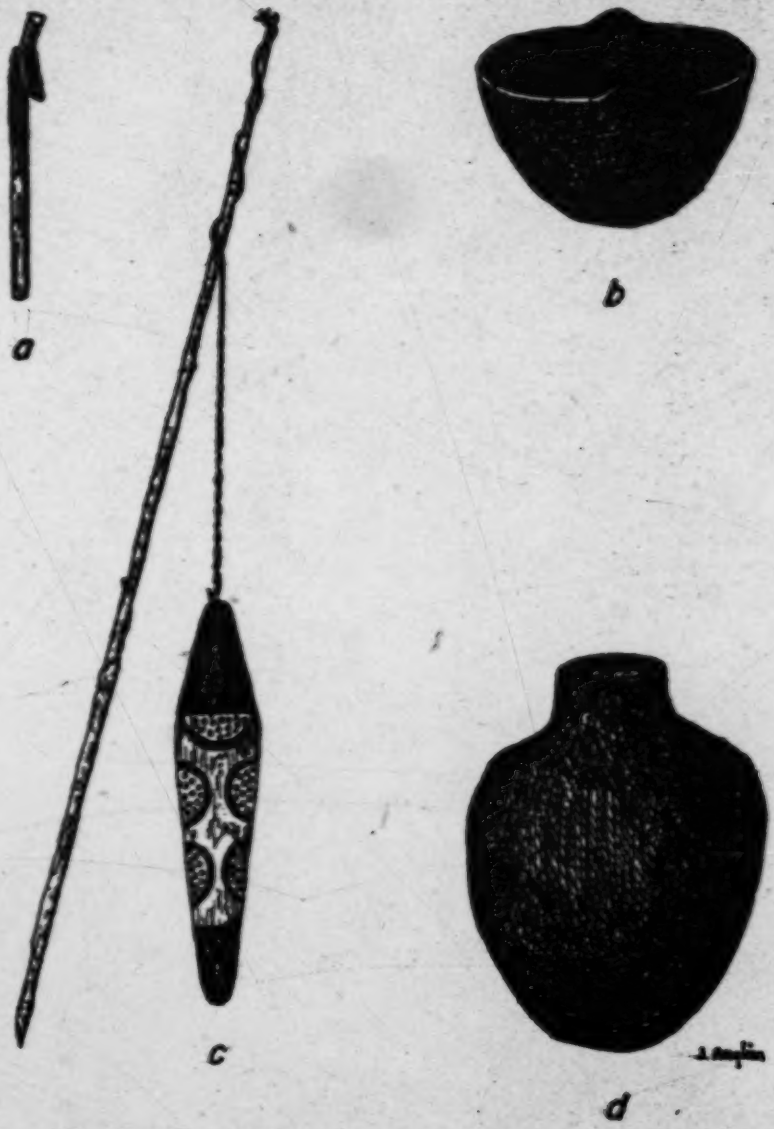

FIGURE 52.—Bororo manufactures. a, Gouge made of lateral rodent teeth; b, d, pottery vessels; c, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

/487 cont./

412 (Coelogenys paca), a small rodent; they still planed,
237 polished, and bored in good Indian fashion.

Their plane was a Bulimus shell, ruo, ten centimeters long, cf. Fig. 140 (and Fig. 27 /see p. 206/ from the Schingú), into which sharp-edged holes
322 were struck with an oaussú nut. Moreover, they polished wood, for example the whizzer sticks which were made for the burial ceremony, by rubbing it for a quarter of an hour with a wet, smooth stone. Or they took the rough leaves of the lischa and the imbauba tree. They sat with

Fig. 139. Capybara chisel. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

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legs folded and crossed and cut and planed the objects on their foot as a support. On the outer part of the ankle resting on the floor I often felt callous thickenings and even movable pieces as hard as cartilage.
321 Monkey bones for chain ornaments were cut up on their foot, and I constantly feared for their own bones.

Boring was always done with a twirling motion. A nail was fastened to a stick half a meter long and this was twirled between

412
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Fig. 140. Plane-shell. Bororó. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

the two hands sliding rapidly up and down. In this way they bored through the small shell plates for their lip chains, which they made

/284 cont./

703 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[516] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact
[302] of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuǰawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuǰawa, the

Plate VIII

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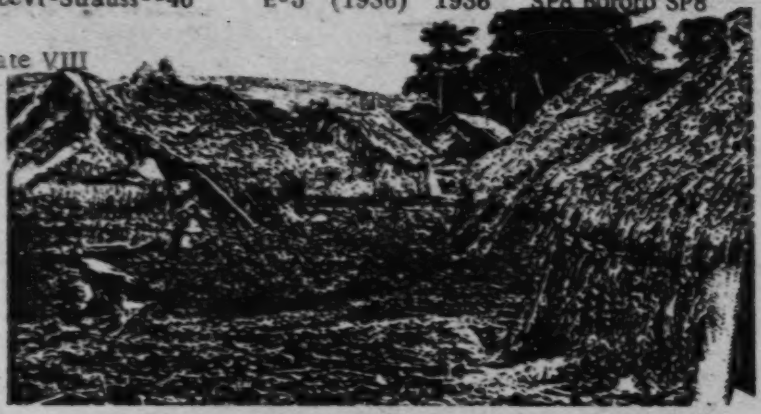

A

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by

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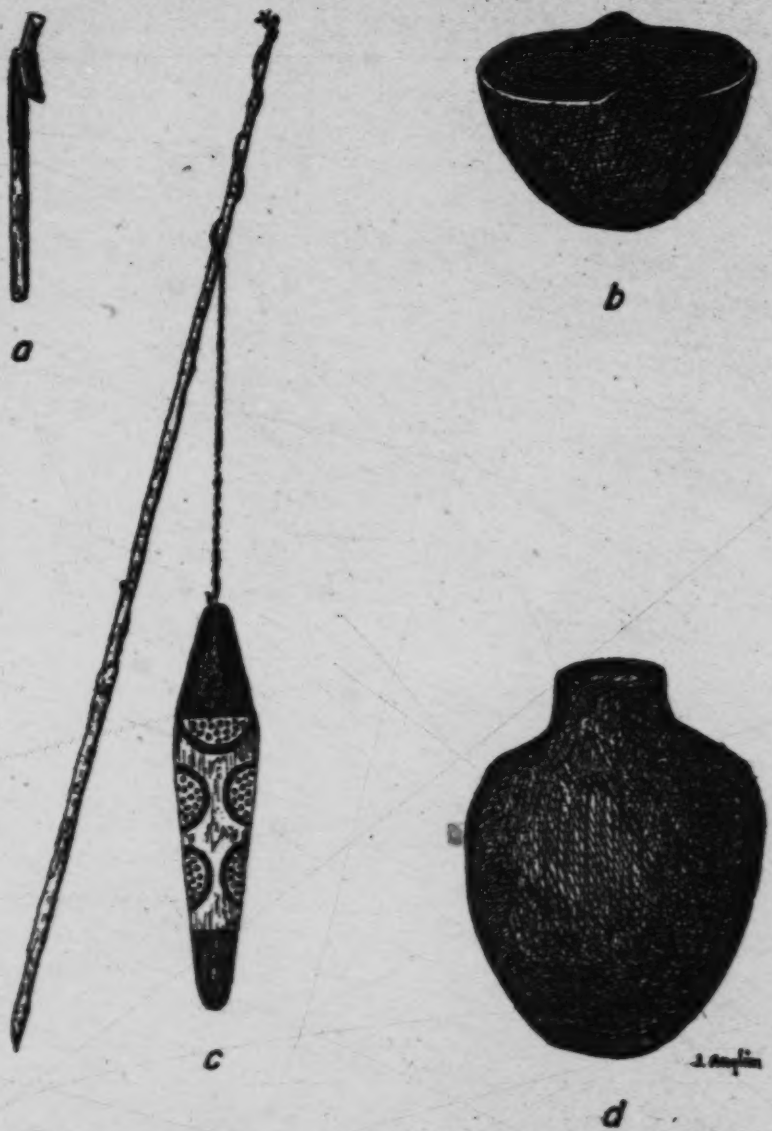

FIGURE 52.—*Bororo* manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent teeth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

285 323 415 [177]

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

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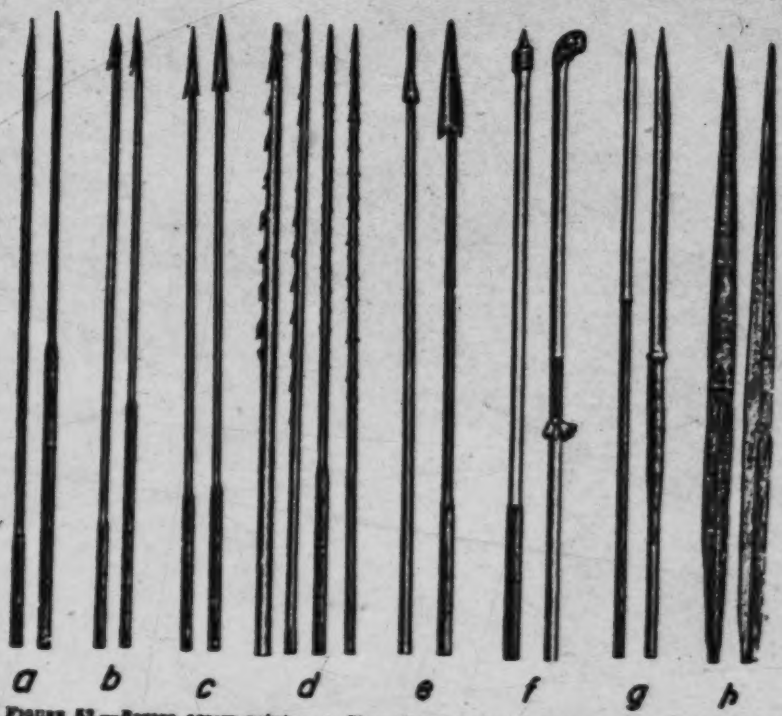

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (⅛ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

Yaruma SP25

PLATE XXI

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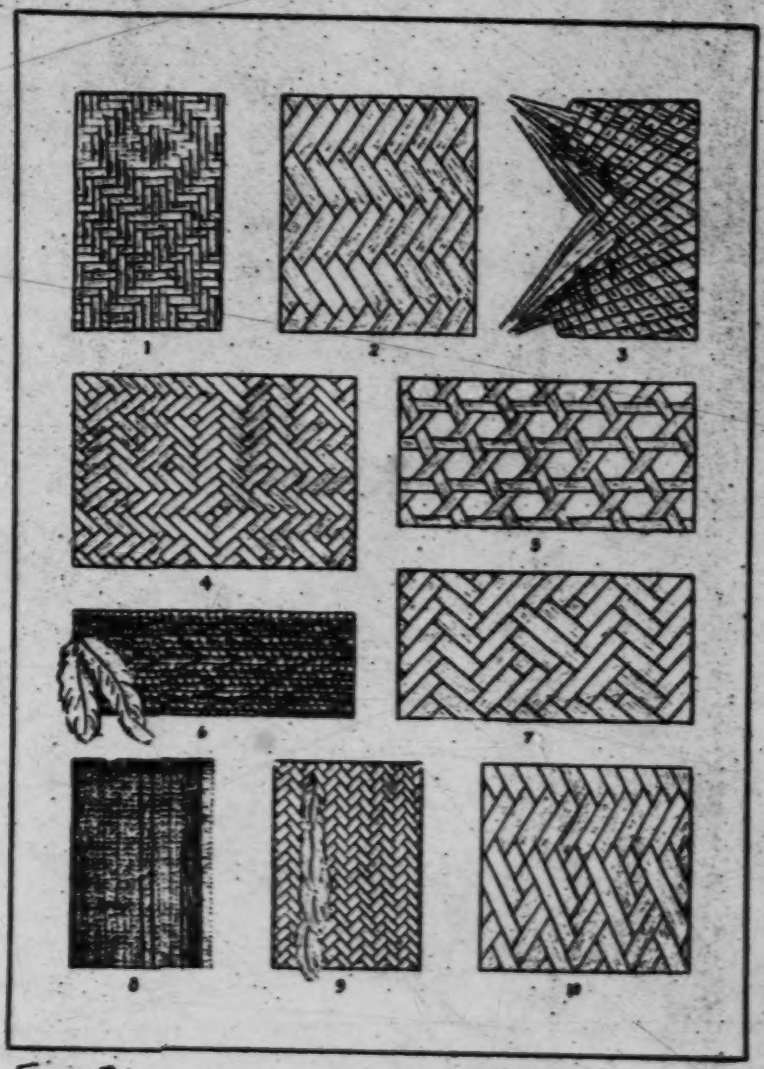

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[P.176]

[for captions, see cat. 116, p. 88]

6:Kozdik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPB Bororo SPB

[p. 40-F]

AFTER BITING FISH, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

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61 Kodak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

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[p.47-A]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

[facing p. 50]

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BORORO HOUSE, BRAZIL

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INTERIOR OF BORORÓ HOUSE, BRAZIL

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by
353 the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

B /279 cont./
285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a
B little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In
[237] other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the
[136] large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the
[412] natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct inter-
B pretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the
* [171] Auetõ a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

Y I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal; then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

BO Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with
• 285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

/280 cont./

BO 285 524 532 nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

B 285 532 535 B [524] [202]

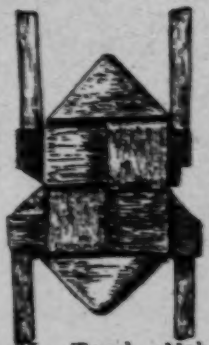

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The straw figures of the Bakaïrí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

Y [285] [524] [532] ←

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

B [524] →

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaïrí village

BO [285] [524] [532]

on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

285 [765] → [142] 301 302 ←

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-
[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*perikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodákwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buritĩ palm fronds. This bag (*ysthabótko*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*kálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokúpa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
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[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishána*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

286

286 WOVEN FABRICS--textiles; weaving, knitting, and netting techniques; special apparatus (e.g., netting needle, loom); products and their uses; specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Clothing 29
Spinning 283
Industrial production of textiles 298
Description of power looms 402

411
302
768
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6; Kodak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

Ornate bow, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

[p. 42-A]

765
531
292
285
516

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

MULTICOLORED feathers, held on with resin, completely cover skull, which is surmounted by feather crown. Still on its mat, skull is put on jaguar skin.

[p.47-c]

/297 cont./

Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, [283] and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never ob- [345] served spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only [283] two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and [286] various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

/298/ Note I

614 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans 779 bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Čera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct ^Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Women wear a gray parinel band,
841 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a
242 girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture [431] [383] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

303 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São [386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous [237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus [755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92,
237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice [184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline special.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço
489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding [481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and [501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck [345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, [301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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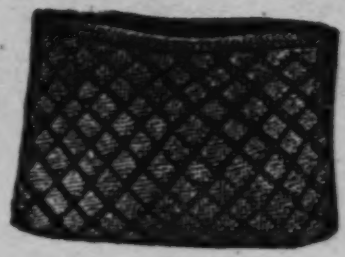

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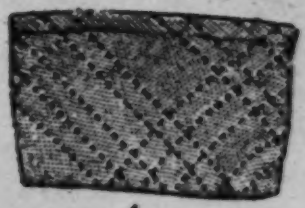

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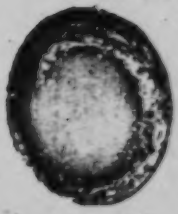

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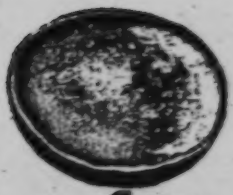

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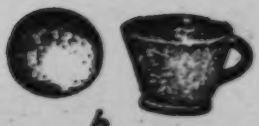

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FIGURE 51.—Bororo textiles and pottery. *a*, *b*, Bags with weave and designs the same as mats; *c*, *d*, water jars (1/9 to 1/11 natural size); *e*, ladle (1/6 natural size); *f*, plate (1/6 natural size); *g*, bowl (1/6 to 1/7 natural size); *h*, cup (1/6 natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[289] [171] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 128 In the following list I demonstrate the division of labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 562 123 How much the sexual life is related to the social position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is underneath!" he exclaimed. [775] I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

a Bororó whose arm had been crushed between the jaws of a jaguar in a battle of this kind. 224

The great ant-bear is a much-prized game with the Bororó. Finding one, they do not kill it at once, but drive it to the village. This is easily done since the brute always runs straight away from its pursuers at a slow pace; hence it can be driven in any direction by the hunter appearing on one flank or the other. The savages make use of every part of its body—blood, flesh, skin, hair, bones and entrails.

The Bororó are marvelous fishermen. Their principal method for catching fish is with a huge sack-like net which is made with large meshes and of the same kind of cordage as the bow strings. The mouth of the sack is secured to two parallel rods ten or twelve feet in length, which are bound together at the extremities; and the sack is opened by springing the rods apart. Equipped with these sack-nets, a group of the primitive anglers plunge into the river a few miles above the village and descend with the great, muddy current, swimming and diving, and exploring the depths of the river; and by the exercise of astonishing skill, succeed in bagging fish that weigh ten or fifteen, or even one hundred pounds. When the fish is once inside the sack, the mouth is allowed to spring shut, and the sack is then gradually rolled up by revolving the poles; and finally, when the fish is in such close quarters that it is helpless, and has been brought to the surface of the water, the fisherman seizes the small club which he has been trailing from the back of his neck, and pommels it until it is dead. The sack is now unrolled and the fish removed, strung on a cord and trailed behind with the club; then the almost amphibious man proceeds once more to explore the depth of the river for more fish. The whole operation of catching and disposing of the fish is performed in deep water; and when the savage angler finally lands at the village, he may drag after him half a dozen or more ten or fifteen-pound fish. Sometimes, four or five large fish are caught at one scoop. When the fisherman bags a fish nearly as large as himself, he is forced to call a companion to assist him. 226 [286] [526]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

/488 cont./

283 flock or a few hairs placed together and had fastened them to the short end of the stick, the larger part of the little stick, below the whorl, would be rolled on the right thigh with the right hand, the spindle being held slantwise; thus, the thread was formed on the shorter part of the stick above the whorl. The finished thread was wound on the long part below the whorl.

The hair-threads were plaited into a cord which was worn around the head hair, around the waist, or, for protection against the snapping of the bowstring, around the wrist. Palm fiber cord was twisted by hand on the thigh. The great toe was often used in string work.

[286] Actual weaving, that is to say, the interlacing of threads crossing at right angles, was unknown. The men made narrow [301] bands out of cotton threads, /489/ into which porcupine quills were plaited and which were worn like suspenders, cf. Figs. 141 /see p. 610/ and 129 /see p. 589/, as chest strings by both sexes, as well as arm bands by artfully interlacing threads between two thin rods.

461 How elegantly and neatly the men worked was particularly striking in the making of arrows. There were so many small dexterous movements which one would have expected only from the delicate hands of women. Among these I include particularly the decoration with tiny colored feathers, each of which was placed on the ground one by one and carefully arranged.

Nor can there be more chatter and laughter in a spinning room than there was here in the baitó. True, it was not very womanly when suddenly, for the sake of variety, two of the workers got up and staged a regular wrestling match which was watched with great interest by the others. They stood up, wrestled, threw each other, and resumed their work or lay down again for 517 dolce far niente. For comfortable idlers were never lacking; [332] and there was also seldom lacking, though the women otherwise stayed away, a loving couple who lay under a common red coverlet and dallied. No one paid any attention to them except a few friends troubled by mild jealousy, who at the moment were being neglected by the common lover and had to be content to sit beside the pair and chat with them.

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[23] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*pováupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókuu*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yothobóko*) is used for storing
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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hotorikóna*) was not only
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[p. 107 (B)]

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina 574
to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had 735
been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. 342
The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleep- 352
ing either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no 572
further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make 323
pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no indus- 287
try whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were 411
several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language 177
being almost forgotten even by the older people. 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one 574
for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the 533
men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompani- 535
ment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Sev- [273]
eral times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

family came to us often, saying "*Nogareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, aprom-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 287 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration off the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out durimg funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [164]

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
[288] a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects
and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*17 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
[291] praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it
in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
[302] the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
[301] and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
[291] ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
291 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
[287] only within the most modest limits and surely could not have
been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been
used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little
at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the
lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around
themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up
toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the
little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and
turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where
they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
291 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
[287] fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
[841] to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure
of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
[287] tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.
See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

/473 cont./

291 like to say that for this or for some other reason they bind their waists with a piece of tree bark ten inches wide, and, to be sure, so tightly that the skin at stomach height and over the abdomen and hips forms a bulge, which tends to disfigure them; but to go back to the strange custom, I must add that from this belt two strands (filamentos) two to three inches wide hang down in front and back." According to Waehneldt, the women wear a piece of tapir skin, one and a half spans wide, tied around their waists; "coming out from it is a bast band half a span wide, which covers their genitals." Rohde writes: "The women likewise go naked, the sole article of clothing is a narrow strip of cactus bark which conceals only the smallest part of the sexual organs."

With regard to our Bororó women, I have said on page 186 [287] that they wore on a hip cord a gray bast band three to four fingers [841] wide, and during the menses a similar black one, that in place of the hip cord they also used a piece of hard bark over which the /474/ T-band extended down in front and up in back, both of which were additionally secured by a string or bast wrapping. Younger women seemed to prefer the "corset" to the hip cord; the abdomen was tightly encased in the rigid bark armor.

291 The gray bast came from the jangadeira tree (jangada = raft),
287 whose light wood is used for the construction of rafts; it is also
824 called embira branca and its botanical name (from the family of Tiliaceae) is Apeiba cymbalaria. The black bark-belt came from the jiquitiba or pot-tree, Lecythis, a beautiful ornament of the primeval forest with a huge crown. A thick piece of bark was hewed off medium-sized trunks and laid in water for a week. Then a very fine, soft bast could be peeled off on the inside, [386] which furnished the hygienic bands. It was dyed black in rotten mire (tyjuca of the Tupí). The coarser hard outer layers provided the material for the belts, which had a width up to 28 centimeters. Often even children three to four years old wore the belt and looked very droll in it.

291 From what we have seen, the bark belt might be regarded merely as a substitute for the hip cord, whose firm embrace was perhaps agreeable, as long as the fashion did not become

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills,
[239] decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Āróre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in small letters):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-y. -b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

Plate VII

142
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A

[301]

B

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→

C

D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

/

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

Plate VIII

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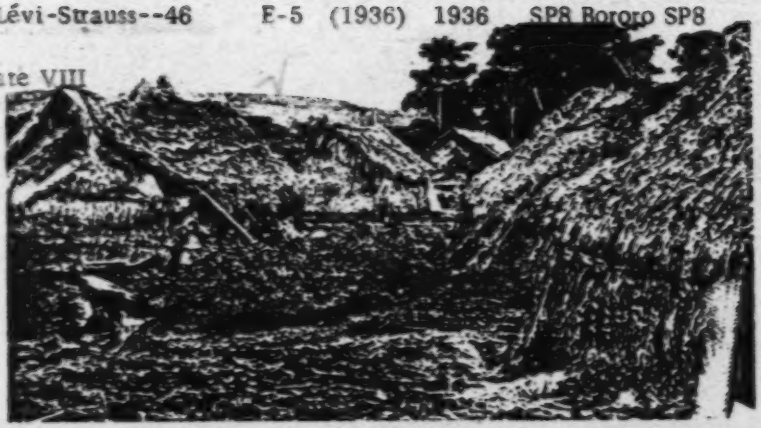

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B

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C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

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361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the
southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho
River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
842 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[881] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear orna-
302 ments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 524

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 38.—Bororo archery. Top: Arrow release. At village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) Below: Sio Lourenço, Bororo shooting fish. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432 - D]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 81.—Bororo village of Kejara. *Top:* Men's club in foreground. *Bottom:* Women in native dress.
(Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

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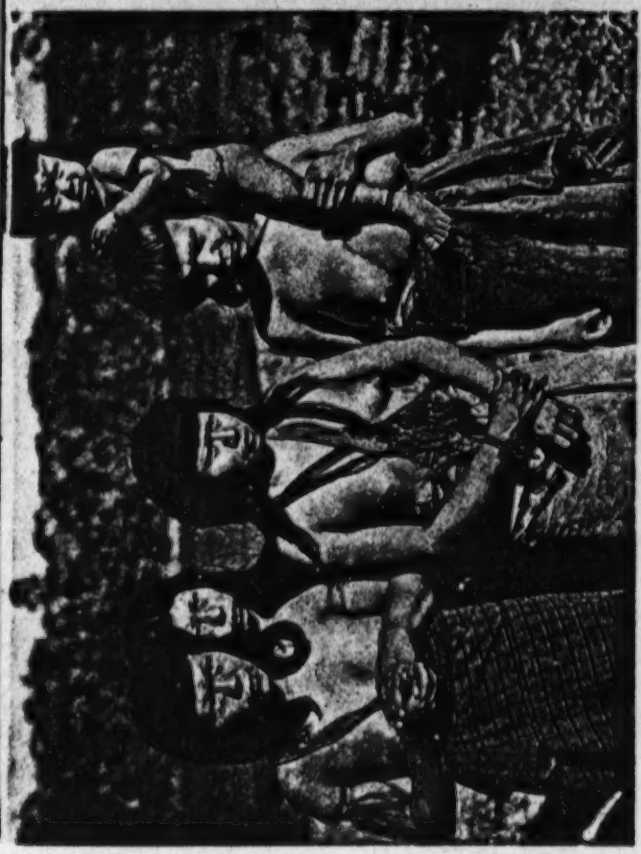

PLATE 91.—Bororo women. Rio Lourenço. (Courtesy David M. Newell.)

[P. 432 - I]

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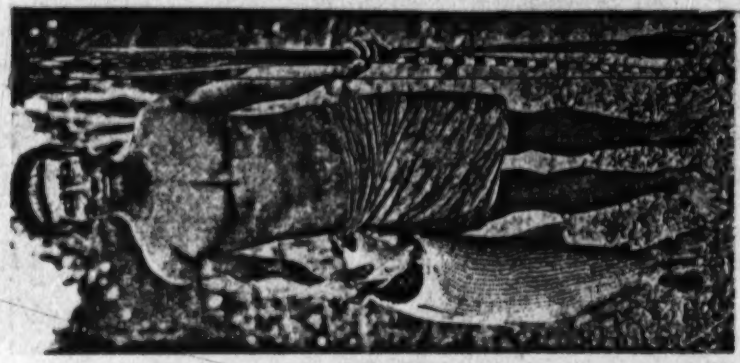

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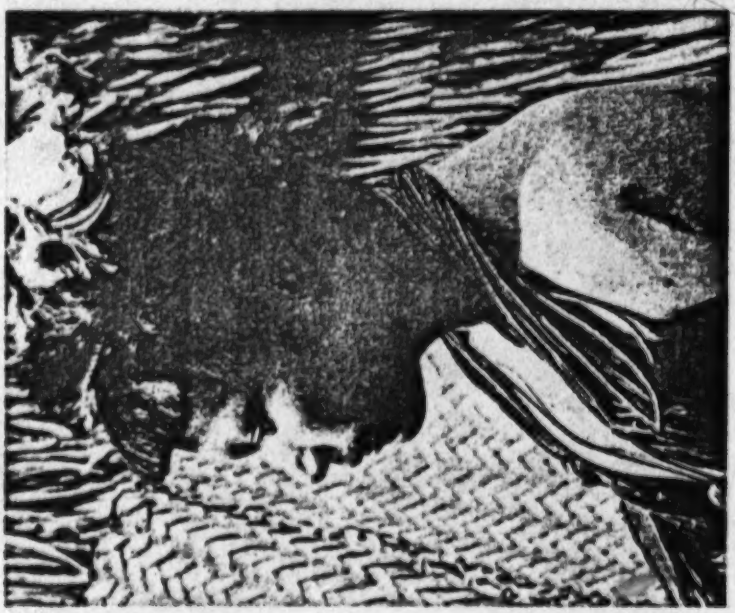
PLATE 18.—Bororo Indians. Left: Young man at Kiriri (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss). Right: the Chief's son (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia)



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[P. 432-J]

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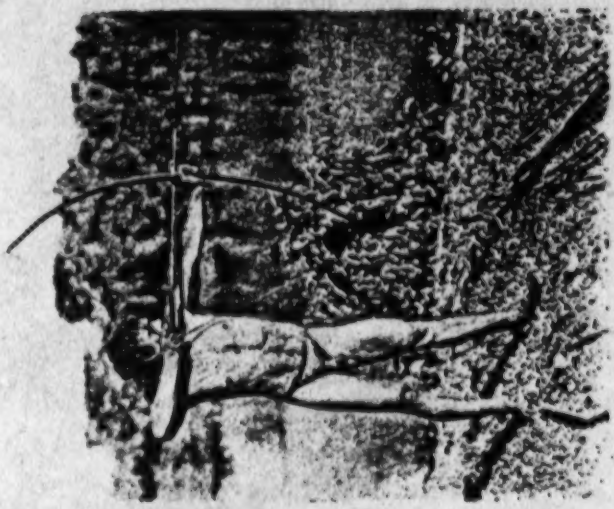

Figure 2. São Lourenço Bororo Drawing the Bow

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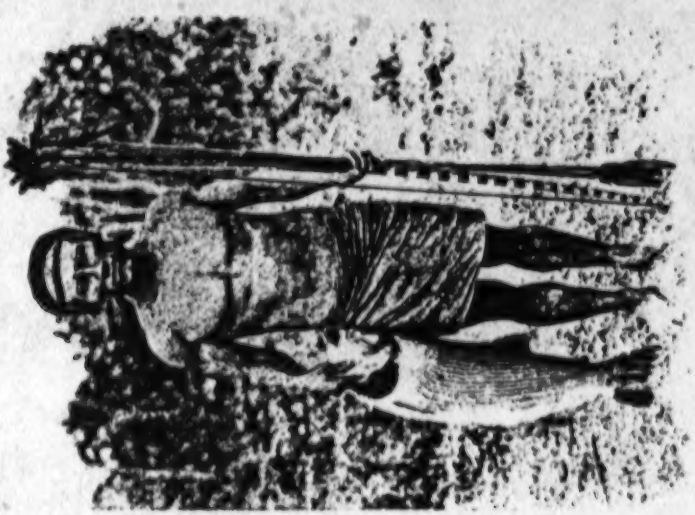

Figure 1. São Lourenço Bororo with Fish He Shot

[P.105] [Plate V]

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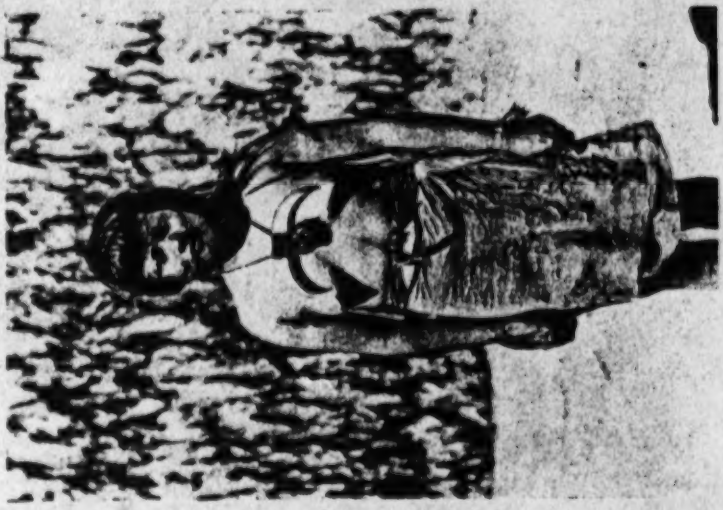

FIGURE 2. São Lourenço Bororo Girl.

FIGURE 1. São Lourenço Bororo with Facial Painting

[P. 108]

[Plate VI]

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Picture 2. São Lourenço Bororo with a Flower Lobret

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Picture 1. São Lourenço Bororo Girl

[P. 111]

[Plate VII]

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men under their tattered European clothing still carry this strip. A skirt of palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoulders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar' dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side. His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
899
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother
will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad
dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers),
she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffo-
cate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's
lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
[226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
[261] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
[276] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
[515]
593 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
827
846 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
"child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from
the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and final-
ly go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times
until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and
fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big
leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility.
After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[826] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[776] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities are differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[297] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (Boroge rore ino jamedu). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

772 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831
775 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
776 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
[302] a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-
like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and
later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the
society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and
plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the
first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names.
Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge,
for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins
themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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177
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11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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762
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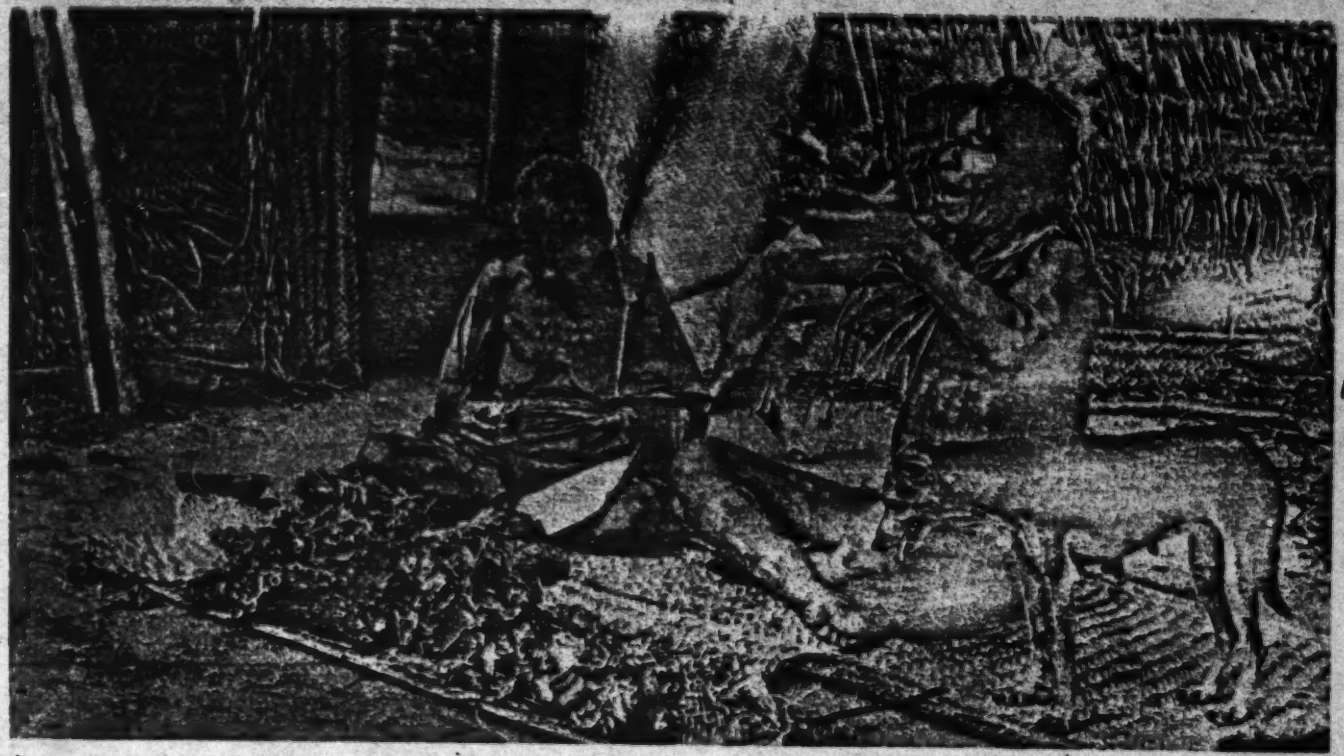
Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8



After biting fish, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

[p. 40-F]

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[774
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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Borono SP8

BLACK DESIGNS are painted on inside of jaguar skin, *above*, which is worn by shaman, *below*, in ritual dance to appease spirit of the ceremonial kill.

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765

[see p 43-C]

[p. 43-B]

6: Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

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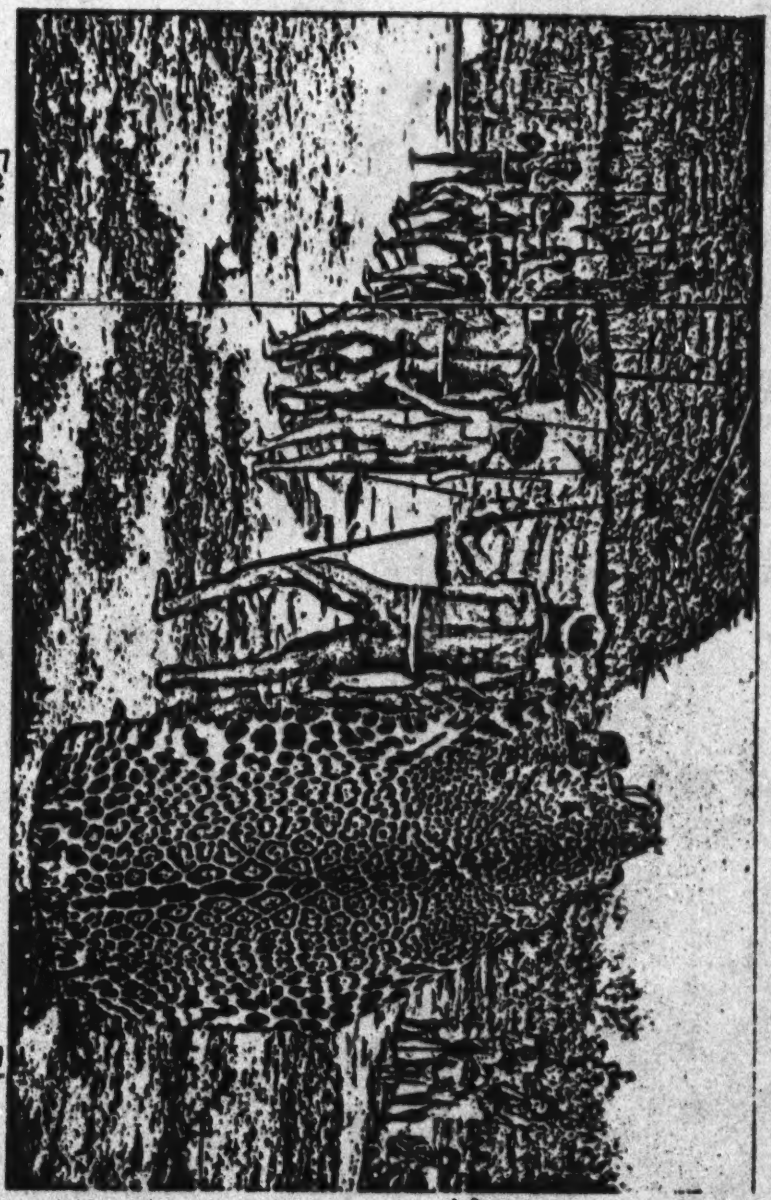

[Ritual dance to appease spirit of the commercial fish.-Analyst]

[p. 43-C] [For captions, see p. 43-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

Tab
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304
2471
142

During decorating, women gash their skin and allow blood to drip on skull.

Notice cuts on arm of woman at right, whose hair is cropped as mourning sign.

[p. 47-B]

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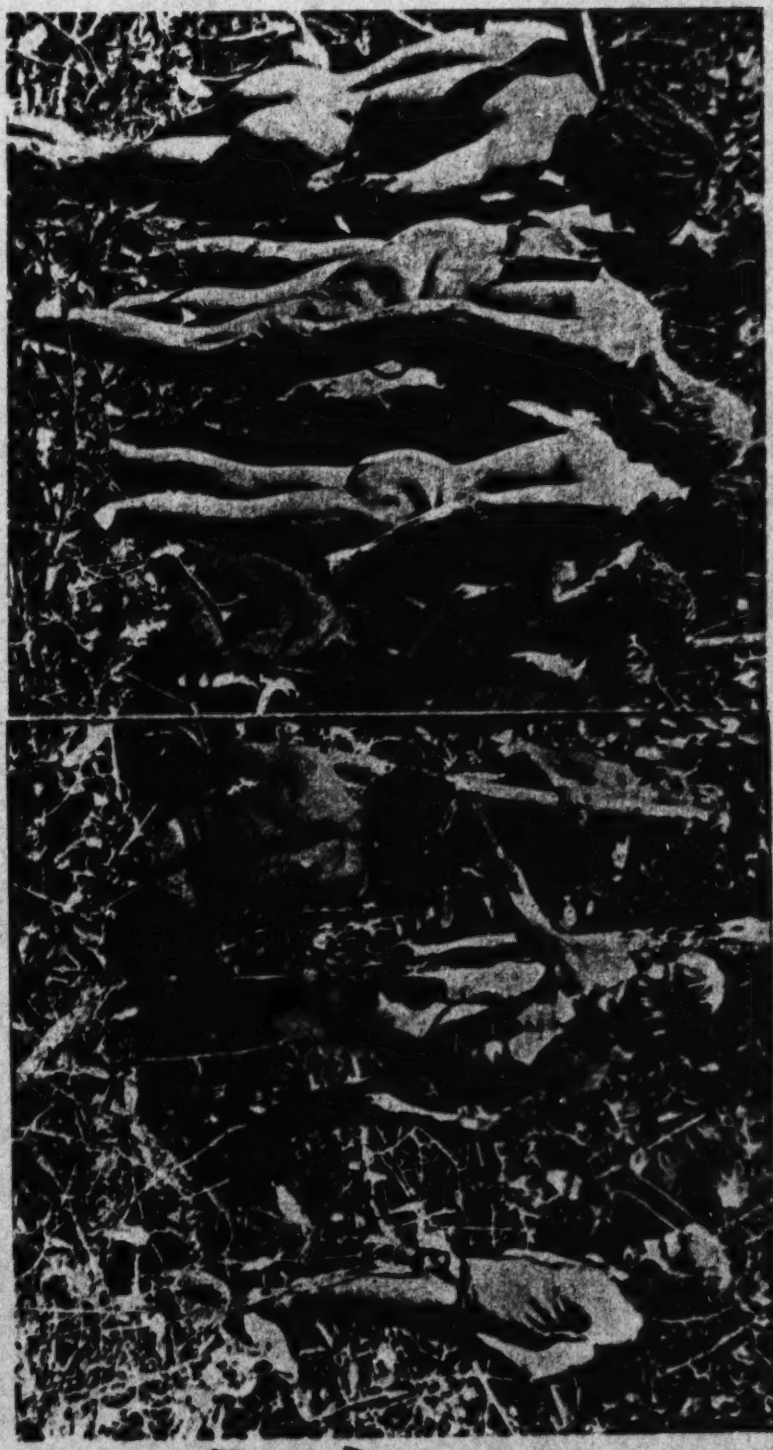

[p. 49-D]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

[facing p.50]

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BORORO HOUSE, BRAZIL

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INTERIOR OF BORORÓ HOUSE, BRAZIL

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
● 291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the taton canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet 609 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing [291] nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the [302] time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were 533 no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars.

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of *college yells*, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females.

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, brightly painted, uncouth appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 287 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

B /191 cont./
+171 industrious women did not have a hip cord. Smaller boys were
291 usually already provided with the cord, but then always had a couple of dainty trifles strung on it.

/192/ The purpose of the hip cord is to extend the praeputium. The penis is placed upward against the body and pushed under the hip cord in such a way that the uppermost section of the praeputium remains pinched off. The young man is made to do this when the first erections set in. He tries to adhere to the procedure for days and removes the annoying pubic hair.

T 291 [283] The Trumaí had a bizarre method which is also reported from other Brazilian tribes. They tied up the praeputium in front of the glans with a cotton string usually dyed red with urucú. The front end of the penis looked like the end of a sausage. Thus they achieved permanently what the others with their hip cord managed only temporarily. Unfortunately, we were unable to observe them in their village life under normal conditions. When we

BO [291]

Fig. 17. Penis cuff of the Bororó.

found them in the vicinity of the Auetö, on their flight from the Suyá, we did not notice the strange string on all of the men, although those not provided with it showed the tying-off marks on the praeputium caused by its use. It would not be inconceivable that the men were somewhat embarrassed in front of the Auetö; at any rate, the rest of the tribes, when we spoke to them about the Trumaí, always manifested very special amusement over the wool /Woll/ cord which they mocked and found as funny as we did. We met the company, however, when they were entirely

B T [186]

/192 cont./

T 291 among themselves, and the chief reason, I presume, in view of the calamity, was the only too explicable neglect of their outward appearance. We also noticed that it was older persons in particular who lacked the string, just as the older ones are the most careless concerning the tonsure. Among older men who wore the string, it rested directly on the scrotum, and the contours of the penis had completely disappeared, so that one saw only a little tied-up bag. And it was scarcely different when they wore no string.

BO 291 191 This consequence of continual mistreatment was no less evident in the case of the cuff or straw collar, which none of the Kulisehu tribes wore, but which I should like to mention here. We saw this device, which is not unknown elsewhere in Brazil, among the Yuruna, the inhabitants of the middle and lower course, who were unacquainted with the upper tribes, and in a larger size among the Bororó of the southern Mato Grosso. A long strip of rather brittle yellow palm-straw is rolled and folded, as the illustration /Fig. 17; see p. 184/ shows, so that a funnel-shaped cuff, tapering to a point at the bottom, is formed; the BO [531] left, projecting end of the strip in the illustration may be ignored, since it was only on festive occasions that the cuff bore such a flag painted with red designs. Its effect is exactly like that of the string: the praeputium is drawn through it in such a way that the /193/ lower, narrow end of the funnel tightly ties off just a tip; see the frontispiece /see p. i/ and Plate 27 /see p. 588/. Here, too, the rest of the penis usually disappears in the scrotum, but the advantage of the rigid cuff over the string is that it does not cut in so sharply. The cuff is an improvement and an embellishment in comparison with the string. I presume that the hip cord was worn first and some of them used pieces of it for the binding, while others were content to clamp the skin. The former went on to the milder and more coquettish cuff, but retained the old and in any case still useful or ornamental hip cord, just as the Bororó wear it besides the cuff, while the cuff-wearing Yuruna have developed it into a wide beaded belt. Actually, Waehneldt reports (1863) of the Bororó living in the source region

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
[17] "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
[283] a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects
and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*[17] sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
[291] praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it
in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
[302] the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
[30] and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
[291] ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
291 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
[287] only within the most modest limits and surely could not have
been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been
used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little
at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the
lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around
themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up
toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the
little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and
turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where
they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
291 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
[287] fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
[841] to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure
of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
[287] tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.
See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

/447 cont./

000 The soldier received 600 reis in supply money per day, which, in view of these prices, was very little for him and his housewife. He received five milreis in pay per month, as well as five milreis bonus.

"I am well aware," said one of the presidents, "Duarte has found a California." Yet even the president could not change anything; he scarcely gets a picture of the situation before he has to leave his post, and the more he wants to check the mismanagement, the more quickly the change comes, because he makes enemies of all who would lose by it. It is not worthwhile to discuss the chief question, whether the /448/ Brazilian soldier, including the good and honest one, would be equal to the by no means easy task of educating the Indians to become a useful element of society. The following pages may bring it out.

II. Pictures of the Catechesis.

To the S. Lourenço. (First acquaintance with neophytes in Cuyabá. Journey.) The inhabitants (Clemente) and the arrangement of the colony. European clothing. Agriculture. Our impressions. Quarrel and women's wrestling match (Maria). Meat distribution. Nocturnal howl of lamentation. Vesper prayer. Row with Arateba. Good Friday. Lament for the dead. Hallelujah Saturday (Judas). Kayapó. Threatened dissolution of the colony. School. The hostile brothers. Discipline. Duarte's arrival. "Voluntarios da patria." Breakfast and serenade.

114 To the S. Lourenço. We were able to examine the first Bororó in July 1887 in Cuyabá; Duarte had brought several to be baptized. We became acquainted with others at the beginning of March 1888. They were barefoot, but otherwise dressed in the prescribed civil fashion and wore on a string around their necks a green cardboard the size of a calling card, on which their new name could be read: "Atahualpa," "Montezuma," "José Domingo," etc. José Domingo was coughing violently; it was said he had caught cold at the baptism. Under their clothes they wore their

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/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
199 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.
[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.
[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakaïrí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
/449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few
[133] tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text continues on p. 553]

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/452 cont./

177 291 evening; several women, especially those who happened to be carrying on intimate relations with the gentlemen, were distinguished by shirts, jackets, and skirts in large floral prints, but the ones who were more or less clothed were only exceptions for both sexes. The men wore the hip cord and the straw cuff, the women a hip cord or a bark strip with bast band. Both sexes loved neck and chest ornaments. I shall discuss the details later. I gave Moguyokuri a choice piece that he heartily approved of: a brick-red Turkish, wide-sleeved woman's jacket embroidered with colorful arabesques, which had once been used in the Paint-Box masquerade at the Düsseldorf concert hall. In this elegant fancy-dress costume the ever happily smiling giant was a sight for the gods.

[123] →

[142] [302] ←

Fig. 126. Bororó girl.

"What shall we do?" complained Captain Serejo in the military colony. "When the large crowd embarked for Cuyabá, 430 suits were provided. Many more were added in Cuyabá. And when the Indians returned, there was nothing left of all that." First, because the merchants had furnished miserable trash, thin, badly woven material that they could not otherwise sell, then because the clothes were too tight and too short, the shirts did not even come together over the broad chests and the unmentionables ripped, but, finally, because the Bororó treated the gifts of civilization with terrible negligence. As soon as they felt inconvenienced, they would toss off the clothing; as soon as they needed a bag, for example, to carry away meat or fish, they would use their blankets and shirts. They wrapped their grease-smeared bodies

/452 cont./

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
291 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/462 cont./

115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
[123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
[145] important elements of the language; they were extremely wide awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/, and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of
[193] the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
115 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent. He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there immediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

/471 cont./

141 toe: in the case of 17 men, II nine times, I seven times, I = II once; in the case of five women, II three times, I two times.

302 Dress. Eyelashes, eyebrows, beard hair, and body hair were plucked or shaved. The people are now beginning to leave the eyelashes of some children intact, which was a great advantage to them, according to our taste.

The head hair was treated in a very different manner, but equally arbitrarily by men and women alike. The tonsure which one would expect from the name "Coroados" is restricted to an occasional one of one centimeter in diameter. Perhaps the name comes from the large feather crowns. Widowers and widows wore their hair cut short. The most common and original style for both sexes was that the hair was combed to the forehead and cut off here straight across, but hung down freely in back; cf. Plate 26 /see p. 575/. Next to the ears occasionally another step was cut or a bunch tied together like a paint brush, sometimes the men's hair was twisted into a knot in back or /472/ a bast band was wound around the head. Women who proved amenable to Brazilian customs parted their hair in the center. One man or another also went about with loose, uncut hair parted in the
412 center. Nowadays the hair was generally cut with scissors, between two shells by the old method. The comb consisted of pointed little rods which were tapered at both ends and joined together in the middle section by crude plaiting; the plaiting lay between two cross-strips tied together at the projecting ends.

291 The men, almost without exception, wear a hip cord. One or another, however, went about without it. The cuff, inobá (no, oaussu palm; ba, eggs, scrotum), called gravata by the Brazilians, has already been discussed and illustrated on page 184 (with the festive flag). One can very easily make a model from a strip of paper three centimeters wide and 14 centimeters long, by putting the two ends together to form a ring and then twisting one end about 90° and folding it slightly under the other. If a new or somewhat tighter cuff was put on, the praeputium was tied with a string in front of the glans and drawn through; by this manipulation and the wearing of the cuff, it was considerably

/472 cont./

•291 pulled and lengthened. The flag is a strip of straw up to 20 centimeters in length inserted at the side. Even the captured Clemente was given a cuff, and he complained that it was ac-
[175] companied by pain and swelling. The Langsdorff Expedition reports of the Bororó dos Campos in the year 1827 that "the men, after the manner of the Guató, tie up the praeputium with embira bast which they wear as a belt; others cover it with a leaf sheath (cartuxa de folhas)." * I have already quoted on page 193

[113] * Revista Trimensal 38 II, page 242.

Waehneldt's remark, which likewise bears witness, that the hip
[114] cord without cuff suffices, as on the Kulisehu. Rohde ** expresses

[113] ** Originalmitteilungen aus der Ethnol. Abteilung /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division/ I, page 14.

himself incorrectly when he says: "the men go about completely naked, except that they cover the penis with a sheath of reed, they tie the foreskin up, the member is fastened upright to the body." The reed sheaths which he presented to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde are exactly like the cuffs described, which cover the penis only insofar as the glans is part of it, and the rest seems to be pushed back into the scrotum. We did not see on the S. Lourenço the clamping into the hip cord; it is said to be done only by those who do not wear a cuff. Hence it follows that the purpose of the "tying up," namely, to be unimpeded in running, which Waehneldt suggests, could only have been a secondary purpose. The real purpose, which hip cord and cuff serve in like manner, is the lengthening of the praeputium; differing only with respect to method, it was observed among the great majority of all Brazilian tribes. /Pl. XXVII appears here./

/473/ Of the Bororó women the reporter of the Langsdorff Expedition says: "The women have a strange custom, I do not know whether to /Fig. 129 appears here/ cover themselves, in which case they are far from their laudable purpose. First of all, I should

[Text continues on p. 590]

2: Steinen--588 E1D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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Bororó with feathers pasted on.

2: Steinen--589 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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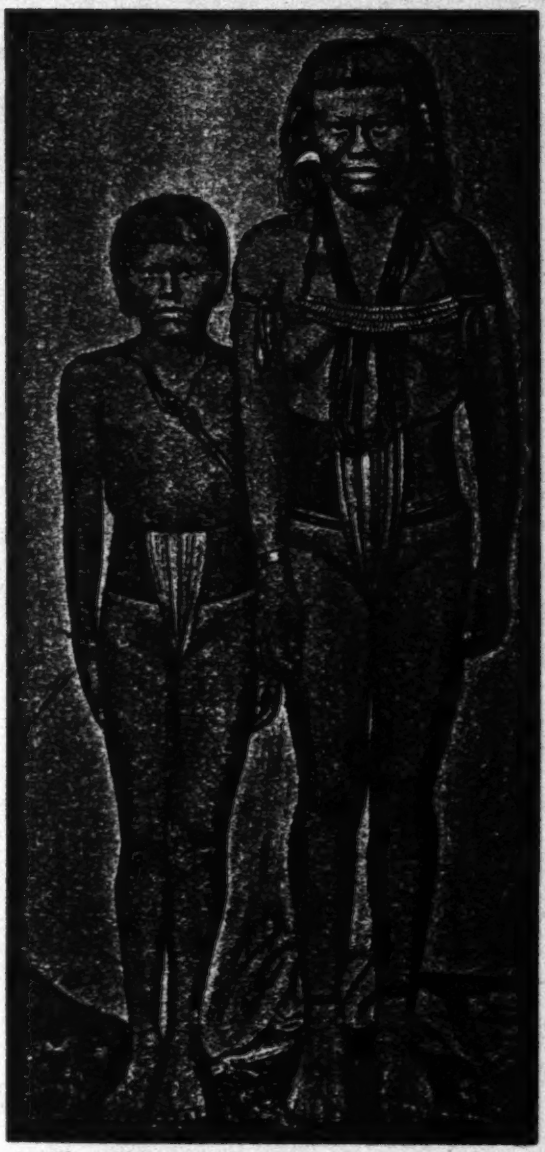

Fig. 129. Mother and daughter. Bororó.

/473 cont./

291 like to say that for this or for some other reason they bind their waists with a piece of tree bark ten inches wide, and, to be sure, so tightly that the skin at stomach height and over the abdomen and hips forms a bulge, which tends to disfigure them; but to go back to the strange custom, I must add that from this belt two strands (filamentos) two to three inches wide hang down in front and back." According to Waehneldt, the women wear a piece of tapir skin, one and a half spans wide, tied around their waists; "coming out from it is a bast band half a span wide, which covers their genitals." Rohde writes: "The women likewise go naked, the sole article of clothing is a narrow strip of cactus bark which conceals only the smallest part of the sexual organs."

With regard to our Bororó women, I have said on page 186 [287] that they wore on a hip cord a gray bast band three to four fingers [841] wide, and during the menses a similar black one, that in place of the hip cord they also used a piece of hard bark over which the /474/ T-band extended down in front and up in back, both of which were additionally secured by a string or bast wrapping. Younger women seemed to prefer the "corset" to the hip cord; the abdomen was tightly encased in the rigid bark armor.

291 The gray bast came from the jangadeira tree (jangada = raft), 287 whose light wood is used for the construction of rafts; it is also 824 called embira branca and its botanical name (from the family of Tiliaceae) is Apeiba cymbalaria. The black bark-belt came from the jiquitiba or pot-tree, Lecythis, a beautiful ornament of the primeval forest with a huge crown. A thick piece of bark was hewed off medium-sized trunks and laid in water for a week. Then a very fine, soft bast could be peeled off on the inside, [386] which furnished the hygienic bands. It was dyed black in rotten mire (tyjuca of the Tupí). The coarser hard outer layers provided the material for the belts, which had a width up to 28 centimeters. Often even children three to four years old wore the belt and looked very droll in it.

291 From what we have seen, the bark belt might be regarded merely as a substitute for the hip cord, whose firm embrace was perhaps agreeable, as long as the fashion did not become

/474 cont. /

•291 exaggerated. According to Langsdorff's description, however, the belt seems to be the main thing, since strands hung down freely and there was no band to be fastened to it. The observer himself does not believe that its purpose was concealment. There was very little of this likewise among our Bororó women, and, as far as their modesty is concerned, it remained not only partly, but entirely concealed, or more accurately, the very opposite of it was present and, quite apart from the dissoluteness of the Brazilian civilizers, was present in large measure to begin with. All things considered, I regard it as not impossible that the wide [482] belt of bark or tapir skin originally had a different purpose. The women carried home from the forest back-baskets so heavily loaded with palm nuts that they seemed almost to collapse under the load and were unable to walk, but only to trip along; moreover, the end of the back-basket rested in the small of the back on the strip of belt and the latter protected the skin here just as the bast ring protected the shoulders of the Kulisehu Indians in the transport of canoes. A piece of tapir skin, especially, must have served excellently as padding. Meanwhile, however, it had turned into a pretentious, tightly clasped armor.

304 The ear lobes were pierced in the case of both sexes, but among [852] the boys this was done by the father at the age of eight to ten years when they were beginning to practice hunting skills seriously and among the girls, as we shall see, it was done with an entirely different meaning by their future husbands.

[619] The pierced lower lip was the tribal mark of the men. I have told how our Antonio, whom a woman claimed as her stolen /475/ 301 son, was examined for this. Waehneldt says of the Bororó of the Jaurú that some of them also wear a sort of "toothpick" /Figs. 130-132 appear here/ in the nasal septum; an ornament of pieces of wood was found in the pierced lower lip on a number of them. In their everyday life our Bororó never wore anything at all in the hole of the lower lip. Only boys, cf. Fig. 128 /see p. 571/, were in the habit of using small sticks which kept the hole open; one saw bone splinters, for example, from the cayman, occasionally a nail, and sticks of resin with a little button at the end inside the mouth. Adults, for festive ornamentation, wore sticks of the

2: Steinen--600 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8
Plate XXVIII

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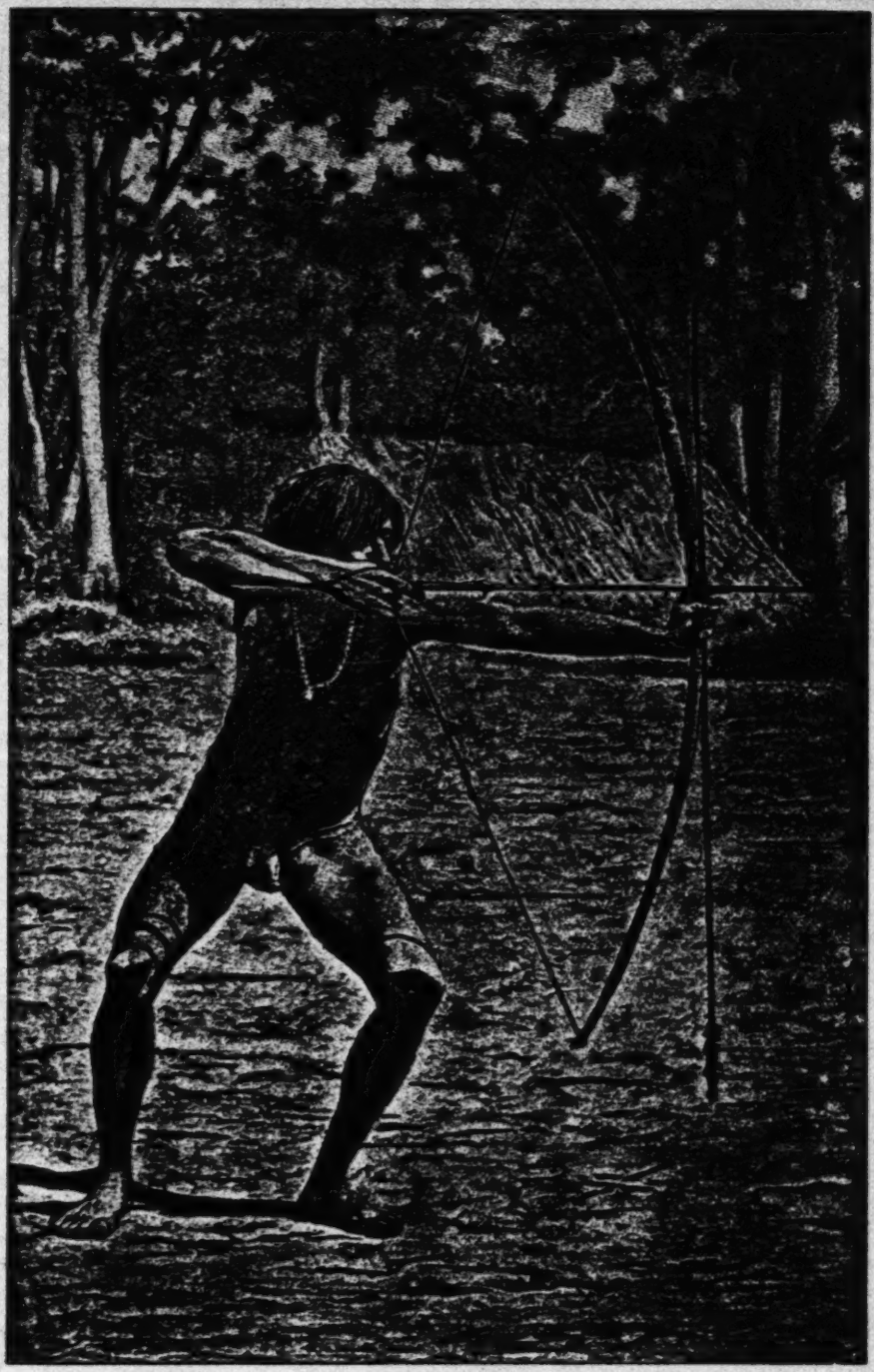

Bororó shooting.

Bororo SP8
2: Steinen--645 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Plate XXX

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Meteor-conjuration among the Bororó.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié, are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today number about 65, are related linguistically to the Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

[101] [197] [161] [184] 142

361 In the old days the village (*mukímo*) was built on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

621 342 [374]

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotákua*) made from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair. Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[834] 302 [304] 291 304

[p. 106 (B)]

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial
292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kõge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreõ
G. Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjwo
H. Paiwe čoreõ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ewãguddu) Baiaddadaᵘ
J. Āróre čẹbegeᵘõ
K. Āróre
L. Ki
M. Ewãguddu čãbõgeᵘõ
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Ạpibore
Q. Ewãguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucú seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bãdejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
301 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[439] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po^{a}ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers
[973] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Ārōre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on P. 36]

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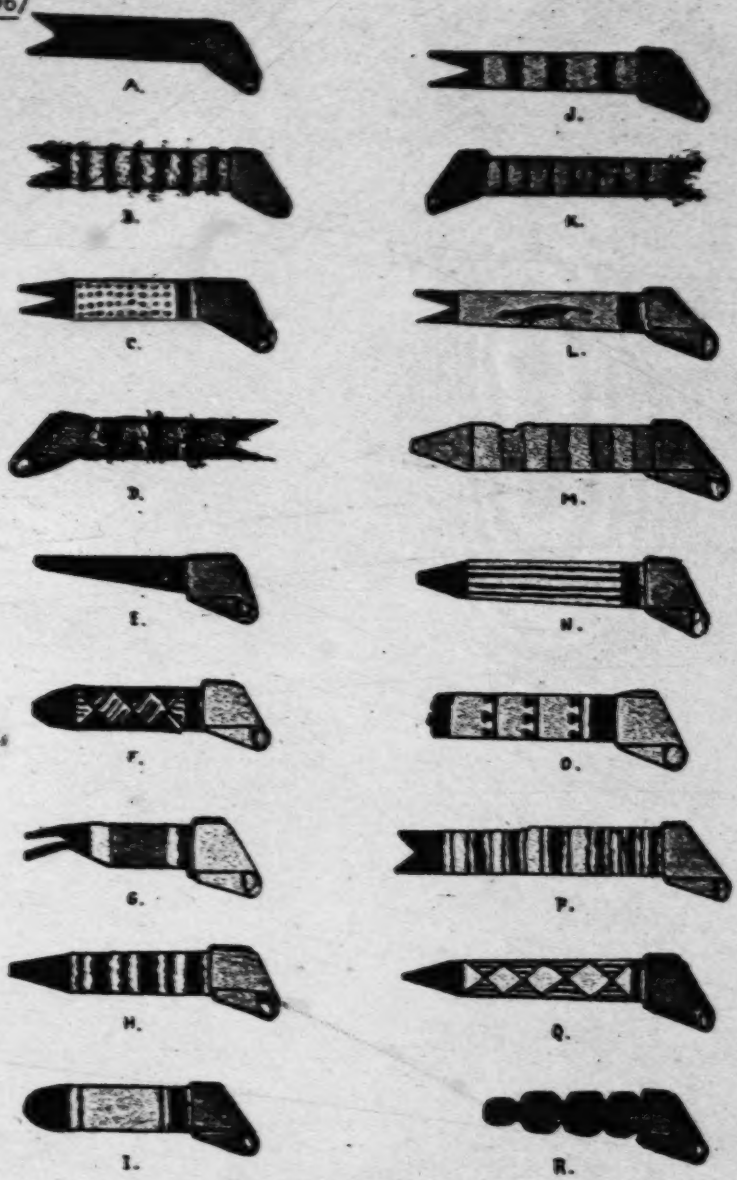

Fig. 20.—Penis bands /in color in original/.

Plate VII

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A

[301]

B

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C

D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

Plate VIII

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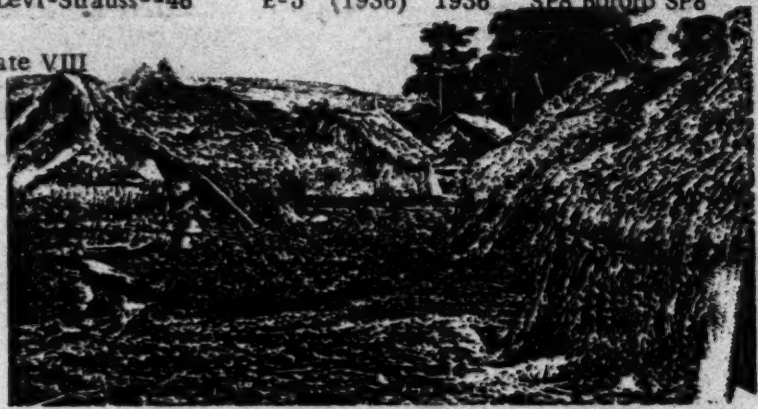

A

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B

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C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

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A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

Plate X

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A

B

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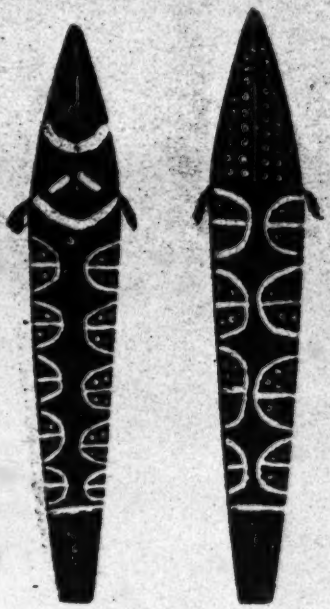
C



D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

841 Women wear a gray perineal band,
342 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture [431] [583] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São [386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous [237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus [755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, 237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice [184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço 489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding [481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and [501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck [345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, [301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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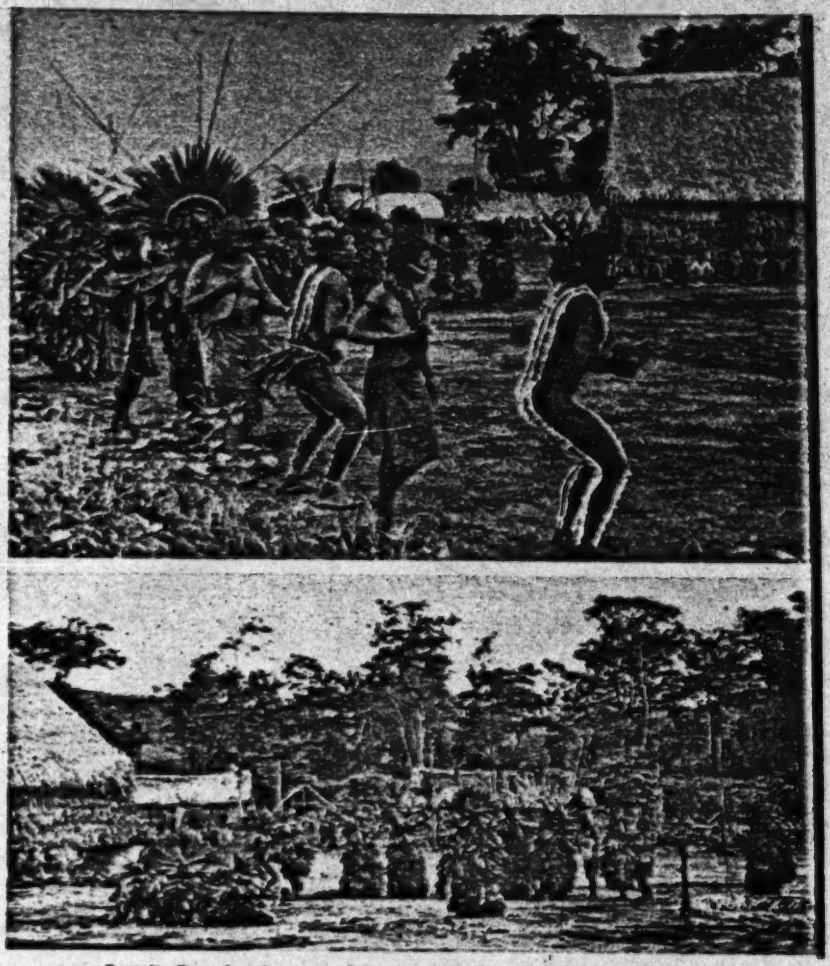

PLATE 50.—Bororo funeral ceremony. Dance of the Kwaroddo clan, some dancers in leaf costume, others decorated with down. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-F]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8 Kejara

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PLATE 57.—Bororo festival at village of Kejara. *Top:* Dance of the "Marido." *Bottom:* Presentation of the "Marido." (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[p. 432-E]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE III.—Bororo jaguar impersonator. Ai do Campanha. Front and rear views. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432-G]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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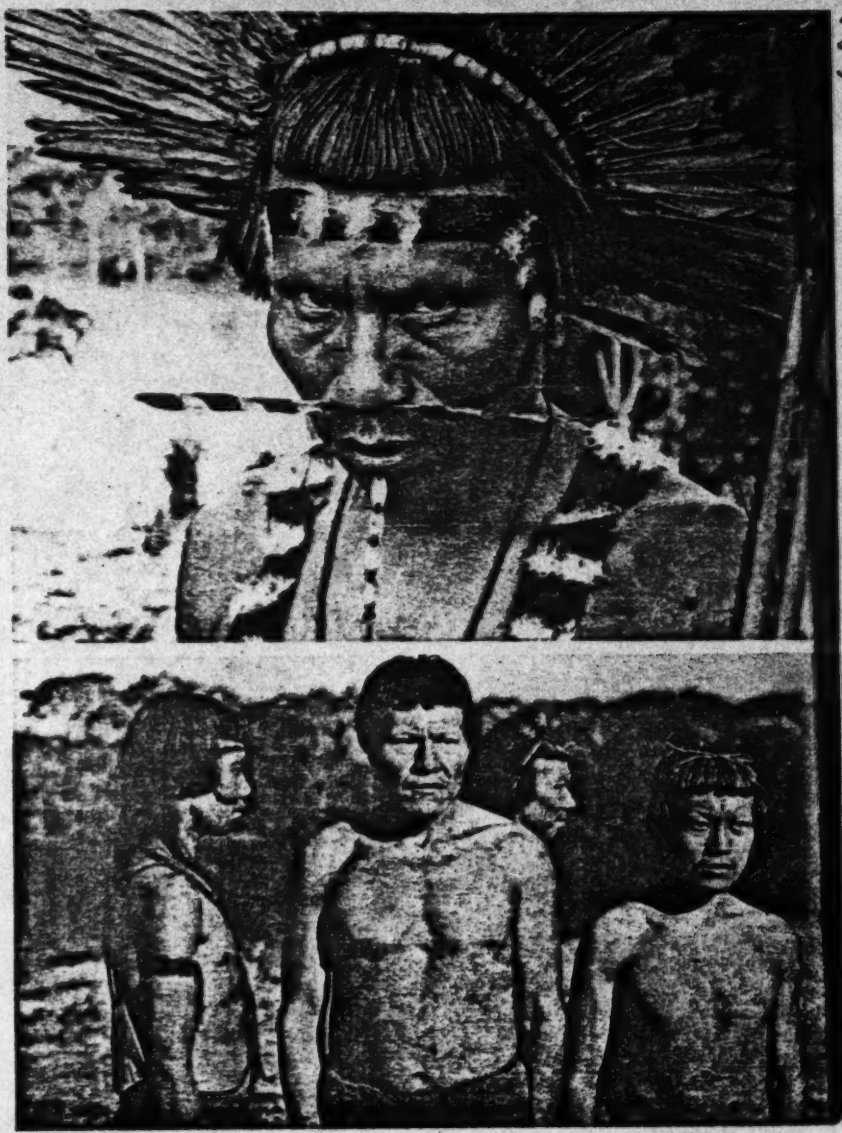

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PLATE 90.—Bororo Indian types. *Top:* Man in festival dress, with feathers through nasal septum and ears and beads through lower lip. Village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Below:* São Lourenço men. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432 -H]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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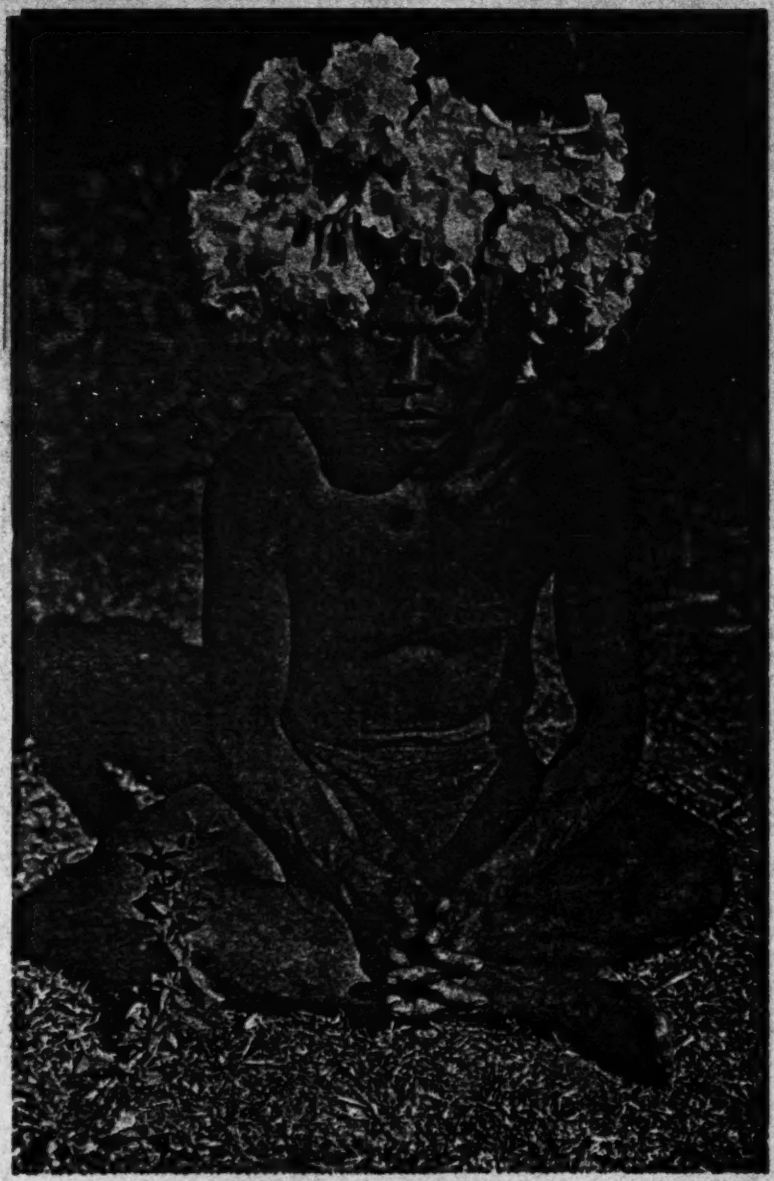

PLATE 32.—Bororo man. São Lourenço. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-K]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

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Figure 2. The Jaguar Dance of the Bororo in Chiquitania

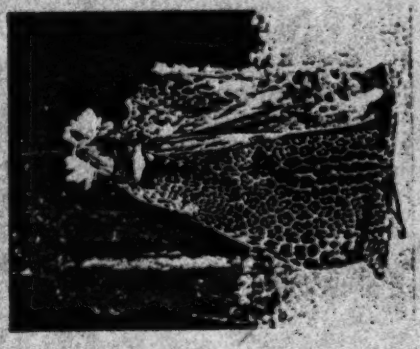

Figure 4. Back View of the Jaguar Costume

[133]

Figure 1. Air View of the Flooded Pantanal

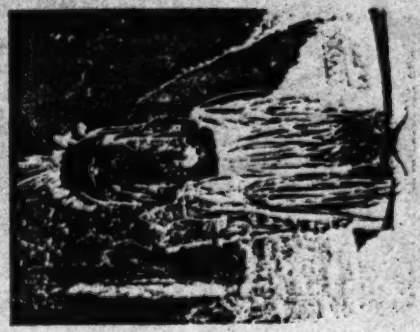

Figure 3. The Impersonator of the Jaguar

[P. 99]

[Plate III]

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently
taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted
on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms
were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face
was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men
under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of
palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoul-
ders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which
was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one
could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of
many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal
completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on
the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment
of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar'
dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals
in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began
in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts
or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did
not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed
with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side.
His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his
body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the
women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not
leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
[226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
[761] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
[276] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
[515] not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
593 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
827 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from
846 the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[826] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

- imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
- uku ika (a musical instrument)
- pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
- baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
- okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)
- biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
- enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

- imo irogodu (body painting)
- imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
- imo pariko (a headdress)

773 Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:
616 imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)
571 imo irogodu (body painting)
[292] Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)
[302] Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo
[534] gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore. [769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it [115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone.

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IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

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One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

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ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

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[775]

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

8:Kanäk C-5 (ca. 1964) 1963
SPS Bunzo SPS

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PALM SAP, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p.45-B]

6:Kodak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Barono SP8

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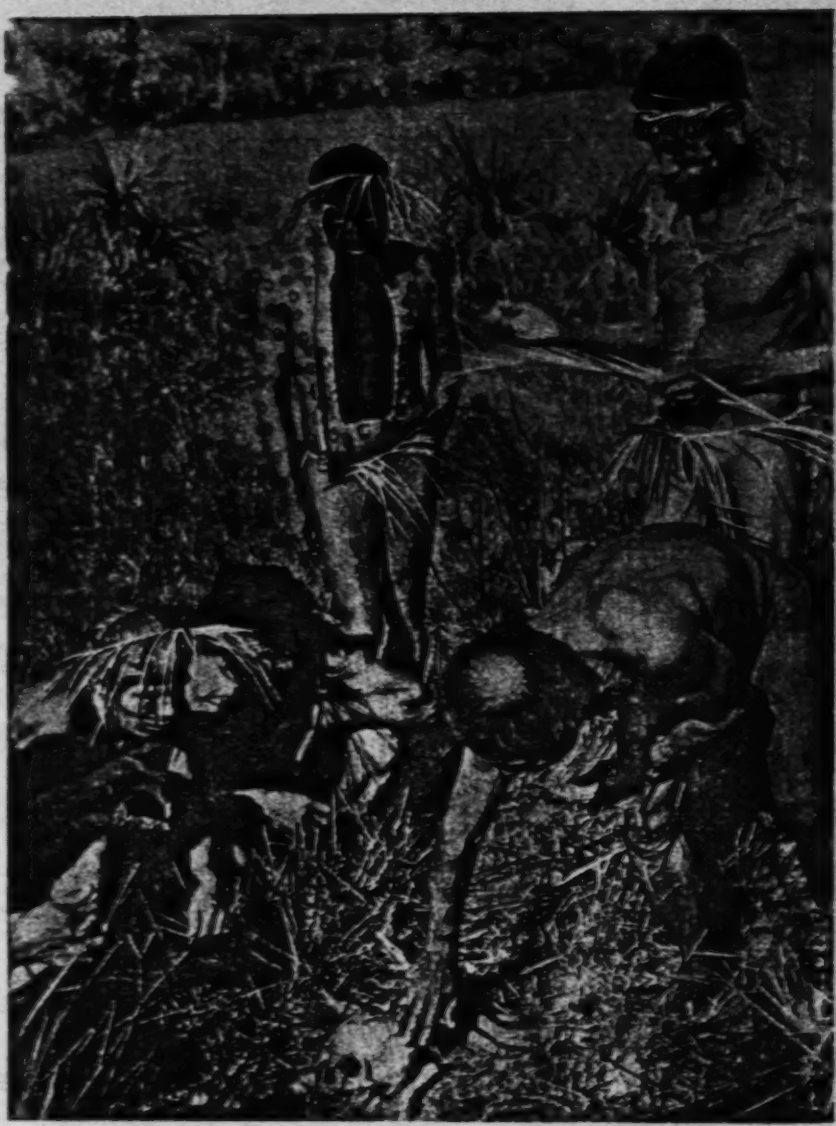

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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MULTICOLORED feathers, held on with resin, completely cover skull, which is surmounted by feather crown. Still on its mat, skull is put on jaguar skin.

[p. 47-C]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the taton canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

[765] —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are be-
[533] lieved to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who,
[775] being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings. During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of
[533] the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday
[534] and holding a picnic in the woods. Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one
[775] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de-
[292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up
[535] and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

2: Steinen--i E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Pl. I

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Bororó chief.

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died,
775 and once every year the ghost returns and enters the body of the person who did the burying and
[782] dances in the *arduato*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina is the *arduato*, which is given every year at the
775 beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by
[782] the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arduato;* and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male
● 292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear
796 long mantles made from buriti leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear
775 macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buriti bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buriti leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kdto*) and
534 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in
533 length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *arduato* are those men who have lost relatives since the *arduato* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.

[p. 109 (B)]

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

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- enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

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- imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
- imo pariko (a headdress)

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually 000
in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that 342
even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they 364
erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of 361
the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of 364
huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- 356
ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing 296
to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, 592
each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very 345
large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut [361]
is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling [342]
is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a [342]
bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; [589]
a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the [548]
men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and [562]
finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is permitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts 000
in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

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177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
29 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the
baitemannanage* was a veritable workshop, where all the men of
the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole
village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with
the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the
economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the
lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or
ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various
manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few
years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox,
and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the
disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active
part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him,
and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/
or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the
dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside
their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different
players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant
house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over
the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can
only be made by the chief. One of these

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435]

is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 847

Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123

Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634

Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills,
[239] decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Ārōre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -r. -b. -r. -B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial
292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kōge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreŏ
G. Bādejeba bo'pokejwo
H. Paiwe čoreŏ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ewāguddu) Baiaddada
J. Āróre čebegeʷō
K. Āróre
L. Ki
M. Ewāguddu čābōgeʷō
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Apibore
Q. Ewāguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucú seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bādejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
301 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[439] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

/295 cont./

301 614 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round, pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 237 614 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows) on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C). The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are [534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po°ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry, [534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers [973] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap- [302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per- 614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms 562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Āróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 36]

Plate VII

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[301]

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C

D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

Plate X

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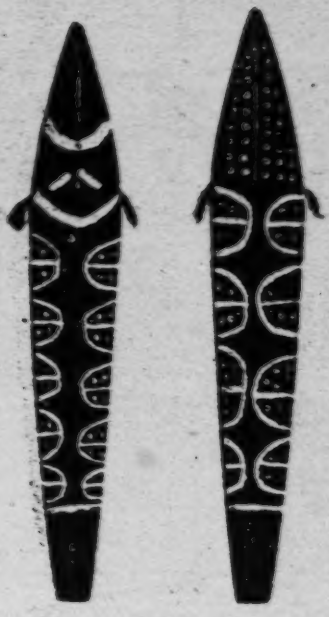
C



D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

only the Caboclas

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground,
352 over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[891] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
342 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to
[881] the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

841 Woman wear a gray perineal band.
342 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture [431] [583] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São [386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous [237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus [755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92,
337 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice [184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço
489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding [481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and [501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck [345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, [301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

301 Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
806 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
428 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
433 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
844 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 55.—Bororo village of Kejara. *Top:* Men's club in foreground. *Bottom:* Women in native dress.
(Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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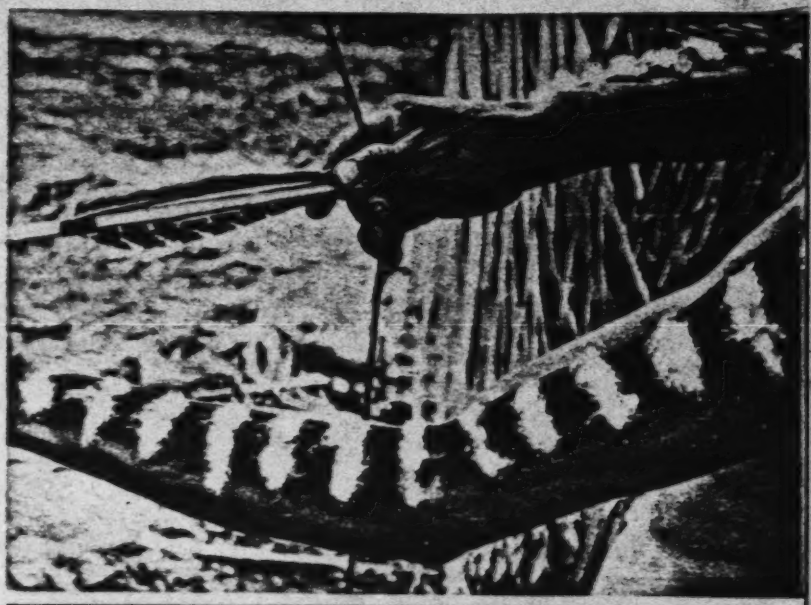

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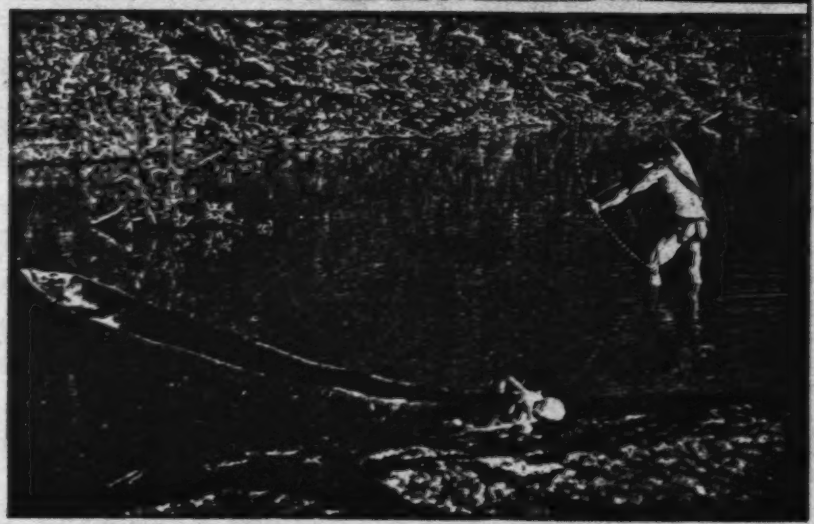

PLATE 28.—Bororo archery. Top: Arrow release. At village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) Bottom: São Lourenço, Bororo shooting fish. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-D]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 90.—Bororo Indian types. *Top:* Man in festival dress, with feathers through nasal septum and ears and beads through lower lip. Village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Below:* Sio Leurengo men. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432 -H]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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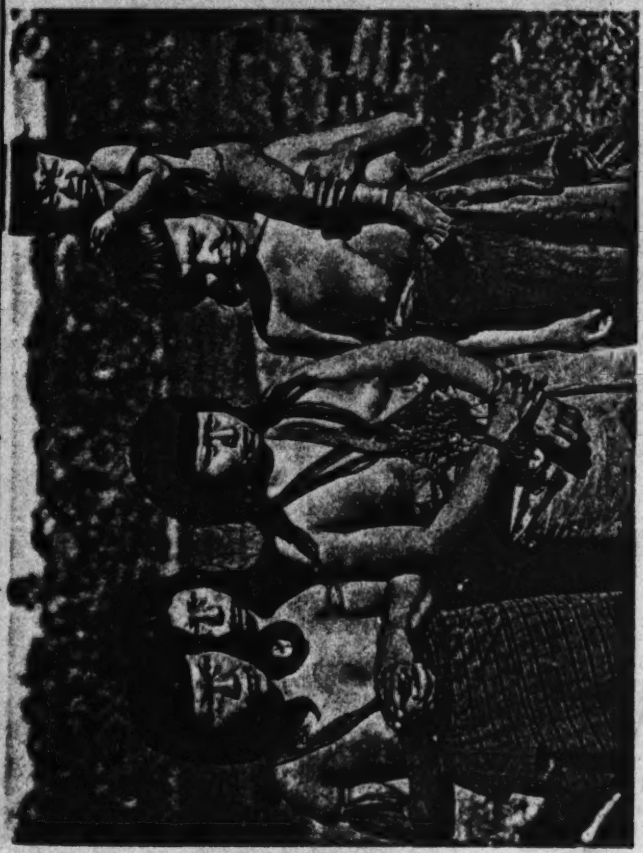

PLATE 81.—Bororo women. Alto Lourenço. (Courtesy David M. Newell.)

[P. 432 - I]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

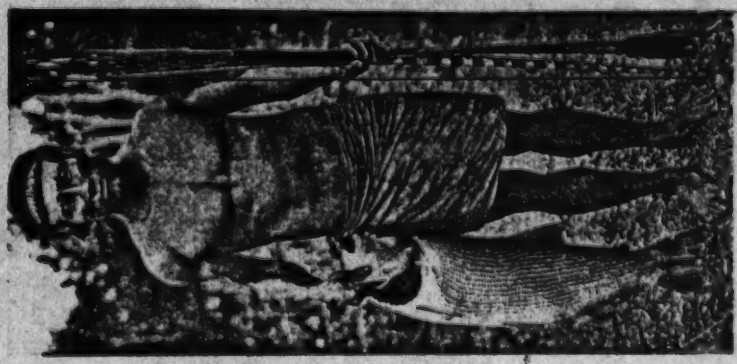

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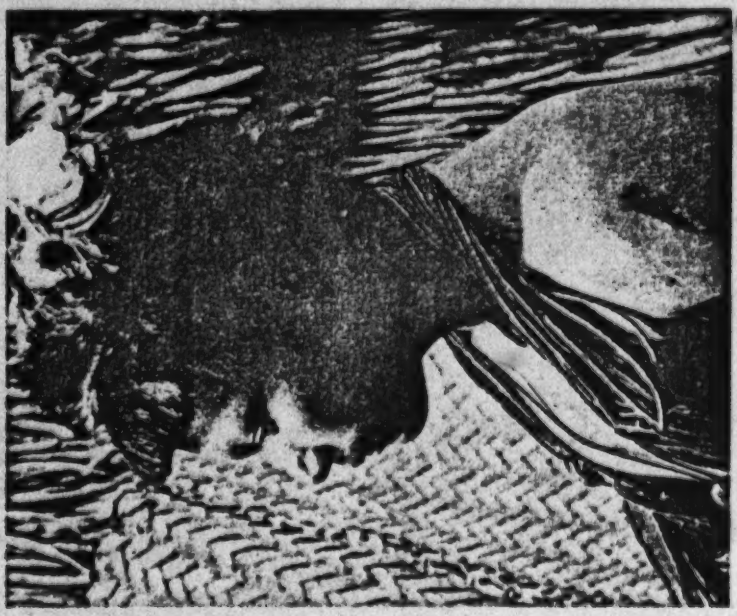
PLATE 18.—Bororo Indians. Left: Young man at Kejara (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss). Right: The Laureano (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)



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[P. 432-J]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 94.—Portrait of young Bororo man. São Lourenço. (Courtesy David M. Newell.)

[P.432-L]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

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[Plate VI]

[p.108]

FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO WITH FACIAL PAINTING

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO GIRL

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

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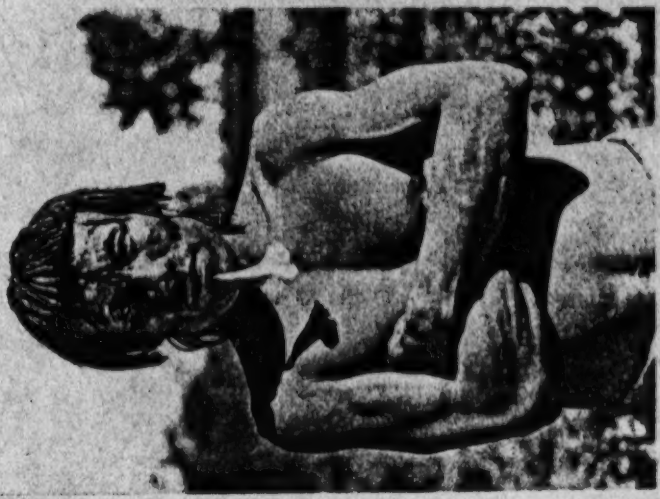

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS WITH A FLOWER LIGHT

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FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS GIRL

[P. 111]

[Plate VII]

MATO GROSSO SP1

string patterns, similar to the decoration found on the surface potsherds already described.

M
B
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Unit H

This was located about one and one-half metres away from G, and at the same level. It consisted of a well-preserved adult skeleton of large proportions, lying on its right side, the knees drawn up to a sitting posture, the lower legs flexed on the thighs. The skull could not be located. No pottery or any kind of ornaments were associated with it; but it did present a new feature in that at its back was found a cache of piranha jaws and teeth. The body lay in an east to west line.

Unit I

A number of burials were uncovered about a metre away from H and to its right. They conformed to the general type. Four pottery bowls, badly damaged, covered skeletons, one of which occupied an extended position on its back. The other skeletons were so damaged and so mixed that little information could be gotten. There was total absence of any ornaments, but the shells described above were also associated with this group. The bone material was that of children.

In addition to the above finds there were recovered from accidental excavations nearby a skull minus the lower mandible and a skull cap. They have not been studied as yet.

* * * *

Lacking any geological data on which to base an estimate of its antiquity, it is significant that no artefacts of European origin were found in the excavation.

Though most of the skeletal remains were those of children, it cannot be inferred that the site is a child cemetery, when it is remembered that infant mortality is especially high among primitive peoples.

The method of burial for children seems to have been a simple interment protected by pottery. Ornaments such as the children wore were placed with the bodies.

Of these ornaments, the perforated shell discs are still very common among the tribes of the upper Xingu which were visited later, but were not found either among the Bororo da Campanha or the Bororo of the

B
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[text continues on p. 115]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1

São Lorenço valley. The mussel shell beads and the cylindrical jasper kind are not to be found among the Bororo or those groups mentioned above.

The method of burial of the Bororo is radically different from what was revealed in this excavation, leaving no doubt that the cemetery must antedate the occupation of the territory by these people.

The piranha is associated in magico-religious concepts of the tribes of the Kulusen-Kuluene region. Its jaws and teeth find practical application by all of the aborigines, being used as scrapers, or cutters. The cache of piranha jaws and teeth thus becomes meaningful.

The body was not buried always in the same position. The site revealed that it was placed sometimes on the side, and sometimes on the back, with the legs flexed at various degrees.

All of the burials were unquestionably primary, judging from the articulating position of the bones. No marks of any kind were found on the skeletal material.

The pottery is of poor quality, being of coarse clay and badly fired. The decoration that was found on several potsherds and on one small pot was impressed string pattern. The pottery ware is different from that made by the Bororo.

The lithic industry is too poorly represented to permit any conclusions. What was found is polished, and badly made. Its scarcity suggests that it was not a major industry in the culture represented. However, the stone, if not the artefacts, must have been imported from the highlands of the west or the north, since there is no stone in the region.

CEMETERY II

(Plate VIII, 1, 2)

About five miles to the west of Cemetery I, and the port of Descavaldos, is located Cemetery II, part of an extensive archaeological site whose limits have not been determined. The land is slightly elevated from the rest of the pantanal, so that during the floods it forms an island, but at the height of the dry season it remains partly surrounded by a large lagoon which is connected with the Paraguay only by marshes. When the water is high it can be reached by canoe from the Paraguay. It constitutes an ideal location for a native village, in that it is situated in the pantanal where game is plentiful, it is close to the river, though hidden

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished an- [533] cestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

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[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names—the names of the clans—and clanic names—personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

[553] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
[302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
[301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
[535] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
[534] child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
[302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
[301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
[237] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him
[533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
[301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
[302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
[533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
[304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] [2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [533] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [301] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere- [723] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[776] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

614 796 ers of the Bokodori Echerae, owns all okoge kurireuge (big okoge). Kaigu gives the representation of one okoge eimejera (one chief of okoge) to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge; the representation of the other okoge eimejera is given to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge; the representation of okoge aredu (female okoge) is given to Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The lineage of Koge Enogwa Tabowu, as we know, was alternately classified as belonging to the subclans of the Black, the Red, and the "in the middle" Ivagududoge. The younger brothers Bokodori Echerae own the rest of okoge, all okoge kugurireuge (small okoge), and give their representation to all less important lineages of the Ivagududoge.

614 301 [56] Differences between the subclans of older and younger brothers are also expressed through the medium of ornaments. The Bororo love to talk about ornaments, and examples of subclan differences are numerous. I will mention only few of them.

The Ivagududoge own a labret called ararureu. It is a string of regularly cut pieces of shell. The ararureu of the Black Ivagududoge is long and is made with large pieces of shell, while the ararureu of the Red Ivagududoge is short and the pieces of shell are small.

The festive bow of the Apiborege, called ikuye ika, is ornamented with painted rings made of leaves of babassu palm. The rings on the bow of the Big Apiborege are broad and widely spaced, the rings on the bow of the Small Apiborege

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities are differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (Boroge rore ino jamedu). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

- imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
- uku ika (a musical instrument)
- pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
- baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
- okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)
- biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
- enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

- imo irogodu (body painting)
- imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
- imo pariko (a headdress)

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
772 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village.
[773] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
834 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
775 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
776
[301]
[237]

722 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831
775 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
776 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
[302] a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-
like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.

82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and
later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the
society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and
plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the
first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names.
Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge,
for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins
themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe
and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo them-
selves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored
ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead
people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.
773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and
when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves
into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[616] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
[614] lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare re-
lationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who
are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the
harpy eagle), kurugugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

553 Hugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
539 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
881 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
616 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his
571 yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
834 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
822

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oanassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

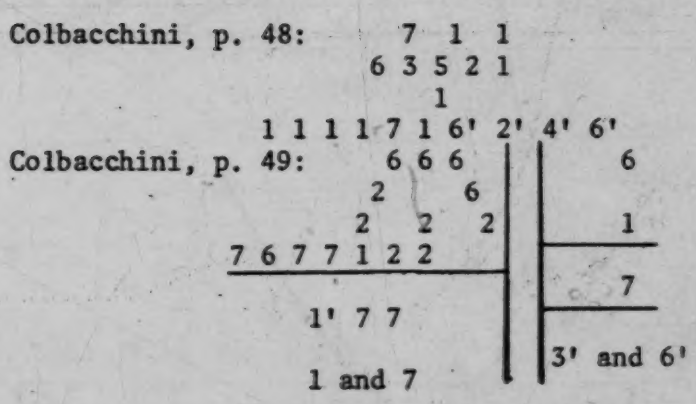
304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/117 cont./

614
301

Each clan has its special ornaments. The Bororo Mario Bokodori Kudde, in Sangradouro, described to me, for example, the ornaments illustrated by Padre Colbacchini in his book I Bororos Orientali, pp. 48 and 49, as belonging to the following clans: 1 -- akario bokodori baaddageba; 2 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and manna; 3 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and vie; 5 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae tchebegiugue; 6 -- kie; 7 -- bakorokuddu baaddageba; 1' -- paiwe kujaguréugue; 2 -- apiburegue; 3' -- aorore kujaguréugue; 4' -- iwaguddudogue kujaguréugue; 6' -- aorore tchoréugue. Each one of these ornaments belongs to the following clans designated by the numbers above:

/118/



/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

If we want to investigate the importance of the
121 adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask
562 first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

• 301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with
[237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex.
[304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the
[856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

/152 cont./ They say that this metal
301 [135] [306]
was gold, news not very hard to accept because the Bororo occupied regions in which gold appears frequently even today. Nowadays, the earrings reproduced here in natural size are made of the metal from cartridges. They are called meriri-kiga-réu and are made firm by means of an annular brass wire in the

[613]

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

/152 cont./

• 301 hole pierced in both ear lobes, so that the individual wears a pair of these

301 earrings. The one represented in

613 Figure 1, which has a tooth above and one below, is peculiar to the clan of the Aroia; it was worn by Mario Bokodori Kudde, pictured in Plate 21, even though this man does not belong to said clan. /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ But he had killed an ounce and had given the cadaver to the Aroia, delivering with this, a recently deceased member of that clan from being

[431] incarnated in this beast. He then received, as it is the custom in such a case, gifts of honor from the Aroia, especially the bow splendidly decorated with plumes, and permission to make and to wear "without fear and shame" all the ornaments with which their clan distinguishes itself from the others. One can obtain this permission from any clan as soon as a dead ounce is handed over to it, delivering in this way one of their dead from incarnation in this feline. I still wish to observe that the wife of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Plates 19 and 20) was an Aroia and, therefore, owned earrings like those which the

[178] husband wore. The same man told me that in the past these earrings were worn the opposite way, that is with the points turned upward.

/152 cont./

301 The earring without a tooth, represented in Figure 2, belongs to the clan of the Paí-we; the one with a tooth, in Figure 3, is from the clan of the Dyakome(r)-koadda.

[237] It is probable that the shape of these earrings might have been taken from the chest ornament made with the claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/ (Priodontes giganteus) called bokodori inoge (bokodori: tatú canastra; inoge: claw), and represented various times by Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 50) and by Karl von den Steinen (o.c.).

[306] I saw a Bororo in Sangradouro also make a chest ornament in the shape and with the size of the bokodori inoge, but out of a sheet of tin plate.
I was not able to find out whether this shape has any connection with the moon.

/153/ We may consider as "individual adorning" among the Bororo the use of transverse cords on the chest and of the narrow woven ribbons on the arms. Both sexes, /154/ adults and children, are in the habit of wearing them occasionally in order to, as I was assured, be protected from illnesses.

[562] [751]

It seems that the chest ornament made out of animals' teeth serves for the same purpose. Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 479) wrote about this ornament: "Only very rarely does it happen that women also receive these ornaments, which probably results from the change by the colonization, because it is said that among the other Bororo it is common

[237] [751] [562]

/154 cont./

301 562 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care. [237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment" [836] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally [593] adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both [171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first [171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting [613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/156 cont./

301 other sex or to his own or shows him superior to the other
562 sex or to his own can only be answered in facing this or that particular case. Thus, this answer has only individual-psychological value, and not general value, concerning the significance of the adornment for the position of the sexes.

562 Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 497) writes that among
201 the Indians "it is proper for the woman to cry and 'to tremble' always, when animals, enemies, or merely cataracts threaten, and always to need protection."

I confirmed in my experiences that this is true in general; and when it is observed that the woman, in anger and in fear, utters sharp cries or moans, while the man almost always tries in any case to preserve a more tranquil dignity, we are inclined to see in this behavior a superiority of the man. And even if the cause for the woman's behavior is only her intention "to win by means of weakness" in the relations between the sexes, that seems to us an indication of social inferiority.

000 In the majority of the native tribes the men even want the women to show fear, and certain dances are performed for this purpose. According to Wilhelm Koppers (Unter Feuerlandindianern /Among Fuegian Indians/, Stuttgart, 1924), the Indians in Tierra del Fuego narrate that in ancient times they were completely dominated by the woman, because the latter had joined together in secret leagues and performed rites thanks to which they kept the men in /157/ permanent fear. But one day the men discovered this stratagem and then did the same with the woman; and since that time the latter have been intimidated
[171] by means of practices of sorcery and dances. In the dances of the Ināpēsē of the Chamacoco in the Chaco (Baldus, Indianerstudien, p. 94), what the men want, by means of their mysterious and frightening tricks, is to protest against the power of the women.

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the *ácuri* palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[307] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

18. Eastern Bororo: mother admiring her son (Sangradouro)

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19. Eastem Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde, one of the bravest hunters of ounces; Alaysa Aroia Chereudda, girl 17 years old, of lively and critical spirit, who knows how to read and write perfectly; and the son of the married couple (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--51 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

20. Eastern Bororo: Alaysa Aroia Chereudda with her son (Sangradouro)

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21. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde with the metal earring of the clan of the Aroia in his ear lobe (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--52 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

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23. Eastern Bororo: A smile by Mario Bokodori Kudde (Sangradouro)

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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

on the São Lourenço River, and to 114
photograph the events that followed a
death that had just occurred there.
This story gives only the highlights of
these events—a complete report would
require an entire monograph.

When a Bororo is gravely ill, with- 763
out hope of recovery, his friends and [301] [302]
relatives decorate him with feather
ornaments and anoint his body with
urucú, a brilliant red paint made from [386]

[p. 40-C]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [441] [531] [766]

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

765 535 825 782

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone. 765 535 835 762

In preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun. 764 302 301 292 [435]

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue. 765 535 767 776

Another mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound. 767 776 765 [302] [775]

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

6:Konfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Borono SP8

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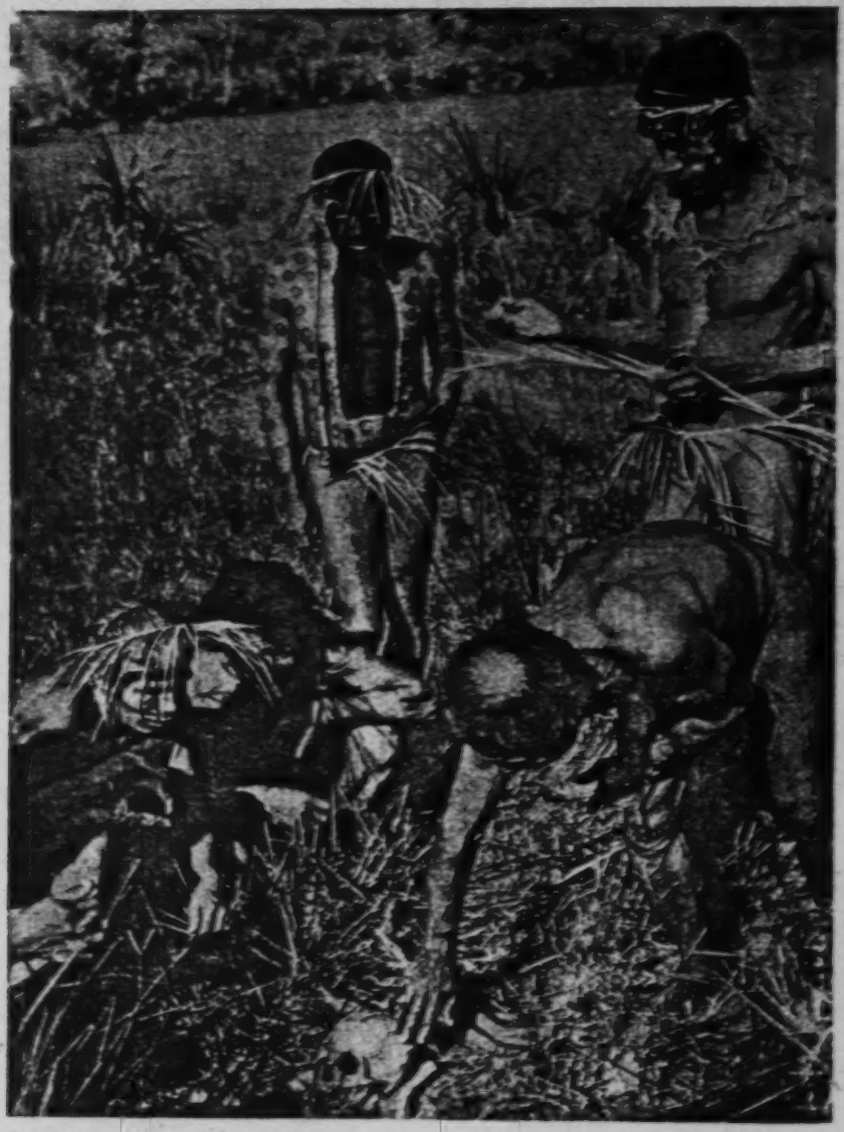

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

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ANTHROPOLOGY MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS

[Facing p. 52]

302
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BORORO WOMAN ADORNED WITH FEATHERS

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BORORO METHOD OF CARRYING WITH HEAD STRAP

The
226 savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
433 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
[593] She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The
302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in
593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum
301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 287 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

Brazil.

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "bangs." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 177 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown children occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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000 food largely, or wholly, from uncultivated, unsubdued Nature, consuming much of it in a raw state; and instead of mastering Nature, Nature crushes him. Again, like the brutes, he scours forest and field to satisfy only for to-day the hunger of himself and his little brood, with no thought for to-morrow; and having secured an abundance of game, he eats enormously, then lies down contentedly to sleep, and rises up to play, until hunger again drives him forth in search of prey. Once more like his irrational neighbors, the object of his existence, apparently, is not to possess houses and lands and goods, but simply to have a mate, food for the moment, and to pass his days in childish amusements. When the sun is hot, he sleeps, or instinctively seeks the water that he may play in it and cool himself; when night comes, he arouses himself and sings his *bakororó* in common with all the frogs and toads, and other creatures. Lastly, like the wild animals, he is clothed only as Nature clothes him.

462 Imitating Nature, the social economy of these primitive people is, in important respects, the reverse of Christian civilization. Like irrational nature, the female is the principal, or most responsible food provider for the little family, or brood—not the male. Again, like the female in Nature, and unlike [301] Christian civilization, the female does not adorn herself, nor sing or play; while the male, on the other hand, peacock-like, decorating his person, makes himself gorgeous and struts about in a lordly manner; and besides, like the male in Nature, produces all the music. Once more, the female performs all the heavy work and the drudgery, and is the servant and slave of her mate, while the light and fancy work, including ornament making, is done by the male. Woman in all ages and lands from the dawn of time, has occupied herself exclusively in the pursuits of peace. More gentle, affectionate and domestic in her nature than the man, she has remained by the fireside collecting and preparing fruit and vegetable foods without destroying life, making pots and pans and other necessary household utensils, preparing implements of husbandry and tilling the soil, loving peace, and reproducing and nourishing

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance.

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the

2: Steinen--i E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Pl. I

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Bororó chief.

/454 cont./ Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his
578 tent-mate who was also taking part had her breast scratched, forced the
[629] great chief /455/ Moguyokuri in; with tremendous calm the latter stepped into the noisy crowd and suddenly it was quiet. There was not a sound; his mighty arm shoved aside the three most dangerous women at once. Maria had definitely lost; she did not say a word and stood scowling, arms crossed, her bosom heaving violently, while a friend on her side smoothed her tousled hair. More disgruntled ones tried to unleash the storm once again, but the laughter of Corona won out;

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Fig. 127. Bororó woman.

578 they dispersed, and the shrill old woman, at a triumphant trot, was led off by three women.

519 Shaking our heads, we turned our steps homeward toward our shack, but there, too, we were driven back by an infernal noise. The soldiers were dancing and singing in the moonlight with their mulattoes and Indian women; they were making music with harmonica, with fork and plate -- carnival everywhere!

[526] I went back to the men's house; two men were practicing wrestling. They grasped each other under the arms, bending far forward, and remained in this position for a long time, until one of them suddenly tried one leg, or rather his heel, to press in the knee-hollow of the other one and knock him over, but he was lifted up and lost.

/462 cont./

115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
[123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
[145] important elements of the language; they were extremely wide awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/, and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of
[193] the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
115 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent. He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there immediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

2: Steinen--588 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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Bororó with feathers pasted on.

2: Steinen--589 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
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Fig. 129. Mother and daughter. Bororó.

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/474 cont. /

291 exaggerated. According to Langsdorff's description, however, the belt seems to be the main thing, since strands hung down freely and there was no band to be fastened to it. The observer himself does not believe that its purpose was concealment. There was very little of this likewise among our Bororó women, and, as far as their modesty is concerned, it remained not only partly, but entirely concealed, or more accurately, the very opposite of it was present and, quite apart from the dissoluteness of the Brazilian civilizers, was present in large measure to begin with. All things considered, I regard it as not impossible that the wide [482] belt of bark or tapir skin originally had a different purpose. The women carried home from the forest back-baskets so heavily loaded with palm nuts that they seemed almost to collapse under the load and were unable to walk, but only to trip along; moreover, the end of the back-basket rested in the small of the back on the strip of belt and the latter protected the skin here just as the bast ring protected the shoulders of the Kulisehu Indians in the transport of canoes. A piece of tapir skin, especially, must have served excellently as padding. Meanwhile, however, it had turned into a pretentious, tightly clasped armor.

304 The ear lobes were pierced in the case of both sexes, but among [852] the boys this was done by the father at the age of eight to ten years when they were beginning to practice hunting skills seriously and among the girls, as we shall see, it was done with an entirely different meaning by their future husbands.

[619] The pierced lower lip was the tribal mark of the men. I have told how our Antonio, whom a woman claimed as her stolen /475/ son, was examined for this. Waehneldt says of the Bororó of the 301 Jaurú that some of them also wear a sort of "toothpick" /Figs. 130-132 appear here/ in the nasal septum; an ornament of pieces of wood was found in the pierced lower lip on a number of them. In their everyday life our Bororó never wore anything at all in the hole of the lower lip. Only boys, cf. Fig. 128 /see p. 571/, were in the habit of using small sticks which kept the hole open; one saw bone splinters, for example, from the cayman, occasionally a nail, and sticks of resin with a little button at the end inside the mouth. Adults, for festive ornamentation, wore sticks of the

/475 cont./

301 same kind, cf. Plate 27 /see p. 588/, or the lip chain, cf. Plate 1 /see p. i/ and Figure 130. The chain consisted of half a dozen small elongated shell plates hanging on one another, with a small string tassel at the lower end, and was 12 centimeters long.

304 852 The lip hole was pierced for the baby by the medicine man shortly after its birth. The instrument used for the operation, baragára, was a feather rod ending in a bone point, cf. Fig. 131 which was very showy and was worn in the hair as an ornament on festive occasions: the rod on which the bone was fastened with resin had alternate red and orange-colored little feathers densely pasted over it, with fine white down also in between now and then, and [301] terminated at the upper end in a long blue arara feather, while at the point of attachment a bunch of striped falcon, parrot, and arara feathers hung down, about one meter long from tip to tip. The medicine man with the baragára in his hand danced in front of the baby, singing and stepping up to it and back, and on one of these rounds he pierced the lip.

Fig. 130. Lip chain. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 131. Lip piercer. Bororó. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 132. Scratching bone. Bororó. (2/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical
757 413 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage
765 304 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one.
512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable
[224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt
302 was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally,
757 237 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children
30 were always doéte /sick/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply
[164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/476 cont./

757 has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-
237 strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like
301 a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front
[302] edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face,
[302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed
765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeletonized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamentation of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú
531 /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any
237 implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on
136 the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize
302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was
[237] mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing
[386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing, but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

/477 cont./

302 was the painting of the face with a stalk or a slender bamboo stick. Thus, the forehead was not painted with one stroke, but rather the stick, saturated with color, was put on and squeezed off, a stripe gradually being laid across the forehead with this procedure. The lids were also colored, the upper lid well into the fold. Triangles were painted on the cheeks. I shall come back later to the meaning of the cross-stripe and the triangles, cf. under "Art of Drawing" /see p. 625/, after a discussion of the whizzer sticks, where I shall have an opportunity to speak of designs separately.

237 Ornamental feather-work, as I should like to call it in contrast
301 to the pasting on of feathers, was furnished in the most magnificent fashion. The chief products of the hunters' art are to be found on Plate I /see p. i/ combined in the case of the chief in gala dress.

The paríko, cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 596/, an enormous radial wheel of blue arara tail-feathers, yellow on the reverse side, rises up on the fore part of the head and tilts forward. The arara feathers, 45 centimeters long, are stuck into a wound bundle of stalks that fits the head and is tied on with a string; the lower fourth of the long feathers is covered with several rows of small red and green parrot-feathers. A small diadem, cf. Plate I, is pulled down over the forehead. On the back of the head, tilted backwards and more arched than the paríko, there projects a diadem equal to it in size and made out of cross-banded falcon feathers, the kurugúgua. From the ears down to the chest hang colorful lappets of small red and yellow feathers, prettily arranged in cross-strips, from the breast of the toucan. (The large beaks of the toucans are also worn.) Bunches of wing feathers from the arara, the parrots, and other ornamental birds hang down from the upper arms, as well as from the bow or from the lip-piercer.

/478/ There are all kinds of other feather ornaments. Special consideration is to be given to the very beautiful nabuleága (nabúre, arara), arara feathers with flowing ostrich feathers and white tufts of down, joined together on a small rod that is stuck into the hole

/478 cont./

237 of the ear lobe or into the hair, 56 centimeters long; cf. Fig. 134 /see
301 p. 597/. In like manner, a frame of little rods, maroboro, egg-shaped like the rattle-gourd, was stuck in the hair; the frame had white down glued over it and a red arara tail feather fastened on the top. Finally, the feather-decorated chignons of the Bororó men should be mentioned.

Fig. 133. Paríko feather-diadem. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The knot of hair was wound with a feather wreath or densely studded with feathers projecting in rays; see Plate 29 /see p. 633/, the Bororó in the foreground.

/478 cont./

237
301 Teeth were primarily worked into chest ornaments; the most popular ones were large jaguar teeth, usually two pairs plaited together, and small monkey teeth, several transverse rows of which were joined into a piece up to 30 centimeters wide /479/ extending almost across the entire chest; cf. Plate I /see p. i/ and Fig. 129 /see p. 589/. It was extremely seldom that women were also given these ornaments and, since it is usually reported of the other Bororó that only the men adorned themselves, is probably to be traced back to the upheaval caused by the colonization. It was characteristic that the Indian-thinking and Portuguese-speaking Clemente called the teeth plaited together rosarios, rosaries; in connection with this ornament, the Indians had the idea that it makes one strong [927] and agile. They also extracted teeth from Brazilian prisoners and hung these around themselves; lower jaws of the enemy were worn [283] in the same way. They also [765] promised themselves protection from hair of the dead, which was spun into thread and then plaited into cords which were very difficult to obtain; bunches of hair hung down, along with the feathers, from the arm bands.

Fig. 134. Arara ear-feather. Bororó. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 135. Chest ornament of armadillo claws. Bororó. (1/3 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

/479 cont./

237 301 Claws, small ones from rodents and large ones from armadillos, were put together by twos and thus formed the shape of a half-moon; in the center, where they were joined and covered with resin, hung a bunch of strings, while a few shell ringlets were pressed into the resin.

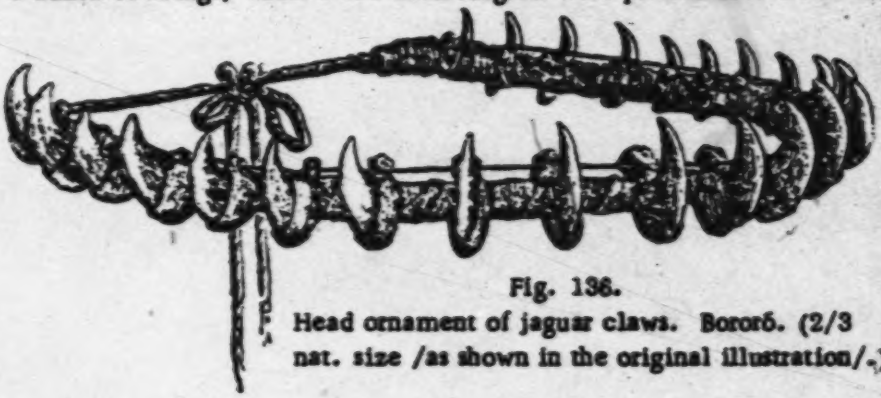

Fig. 136.
Head ornament of jaguar claws. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[171] We found the claws of the giant armadillo on the Kulisehu in a very similar arrangement, not as an ornament, but as a tool /Fig. 135 ap-
[177] pears here; see Fig. 25, page 205. The Bororó imitated the claw ornament by cutting pieces of the same shape and size out of the tin of Brazilian tin cans. The process was very interesting because nothing about the tin half-moons betrayed their origin from two claws, and they were even declared to be proof of the "moon worship" of the Bororó by a Cuyabari, as I discovered to my delight. See Fig. 135 /sic; probably Fig. 129, p. 589, is meant/, the ear ornament of the mother. This was the way the Indians were already working metal. Lip pegs were also cut out of tin.

[171] Jaguar claws were joined together into a head hoop, see Fig. 136, an ornament very similar to the Aueto chief's neck-chain of the same material in Fig. 5, page 90.

/480/ There were chains made of shell- and nut-beads, small pieces of bone, and pierced seed kernels, but they were far less important than on the Schingú. Beads made out of the armadillo carapace were most highly prized. I shall give more details about this in my description of the activity in the men's house. In that connection I shall also discuss the ornamental strings for both sexes, which we called "suspenders."

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

285 [765] → [142] [301] [302] ←

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-
[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

/488 cont./

283 flock or a few hairs placed together and had fastened them to the short end of the stick, the larger part of the little stick, below the whorl, would be rolled on the right thigh with the right hand, the spindle being held slantwise; thus, the thread was formed on the shorter part of the stick above the whorl. The finished thread was wound on the long part below the whorl.

The hair-threads were plaited into a cord which was worn around the head hair, around the waist, or, for protection against the snapping of the bowstring, around the wrist. Palm fiber cord was twisted by hand on the thigh. The great toe was often used in string work.

[286] Actual weaving, that is to say, the interlacing of threads crossing at right angles, was unknown. The men made narrow [301] bands out of cotton threads, /489/ into which porcupine quills were plaited and which were worn like suspenders, cf. Figs. 141 /see p. 610/ and 129 /see p. 589/, as chest strings by both sexes, as well as arm bands by artfully interlacing threads between two thin rods.

461 How elegantly and neatly the men worked was particularly striking in the making of arrows. There were so many small dexterous movements which one would have expected only from the delicate hands of women. Among these I include particularly the decoration with tiny colored feathers, each of which was placed on the ground one by one and carefully arranged.

Nor can there be more chatter and laughter in a spinning room than there was here in the baitó. True, it was not very womanly when suddenly, for the sake of variety, two of the workers got up and staged a regular wrestling match which was watched with great interest by the others. They stood up, wrestled, threw each other, and resumed their work or lay down again for 517 dolce far niente. For comfortable idlers were never lacking; [832] and there was also seldom lacking, though the women otherwise stayed away, a loving couple who lay under a common red coverlet and dallied. No one paid any attention to them except a few friends troubled by mild jealousy, who at the moment were being neglected by the common lover and had to be content to sit beside the pair and chat with them.

2: Steinen--633 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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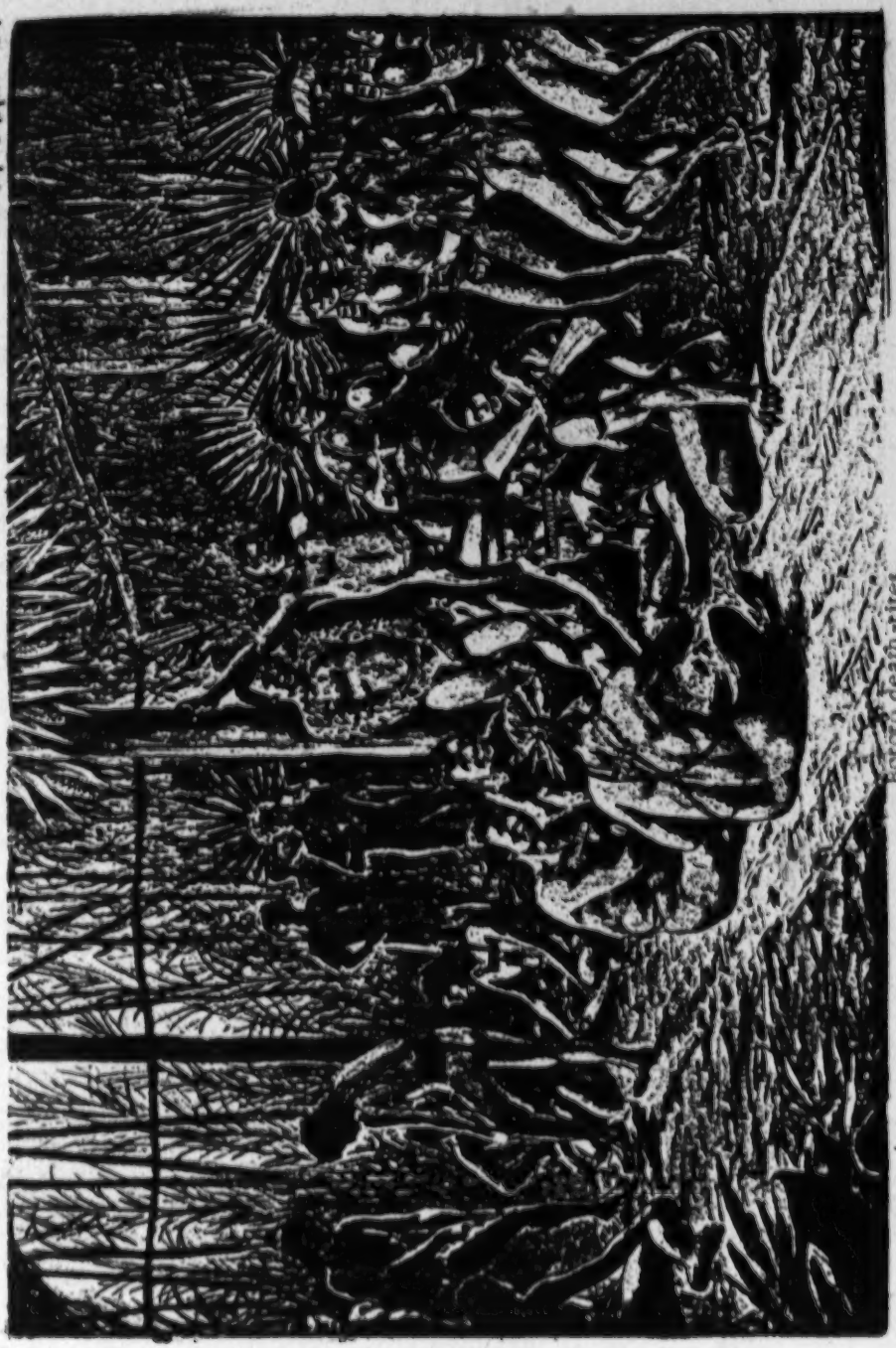

Bororo death-rites.

/505 cont./

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in-between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parſko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[302] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by
[301] the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parſkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/507 cont./

765 In the morning, led by Moguyokuri, a long procession entered the ranchão, all with green twigs in their hands; in the center, the brother of the deceased with the square basket-bag containing the skeleton parts, which had been dug out and cleaned early in the morning. The basket was placed on a mat; four men took out the skull and the lower jaw, which looked smooth and white like the most beautiful specimens, and set about decorating them as well as a new basket-bag with feathers. [302] Moguyokuri sat on a jaguar skin in gala array, skin and hair [301] painted red, an akurí palm branch wrapped around his hips, dark-blue mutung feathers glued on his shoulders, the yellowish red lappets of toucan feathers hanging down from his ears, the most beautiful parfko on his head, the shell chain in the hole of his lower lip. Beside him stood four medicine men [756] adorned with parfkos, who busily shook the rattle-gourds and, rhythmically stamping, jumped up and down, their eyes closed. The entire ranchão was filled with people, chiefly women and children; they joined in the singing and clapped their hands rhythmically. Several of the women stepped up to the bone-basket and laid their hands on it. The oldest woman scratched [785] her arms with broken glass in quick, sharp cuts; the blood dripped on the hands of the others and colored the palm straw of the basket-bag.

[302] The young men in the center first had their lower jaws [301] painted with urucú and covered with white down feathers. Be- [237] side them on the mat they had urucú pigment in an armadillo shell, a little pot containing fish oil, a shell with gum-resin, a mat with little loose white feathers, and a /508/ large bowl filled with little purple feathers. They painted the new basket generously inside and out with urucú, and, while some of them glued feathers on the basket, the others devoted themselves to the skull, into which they set the lower jaw and on which they most carefully pasted the small purple feathers, starting at the back of the skull. Each feather was brushed on the end with a resin stick and set on individually.

301 [237] The principal ornaments used by men consisted of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitúta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*okopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pacoó*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putúku*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5 inches in length. During dances the men fastened 534 rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otuíyo*), sweet manioc (*otuíyo biborúno*), maize (*omatúku*), black and red beans (*dumatúku*), sweetpotatoes (*balartúpo*), and cará (*tapatúku*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podrí*), cotton (*akyúmani*), [276] and urucú (*nodókuhíriku*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past. 222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*heír*), mangaba (*botorúku*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *hasherúku*). 237 Honey (*peíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*ántho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buritî palm fronds. This bag (*yethabóko*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hdlaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokopa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*kutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*ipokomishána*) and grandmother (*imakomishóko*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*ipóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man
will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then
tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a
sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
846 honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided.
These dietary restrictions continue for some
months after the birth of the child. The husband,
however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into
the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-
in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position.
The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and
cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being
buried. The midwife then carries the child and
assists the mother back to the village. The
child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are
accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to
pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the
same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information
about using herbal medicines to induce abortion,
nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or
6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301] ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302 has come of age. She is not secluded by her
parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male
relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present
to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

Bordro SP8

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[301]

[p.136 (L)]

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated
[516] on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuǐawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuǐawa, the

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po^{a}ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers
[993] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Ārōre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on p. 36]

Plate VII

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

Plate X

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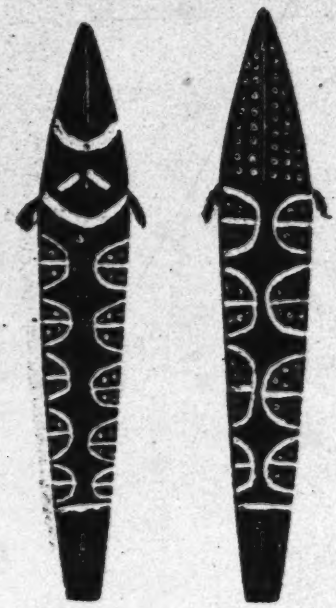

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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only the Caboclas

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

[462] The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground,
352 over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
342 pattern described is not clear. Koelowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
291 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
301 funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to
[881] the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Women wear a gray parinari band,
841 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a
292 girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture [431] [583] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São [386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous [237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus [755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92,
237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice [184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço
489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding [481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and [501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck [345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, [301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 55.—Bororo village of Kejara. *Top:* Men's club in foreground. *Bottom:* Women in native dress. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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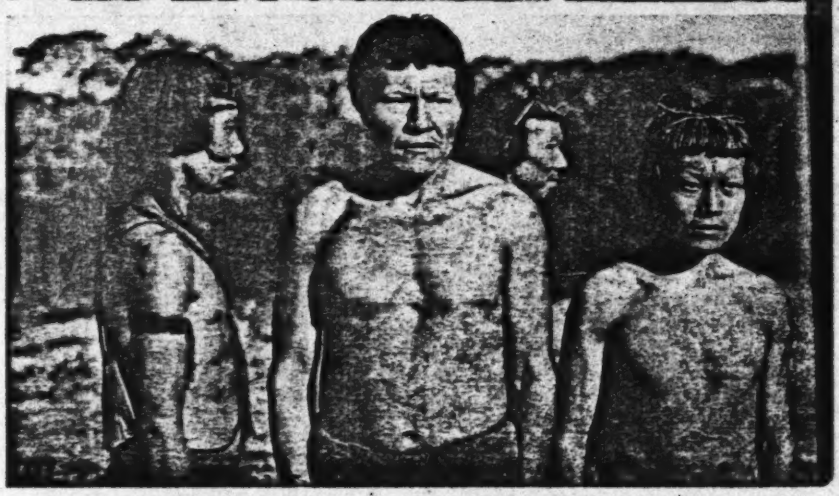

PLATE 90.—Bororo Indian types. *Top:* Man in festival dress, with feathers through nasal septum and ears and beads through lower lip. Village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Below:* Sipó Lourenço men. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432 -H]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

PLATE 91.—Bororo women. São Lourenço. (Courtesy David M. Newell.)

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[P. 432 + I]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

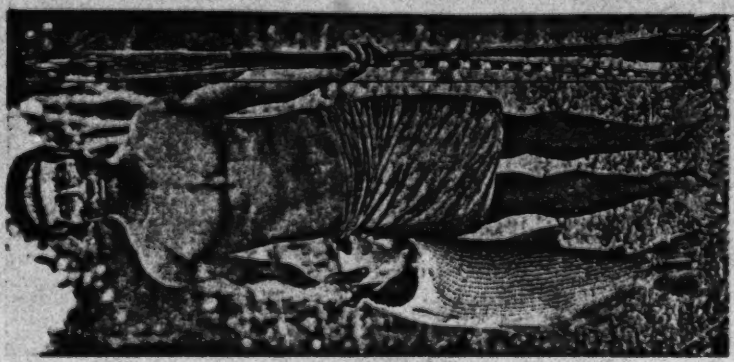

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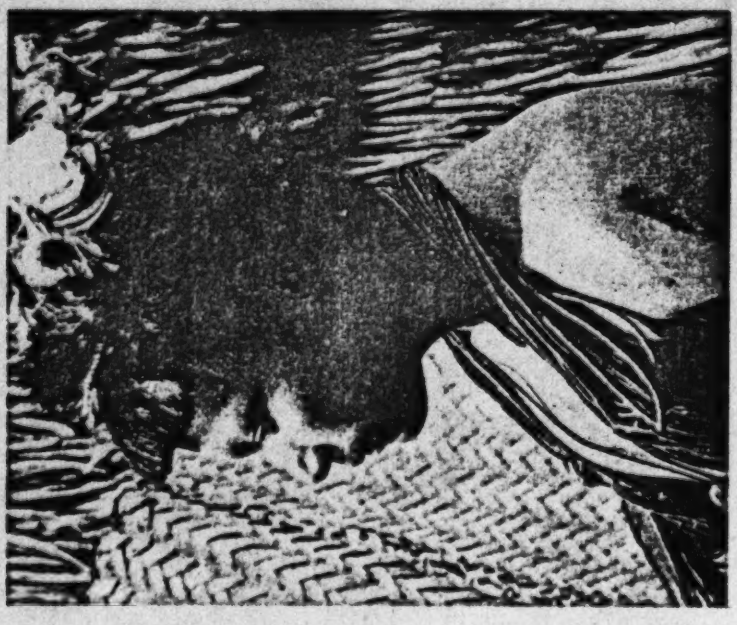
PLATE 28—Bororo Indians. Left: Young man at Kejara. (Carving, Classic Art-Bororo). Right: His Excellency, Chief Tadarimana. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)



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[P. 432-J]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 91.—Portrait of young Bororo man. São Lourenço. (Courtesy David M. Newell.)

[P.432-L]

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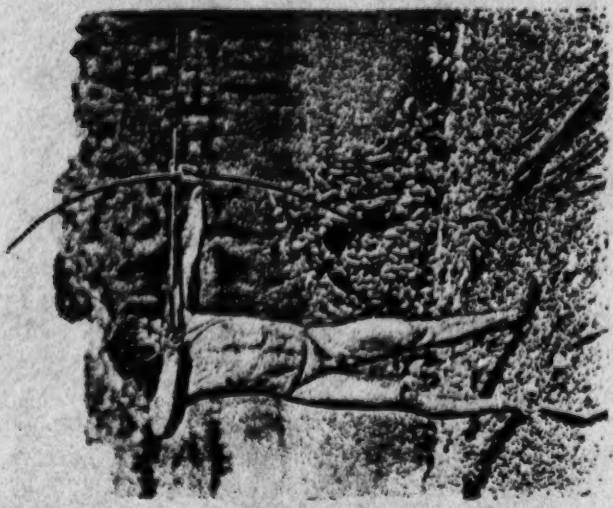

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS DRAWING THE BOW

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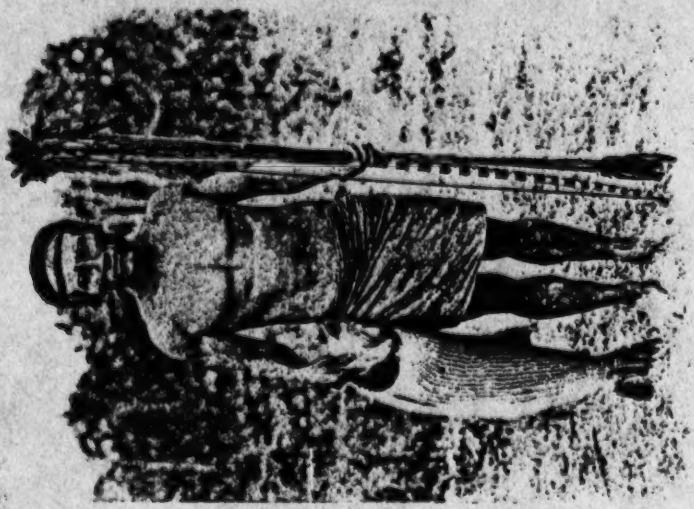

FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS WITH FIRE HE SHOT

[P.105]

[Plate V]

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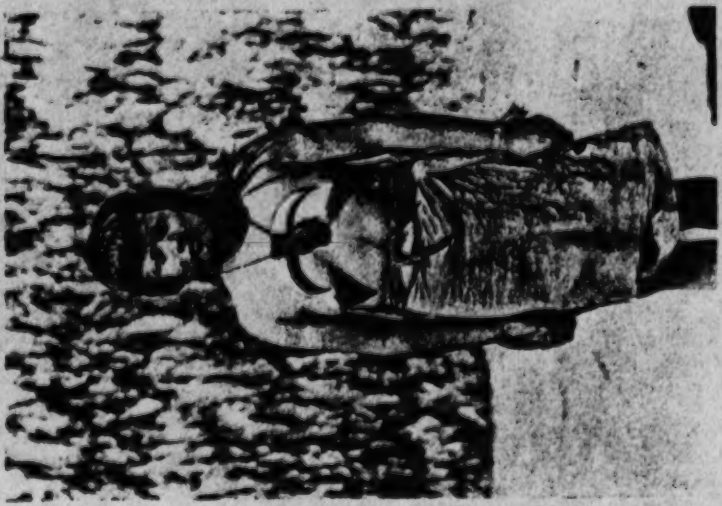

Figure 2. São Lourenço Bororo Girl.

Figure 1. São Lourenço Bororo with Facial Paintings

[P. 108]

[Plate VI]

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FIGURE 2. São Lourenço Bororo with a Flower Lance

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FIGURE 1. São Lourenço Bororo Girl.

[p. 111]

[Plate VII]

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoulders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar' dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side. His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

The heads of the boys before arriving at puberty are often shaven, but the girls wear the hair in the same style as the older women until puberty, when the hair is not cut and must be worn over the face until after the end of the initiatory period [Plate XII, 3, 4]. Y [881] 302 105 171

Body hair, especially of the genital parts, is pulled out by both sexes. Hair of the legs and arms is not pulled out unless it is unusually thick, but the trunk, the armpits, the face, receive careful attention. For this purpose a spiny grass is used. In contrast with the Bororo, the eyebrows are not taken off. Bo [302]

With the exception of ear piercing, which is performed on the boys, no other type of body mutilation is practiced, though the use of piranha-teeth scrapers to draw the evil out of the body in case of sickness, done by the individual himself, often leaves marks on the body. This is done also to alleviate itching. Y 105 171 304 [755]

Filing the upper teeth is limited to the Bakairi, who file the upper front teeth to a point. Ba 304

* * * *

Each village is composed of a number of houses, generally about five, with a headman to each. The heads of households are interrelated, often being brothers. In each household a number of families live together, each having its own possessions, and its own section of the hut. Such a household generally consists of the headman and his wife, his unmarried children and the married females with their husbands and children. The young man goes to live in the house of his wife's father, but when he is capable of it he may build his own house. Y 105 171 621 [592] [591]

There is a nominal head to the village. His authority, however, is limited to the ceremonial; in other things he is more of a counsellor than a leader. Y [622]

The women are actually the authoritative persons in the village. Succession and inheritance is traced through them, and though the stranger deals with the men, they consult their women in everything and refuse to do anything unless the women are compliant. Often the women are openly more aggressive than the men. Y 105 171 562 621

Marriage takes place soon after the puberty initiations, which both boys and girls have to undergo. For the girl, the initiation consists in having her legs bound in the manner already described, covering the body Y 881 [582]

[text continues on p. 171]

593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
[854] this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
[856] speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of conti-
[302] nence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
* [601] attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished an- [533] cestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

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[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names--the names of the clans--and clanic names--personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

[553] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
[302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
[301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
[535] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
[534] child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
[302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
[301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
[237] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him
[533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
[301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
[302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
[533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
[304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

---

[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] [2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[824] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[774] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

822 796 237 302 614 822 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. [825] For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

- imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
- uku ika (a musical instrument)
- pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
- baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
- okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)
- biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
- enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

- imo irogodu (body painting)
- imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
- imo pariko (a headdress)

773 Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

616 imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

571 imo irogodu (body painting)

[292] Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

• [302] Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

[534] Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.
[769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it
[115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

722 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831
775 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
776 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
[307] a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-
like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and
later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the
society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and
plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the
first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names.
Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge,
for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins
themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
794 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
wife, who will receive and will place everything in order,
[601] while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With
this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment
on they will live together, they will call each other by the
names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two
[304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
831 "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during
[302] the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in
part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how
the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters
fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from
a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle,
wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and
taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
273 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role. According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

The following passages of the account by Karl von den
765 Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower
[309] (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

5: Baldus--46 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

342

9: Eastern Bororo: houses of Indians of Meruri

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10: Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Diretor /Director Priest/ in Meruri.

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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5: Baldus--48 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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13. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu (Meruri)

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14. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu returning from hunting (Meruri)

5: Baldus--49 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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16. Eastern Bororo: old hunter (Meruri)

17. Eastern Bororo: lads in Meruri

5: Baldus--50 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

18. Eastern Bororo: mother admiring her son (Sangradouro)

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19. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde, one of the bravest hunters of ounces; Alaysa Aroia Chereudda, girl 17 years old, of lively and critical spirit, who knows how to read and write perfectly; and the son of the married couple (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--51 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

20. Eastern Bororo: Alaysa Aroia Chereudda with her son (Sangradouro)

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21. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde with the metal earring of the clan of the Aroia in his ear lobe (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--52 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

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23. Eastern Bororo: A smile by Mario Bokodori Kudde (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--53 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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24: Eastern Bororo: Roberto Ipureu, my interpreter in Tori-paru, and a little boy from the same aldeia.

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Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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251

LARGE CATCH is smoked and dried on split-ended sticks set up close to fire.

[p.40-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

on the São Lourenço River, and to 114
photograph the events that followed a death that had just occurred there. This story gives only the highlights of these events—a complete report would require an entire monograph.

When a Bororo is gravely ill, with- 763
out hope of recovery, his friends and [301]
relatives decorate him with feather [302]
ornaments and anoint his body with
urucú, a brilliant red paint made from [386]

[p. 40-C]

222
273

WOMAN scrapes well in an acuri palm, above, after top has been chopped off. Sap seeps upward, and while it collects a leaf covers the cavity. When well is full, below, a woman draws off the sap by using a long reed tube as a pipette.

[142
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415]

[p.41-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPB Bororo SPB

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ORNATE BOW, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

[p. 42-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Borono SP8

WOODEN FLUTES, ornamented with bird down and feathers, figure prominently in the ceremonies, as do whistles, and rattles and trumpets made from gourds.

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[p.43-a]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

BLACK DESIGNS are painted on inside of jaguar skin, *above*, which is worn by shaman, *below*, in ritual dance to appease spirit of the ceremonial kill.

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[See p. 43-C]

[p. 43-B]

6: Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

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EXHAUSTED DANCERS equat on temporary grave as a friend, daubed with clay to represent a mythical beast, sprinkles them with water. This action cools the dancers and hastens disintegration of body. Feathered pole is a grave marker.

[p. 44-c]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone. 765 535 825 762

IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prised by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun. 764 302 301 292 [435]

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue. 765 535 767 776 767 776 765

ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound. [302] [775]

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bocoo SPS

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PALM SAP, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p. 45-B]

6:Konfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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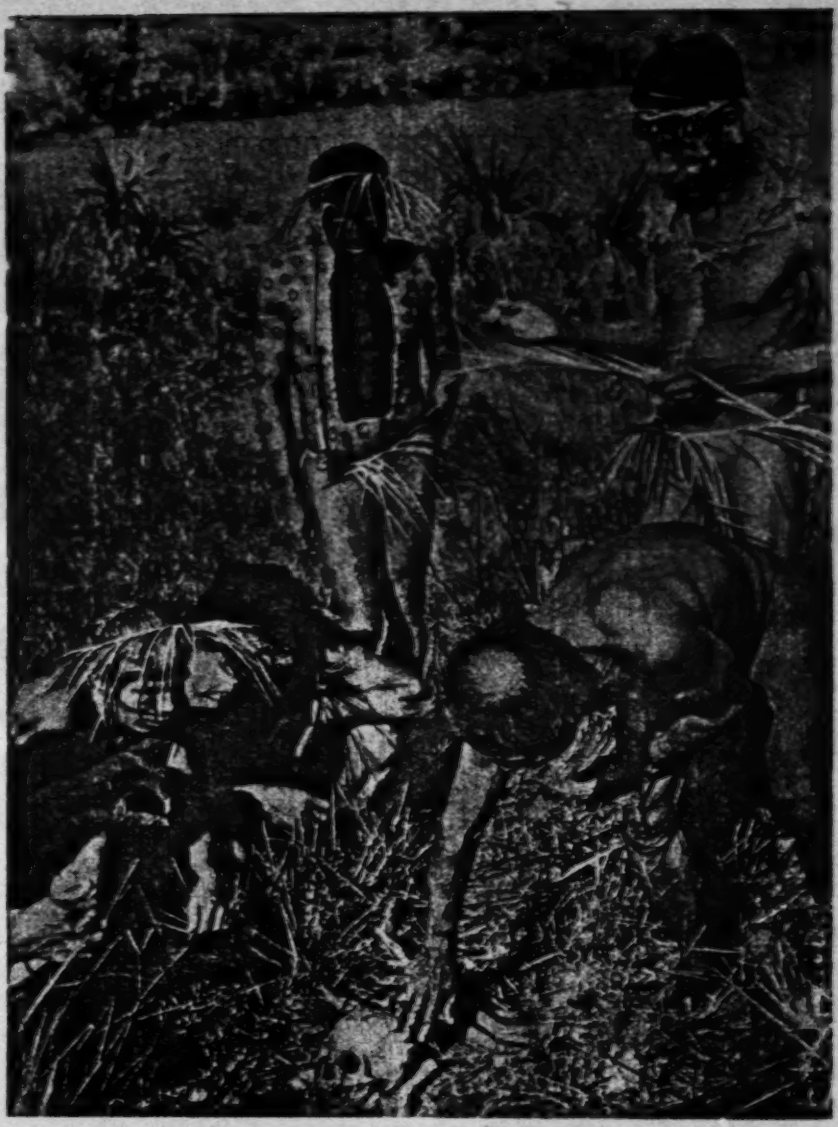

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

6: Kondk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SPS Borovo SPS

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[p. 49-D]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow." 114

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity. 114 123 [276] [262] [685]

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents 302 [142] 302 593

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the taton canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

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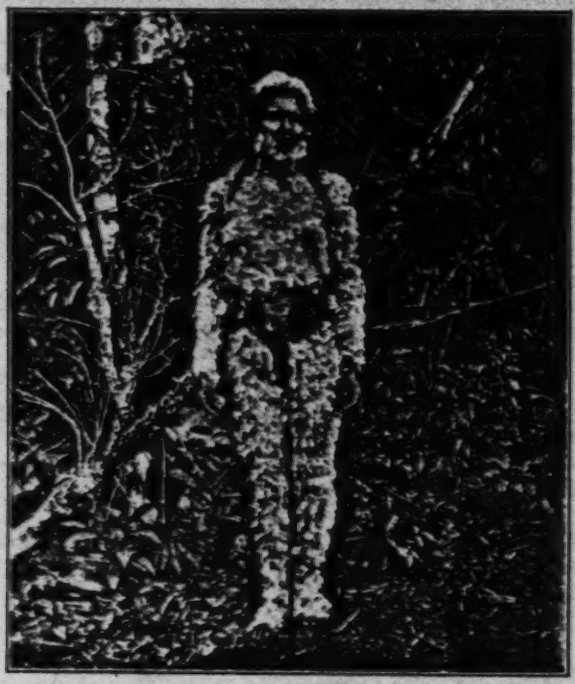

BORORO WOMAN ADORNED WITH FEATHERS

482

BORORO METHOD OF CARRYING WITH HEAD STRAP

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet 609 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing 291 nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the 302 time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were 533 no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, 133
narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain 137
having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars.

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment 361
of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the 574
cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of *college yells*, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of 122
the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females.

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The some- 361
what open space in which the few primitive residences were 137
clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, 291
and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken 302
virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, brightly painted, uncouth appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be pro- 000
foundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was 136
at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The

8:Cook • M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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226 The savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
433 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
[593] She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The
302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in
593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum
301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

Brazil.

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "banga." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 177 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown children occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

000 fixed upon a maiden, though without her knowledge, his father sends a message to the girl's father, saying that he with his son and relatives will visit him shortly. The recipient of this message readily surmises the object of the visit, and if the prospective marriage is agreeable to him, makes preparations for a grand festival. Finally, after the festivities have lasted two or three days, the bridegroom's party suddenly seize the maiden in question, hurry her away to their canoes and disappear, as if they had kidnapped her. But no attempt is made to prevent this act, or to pursue the apparently fleeing party, and the girl is henceforth regarded as married.

Some other tribes test the skill of their young men in archery before allowing them to marry; and if one does not prove to be a good marksman, the maiden whose hand he seeks refuses him on the ground that he has not the skill to shoot fish and game enough to sustain a family.

553 Resuming our story of life among the Bororó: A very interesting naming, initiation, or naturalization ceremony, suggesting a Romish baptism, is observed for all male children while still in early babyhood. Early in the morning, at the first [302] token of the approach of the "supreme power," the family and [304] friends of the little one, whose body has been decorated by smearing it with gum and coating it with crimson and white feathers, accompanied by a conjurer, take up a position on the highest ground in the vicinity of the village; and at the *meri rutu*—sun rising—as the "supreme majesty and power" sweeps upward from behind forest and hill, bathing the earth in its glorious light, the conjurer pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument, made especially for the occasion, and beautifully ornamented with many-colored feathers, at the same time pronouncing, *Piadudu*, or the name of some other animal or object the name of which the child is to bear. *Piadudu*, softly repeat the family and friends; so *Piadudu*—humming-bird—a favorite name, becomes the name of the child. The Bororó, like most savages, [551] regard their names as deep secrets for religious or other reasons, refusing to reveal them to any person not a member of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance. [763] [755] [756] [802]

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the [764] [302] [301] [534]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

764 quartette and chorus, the men usually sitting cross-legged on palm-leaf mats on the ground, and the women standing. The male members of these outer groups are the orchestra, or band, composed of four or more pieces, in the manipulation of which the primitive musicians relieve one another from time to time. These instruments are of two kinds only, and of native manufacture. One kind is a sort of bass flute forty inches long and three inches thick in the outer half. It is made by splitting and hollowing a sapling, then binding the halves together into a rough tube by winding them from end to end with long strips of bark. The upper half of the instrument is but an inch or so in diameter. The second instrument is a sort of trumpet, made by gouging large openings in each end of several oblong calabash shells, five inches in diameter, and gumming them together, end to end, with beeswax. But one note can be produced with each instrument. The flute emits a snorting, snoring sound, the trumpet a barking, roaring, groaning, diapason note.

764 534

764 785 On one side of the corpse—which, at the rites I witnessed, was that of a child seven years old—crouched the bereaved father and brothers, who moaned, muttered and lamented continually in low tones. On the opposite side, kneeled the mother, sitting on her heels, her body completely besmeared with blood from having been slashed from head to foot with sharp-edged shells, while behind her crouched another female who, having first rubbed ashes into her scalp, slowly jerked out her hair, consuming five or six hours in the operation. At the same time, the poor, tortured creature wailed and moaned, and uttered lamentations, and jibbered and muttered, reciting the virtues of her beloved child. Meanwhile, female relatives [302] and friends of the stricken family, placing, each in turn, a foot upon the corpse, slashed their legs and arms scores of times, and sometimes their entire bodies, with jagged-edged shells—reminding one of the priests of Baal—and daubed their bodies from head to foot with a black substance, made chiefly from the genipapa fruit, all the while moaning, muttering and chanting. They do not intend to cut themselves more than

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

entrances to the savage hall. Meanwhile, stepping outside the great hut, I saw, crouching close to the wall of the hut, the mother of the recently deceased, weeping, wailing and jibbering in a low, squeaky voice which was almost gone, her body emaciated, covered with gashes and besmeared with blood. She was a most pitiable appearing creature. How cruel are the customs of savagery! 765

The soul representative and his adjutants next danced and jerked themselves outside the great hut into the open air, then to the public playground on the edge of the village. Here, the trio, totally exhausted, sat on the ground, while an assistant proceeded to call the *bopi* in the persons of a few of his fellow savages who were to represent them, or act as the materialization of the demons. Standing in the center of the *ring*, he beckons and calls, offering perhaps a bit of tobacco to induce a few men to volunteer, while the remaining males of the village—for only the males participate in this part of the funeral rites—stand scattered about in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees beyond the *ring*. At length, a savage offers to represent the *bopi* by dropping on all fours and beginning to creep very slowly toward the caller, or ringmaster, uttering constantly abdominal squeaks, in imitation, perhaps, of the note of the tapir, or of the wild pig. Approaching the center of the ring, he springs up suddenly on his *hind feet*, and with upraised arms rushes to the caller, where he takes his stand upon a spot prepared for him. Another and another volunteers in the same way until five *bopi* representatives are in line in the center of the ring. Balls of clay mud are now produced and the five *bopi* impersonators are painted drab from head to foot, black rings are marked around their eyes, the black figure of a serpent is sketched coiled around the body of one or two, and a quantity of mud is massed into their hair. 765 765 [302]

The caller now places himself in the path leading to the village, and beckons and calls as before, and the *bopi* representatives again drop on all fours and begin to creep very slowly toward him, emitting continuously their weird notes.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *bopi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from [237] the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

At the *mári rútu*—the birth of the sun—the following morning, the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus [533] and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, [785] was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; [302] and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with [224] the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

/252 cont./

B *171 532 BO 171 532 enormous ear maps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakaïrí, cf. Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II), by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only for the grossest topography; the beard is indeed connected with the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard, that it belongs elsewhere.

B BO [302] What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest. The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposites attract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries. If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In the case of animals, the outlines are important; not one of those drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/; in the latter case they are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized. The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

/452 cont./

177 291 evening; several women, especially those who happened to be carrying on intimate relations with the gentlemen, were distinguished by shirts, jackets, and skirts in large floral prints, but the ones who were more or less clothed were only exceptions for both sexes. The men wore the hip cord and the straw cuff, the women a hip cord or a bark strip with bast band. Both sexes loved neck and chest ornaments. I shall discuss the details later. I gave Moguyokuri a choice piece that he heartily approved of: a brick-red Turkish, wide-sleeved woman's jacket embroidered with colorful arabesques, which had once been used in the Paint-Box masquerade at the Düsseldorf concert hall. In this elegant fancy-dress costume the ever happily smiling giant was a sight for the gods.

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[142] 302 ←

Fig. 126. Bororó girl.

"What shall we do?" complained Captain Serejo in the military colony. "When the large crowd embarked for Cuyabá, 430 suits were provided. Many more were added in Cuyabá. And when the Indians returned, there was nothing left of all that." First, because the merchants had furnished miserable trash, thin, badly woven material that they could not otherwise sell, then because the clothes were too tight and too short, the shirts did not even come together over the broad chests and the unmentionables ripped, but, finally, because the Bororó treated the gifts of civilization with terrible negligence. As soon as they felt inconvenienced, they would toss off the clothing; as soon as they needed a bag, for example, to carry away meat or fish, they would use their blankets and shirts. They wrapped their grease-smeared bodies

/454 cont./ Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his
578 tent-mate who was also taking part had her breast scratched, forced the
[629] great chief /455/ Moguyokuri in; with tremendous calm the latter stepped into the noisy crowd and suddenly it was quiet. There was not a sound; his mighty arm shoved aside the three most dangerous women at once. Maria had definitely lost; she did not say a word and stood scowling, arms crossed, her bosom heaving violently, while a friend on her side smoothed her tousled hair. More disgruntled ones tried to unleash the storm once again, but the laughter of Corona won out;

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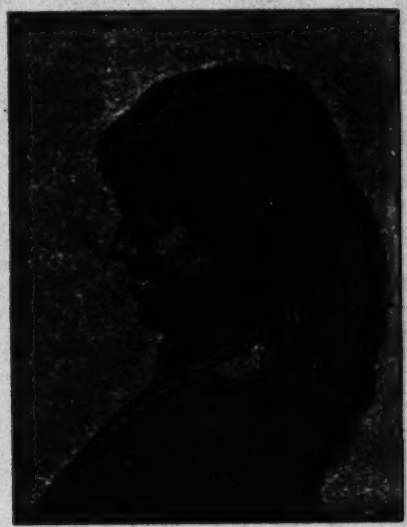

Fig. 127. Bororó woman.

578 they dispersed, and the shrill old woman, at a triumphant trot, was led off by three women.

517 Shaking our heads, we turned our steps homeward toward our shack, but there, too, we were driven back by an infernal noise. The soldiers were dancing and singing in the moonlight with their mulattoes and Indian women; they were making music with harmonica, with fork and plate -- carnival everywhere!

[526] I went back to the men's house; two men were practicing wrestling. They grasped each other under the arms, bending far forward, and remained in this position for a long time, until one of them suddenly tried one leg, or rather his heel, to press in the knee-hollow of the other one and knock him over, but he was lifted up and lost.

/460 cont./

726 the fire and the grave faces were sharply illuminated for a moment. The dancing lasted half an hour. Then we sat down around the old rattler, who was trembling violently from the exertion and was swallowing great draughts of water; we had to hold the pot to his mouth, for otherwise it would not have reached its goal. Now, however, we were all filled with fresh courage; the venerable old man, in a half singing tone, expatiated further on the subject of the agenda and our great chorus replied either an enraptured "uakína," "very good," or with coarse laughter, "hahahá," or with a determined threat, "uh...."

At noon on 3 April the patriotic enthusiasm against the unseen foe reached its climax. We were sitting and eating when suddenly ten or twelve Bororó came storming up in weird attire. In the [411] lead Moguyokuri, drunk, his face flushed, in my Turkish woman's jacket, armed, or rather loaded, with bow, arrows, a maize pestle, and a heavy ax blade without a handle, behind him José Domingo, face and body blackened with soot, swinging a beautiful bow decorated with ostrich feathers, a black hair-string around his right wrist for protection against the snapping bowstring, on a strap around his naked stomach a cavalry saber, and similarly fitted out for war the rest of the heroes -- last not least /given in English/ the idiot Dyapokuri. This unfortunate fool had also smeared himself all over with soot, around his pathological skull he had wound a black hair string, like a Chinese his pigtail, on his back hung a long kitchen knife, and with his right hand he twirled a club in the air; like one possessed, uttering inarticulate sounds, he leaped about to the laughter of the company at the table. The terrible warriors were setting out to seek the traces of the Kayapó. They soon returned, they had found nothing suspicious, the foolish people seemed to have come to their senses, and the episode was ended.

●302 In the men's house in the morning there had been great activity; during the afternoon and into the evening a dozen Bororó were busy coloring the hair, face, and body of their lovers a festive bright red, and outside, after darkness descended, an entirely different ooo kind of scene was enacted. A child of about two which had been

/462 cont./

115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
[123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
[145] important elements of the language; they were extremely wide awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/, and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of
[193] the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
115 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent. He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there immediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

2: Steinen--575ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Plate XXVI

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Bororó.

/471 cont./

141 toe: in the case of 17 men, II nine times, I seven times, I = II once; in the case of five women, II three times, I two times.

302 Dress. Eyelashes, eyebrows, beard hair, and body hair were plucked or shaved. The people are now beginning to leave the eyelashes of some children intact, which was a great advantage to them, according to our taste.

The head hair was treated in a very different manner, but equally arbitrarily by men and women alike. The tonsure which one would expect from the name "Coroados" is restricted to an occasional one of one centimeter in diameter. Perhaps the name comes from the large feather crowns. Widowers and widows wore their hair cut short. The most common and original style for both sexes was that the hair was combed to the forehead and cut off here straight across, but hung down freely in back; cf. Plate 26 /see p. 575/. Next to the ears occasionally another step was cut or a bunch tied together like a paint brush, sometimes the men's hair was twisted into a knot in back or /472/ a bast band was wound around the head. Women who proved amenable to Brazilian customs parted their hair in the center. One man or another also went about with loose, uncut hair parted in the
412 center. Nowadays the hair was generally cut with scissors, between two shells by the old method. The comb consisted of pointed little rods which were tapered at both ends and joined together in the middle section by crude plaiting; the plaiting lay between two cross-strips tied together at the projecting ends.

291 The men, almost without exception, wear a hip cord. One or another, however, went about without it. The cuff, inobá (no, oaussu palm; ba, eggs, scrotum), called gravata by the Brazilians, has already been discussed and illustrated on page 184 (with the festive flag). One can very easily make a model from a strip of paper three centimeters wide and 14 centimeters long, by putting the two ends together to form a ring and then twisting one end about 90° and folding it slightly under the other. If a new or somewhat tighter cuff was put on, the praeputium was tied with a string in front of the glans and drawn through; by this manipulation and the wearing of the cuff, it was considerably

2: Steinen--589 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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Fig. 129. Mother and daughter. Bororó.

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304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical
757 413 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage
765 304 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one.
512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable
[224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt
302 was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally,
757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after
237 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children
301 were always doéte /sick/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply
[164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/476 cont./

757 has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-
237 strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like
301 a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front
[302] edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face,
[302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed
765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeletonized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamentation of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú
531 /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any
237 implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on
136 the S. Lourenço. *Also missing, however, was the plague of* mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize
302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was
[237] mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing
[386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing, but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

/477 cont./

302 was the painting of the face with a stalk or a slender bamboo stick. Thus, the forehead was not painted with one stroke, but rather the stick, saturated with color, was put on and squeezed off, a stripe gradually being laid across the forehead with this procedure. The lids were also colored, the upper lid well into the fold. Triangles were painted on the cheeks. I shall come back later to the meaning of the cross-stripe and the triangles, cf. under "Art of Drawing" /see p. 625/, after a discussion of the whizzer sticks, where I shall have an opportunity to speak of designs separately.

237 301 Ornamental feather-work, as I should like to call it in contrast to the pasting on of feathers, was furnished in the most magnificent fashion. The chief products of the hunters' art are to be found on Plate I /see p. i/ combined in the case of the chief in gala dress.

The paríko, cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 596/, an enormous radial wheel of blue arara tail-feathers, yellow on the reverse side, rises up on the fore part of the head and tilts forward. The arara feathers, 45 centimeters long, are stuck into a wound bundle of stalks that fits the head and is tied on with a string; the lower fourth of the long feathers is covered with several rows of small red and green parrot-feathers. A small diadem, cf. Plate I, is pulled down over the forehead. On the back of the head, tilted backwards and more arched than the paríko, there projects a diadem equal to it in size and made out of cross-banded falcon feathers, the kurugúgua. From the ears down to the chest hang colorful lappets of small red and yellow feathers, prettily arranged in cross-strips, from the breast of the toucan. (The large beaks of the toucans are also worn.) Bunches of wing feathers from the arara, the parrots, and other ornamental birds hang down from the upper arms, as well as from the bow or from the lip-piercer.

/478/ There are all kinds of other feather ornaments. Special consideration is to be given to the very beautiful nabuleága (nabúre, arara), arara feathers with flowing ostrich feathers and white tufts of down, joined together on a small rod that is stuck into the hole

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

285 [765] → [142] [301] [302] ←

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-
[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess
[462] it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

/499 cont./

534 The shape of the whizzer sticks is longish oval, their length 40-42 centimeters. At the string end there is a notch and a short distance from it in the center line of the board a hole so that the string stretched between the hole and the notch has a firm hold; cf. Fig. 145 /see p. 623/.

534 531 Art of drawing. At first here I can continue with the whizzer sticks. On Plate 19 /see p. 268/ we see one drawn with pencil. Just as the corners, which have turned out rather pointed, are filled in with black in the picture, so are the ends of the whizzer sticks painted black; in between, the surface is painted with urucú red and on this red background the design is painted black. For motifs the designs have the two nearest at hand. On the whizzer stick in Figure 145, which was brought by the bari in connection with the death rites for Coqueiro's wife, there are painted semicircles with dots: the cranium with small feathers glued on it in its ornamentation for the bone-basket. On others there appeared articles of the woman's costume, either the bark belt in a wide, black cross-stripe or the bast band in triangles, cf. Fig. 129 /see p. 589/, with the hip cord. The latter motif is on the whizzer stick drawn on Plate 19. On either side is drawn a hip cord with three bast bands. Thus we have there the triangle familiar to us [171] from the uluri of the Kulisehu in the bast band as well, the corresponding imitation of which we should have liked to have obtained from the Trumaí. On one specimen of the whizzer stick, which also shows mother-of-pearl eyes and, in between, a semicircle without dots, there are painted, not only three bark belts as three cross-bands, but also, in the midst of each one, a small circle with a square to the right and left of it. /500/ The meaning is not clear; probably the squares represent the bone-baskets and the circle the skull.

•302 The girls in the ranchão had their faces painted with the pictures of the bark belt and the bast band, as well as a part of the whizzer sticks: the same cross-stripe over the forehead and temple, including the eyes and leaving the upper part of the forehead free, and the same triangles on the cheeks, one on either side. This painting, however, page 594, was done with the more cheerful urucú red. One day the men permitted

/500 cont./ One day The men Permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[956] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

/505 cont./

765 171 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 [123] We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S. Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse 765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton. [533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in-between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower, [768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

[302] [301] Several Bororô appeared behind the men's house in full gala array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/507 cont./

765 In the morning, led by Moguyokuri, a long procession entered the ranchão, all with green twigs in their hands; in the center, the brother of the deceased with the square basket-bag containing the skeleton parts, which had been dug out and cleaned early in the morning. The basket was placed on a mat; four men took out the skull and the lower jaw, which looked smooth and white like the most beautiful specimens, and set about decorating them as well as a new basket-bag with feathers. [302] Moguyokuri sat on a jaguar skin in gala array, skin and hair [301] painted red, an akurí palm branch wrapped around his hips, dark-blue mutung feathers glued on his shoulders, the yellowish red lappets of toucan feathers hanging down from his ears, the most beautiful parfko on his head, the shell chain in the hole of his lower lip. Beside him stood four medicine men [756] adorned with parfkos, who busily shook the rattle-gourds and, rhythmically stamping, jumped up and down, their eyes closed. The entire ranchão was filled with people, chiefly women and children; they joined in the singing and clapped their hands rhythmically. Several of the women stepped up to the bone-basket and laid their hands on it. The oldest woman scratched [785] her arms with broken glass in quick, sharp cuts; the blood dripped on the hands of the others and colored the palm straw of the basket-bag.

[302] The young men in the center first had their lower jaws [301] painted with urucú and covered with white down feathers. Be- [237] side them on the mat they had urucú pigment in an armadillo shell, a little pot containing fish oil, a shell with gum-resin, a mat with little loose white feathers, and a /508/ large bowl filled with little purple feathers. They painted the new basket generously inside and out with urucú, and, while some of them glued feathers on the basket, the others devoted themselves to the skull, into which they set the lower jaw and on which they most carefully pasted the small purple feathers, starting at the back of the skull. Each feather was brushed on the end with a resin stick and set on individually.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[101] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*mukíno*) was built
621 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishipd*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
● 302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301] ear pendants to let the young men know that she
[302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

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FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROMO WITH A FLOWER LABRET

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FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROMO GIRL

[P. 111]

[Plate VII]

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter II

THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*601 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [846] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [553] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

553 ready "grandfather" (iyedaga) by definition, while the sec-
604 ond kin type (FFSs) is brought into the same class by equivalences already presented:

FFSs →	FFMs	(by the skewing rule)
→	FFB	(by the half sibling rule)
→	FF	(by the merging rule)
∴	iyedaga	(by definition)

Thus the naming rule should be written as: any senior matrilateral relative who is Ego's namegiver should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's senior patrilateral relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any junior sororifilial relative to whom Ego gave a name should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's junior fratrifilial relative.

● 304 The same rule applies also to the senior "brother" (MB,
604 MMB) who pierces the ear lobe of Ego. The rule was written
553 without specifying the sex of the namegiver. On some very
604 rare occasions a child's "older sister" (MS, MMS) will pro-
*[601] pose the name for him (her). If her suggestion is accepted,
*601 the child will call her imarugo ("grandmother"). There is
604 still another instance in which a person calls his "older
[848] sister" imarugo, and that is when this "sister" cuts the umbilical cord when the child is born, in absence of a woman belonging to the lineage or clan of the child's father, who normally have this prerogative. Reductions applied to her are:

*601 imebutojagiwu ("the one born after me"), or koduirekodajiwu
561 ("the one who follows me"). The first-born is designated boetojiwu ("the first one"), while the last-born is designated boigoduwu ("the last"). When there are three brothers, the oldest will be described as etumanareu ("their older brother"), the second as boyadadawu ("the one in the middle"), and the youngest one as etuviyereu ("their younger brother"). Further, any young sibling also can be ad-
*601 dressed as imedregedu. Finally there is a special term for
● 304 a man's first born son, ikenojiwu ("the one on my nose," which alludes to the custom of piercing a man's nasal septum on the same occasion when his first-born son is given a name).

*601 There are still a few more alternative terms that should be mentioned here. These are mostly those related to actual
607 differences in relationships among kinsmen. If a man quar-
*601 rels with his sister's husband, he will call the latter otogududogedu ("the one to whom pity was shown," meaning that the brothers gave their sister as wife to him out of pity). He will be called in return by his proper name instead of imedu. Two men married to sisters, if on good terms, may choose to call each other reciprocally either ito inowu ("the one like me") or imeduya ("my companion") instead of iyedaca and ivagedu. Similarly two women married to the same man, will call each other reciprocally either itoydo ("the one
*601 like me") or imedago ("my companion"). There are also some
593 conventional expressions used when two people speak about a third person to whom both of them are related. For example,

585 1942: 39). If a child marriage is to be contracted, the
[304] girl's family will ask her future husband, instead of her
[224] brother, to pierce her ear lobes. A more elaborate ceremony is performed when the girl is given as a wife to the hunter who has killed a jaguar for some of her dead brothers. In this case, however, she is only one of the gifts that are given to him in exchange for the jaguar skin. The other gifts, bow and arrows and poari (a musical instrument) are obligatory. Of particular interest for us is the speech that one of the girl's brothers makes when he delivers her to the hunter. He says:

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> "This is your wife, stay with her. This is the place for your bow, for your arrow. Here is the place for you to eat nokodu, noa, noidoya, the place for you to eat motore and honey. Here your ruwobo, your aria, your pori (different kinds of containers) are waiting for your fish, for your game. Here you will eat nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu. You should look after this girl, take care of her, so that she will make kodo as your mat, beto as your blanket. She will make the basket where your arrows will stay. She will wash you and give you to drink. She will go to meet you when you come back from fishing or from the hunt, when you come back from the woods or the hills. You do not have a mother, older sister, or younger sister anymore. This girl will be your mother, your older sister, your younger sister. You should treat her with care. Do not scare her when she goes to get water, when she goes to get firewood. Do not scare her when she is eating fish or when she is eating meat. You should defend her from other bad women, from the things she is afraid of. Do not scare her. You will be her mother, her father, her brother, and she will love you with all her heart."[1]

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[1] Akoredujereo, awudo apore amugure, atugo pare, awoiga pare, ake nokodu, noa, noidoya jetareo, ake motore jetareo, ake miyawoe gigodugedu jetareo. Woere aruwobo, akaria, apori jeture ako karo togi, ako barogo togi. Woere a mode nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu kowuje, woe. Awudojire aeture

[553] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
[302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
[301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
[535] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
[534] child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
[302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
[301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
[237] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him
[533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
[301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
[302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
[533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
[304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] [2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities <u>are</u> differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (<u>Boroge rore ino jamedu</u>). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

- imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
- uku ika (a musical instrument)
- periko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
- baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
- okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)
- biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
- enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

- imo irogodu (body painting)
- imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
- imo pariko (a headdress)

841 787 764 denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into 787 the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the 772 meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; 533 it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially 302 the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child 237 is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. 593 She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of 152 them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is 534 also there, playing the <u>ika</u>: the Aroe are acknowledging the 775 arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo 304 can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are 593 done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given 614 to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. 787 After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams 533 were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to 764 put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[301] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

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616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P.W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the wife, who will receive and will place everything in order,
[601] while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment on they will live together, they will call each other by the names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two
[304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
831 young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
[302] "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

121 If we want to investigate the importance of the
562 adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with
[237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex.
[304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the
[856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

5: Baldus--51 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

20. Eastern Bororo: Alaysa Aroia Chereudda with her son (Sangradouro)

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21. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde with the metal earring of the clan of the Aroia in his ear lobe (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--52 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

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23. Eastern Bororo: A smile by Mario Bokodori Kudde (Sangradouro)

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dren. The mourners, especially the women, wail loudly and further express their grief by cutting themselves so deeply with sharpened mussel shells that their blood runs onto the mat that covers the corpse. [152] [304]

At sundown the body is wrapped in the sleeping mat. If the deceased is a man, his bow and arrows are wrapped with him, and the bundle is taken out to the plaza. All the villagers gather

[p. 40-E]

[text continues on p. 41-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1983
SP8 Bororo SP8

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles.

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[534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over.

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When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition.

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To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows.

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Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community.

[278]
[251]

[p. 41-A]

relative of the deceased, who shoulders the basket and carries it to the men's house. As she sits outside the house, holding the basket in her lap, the other female kin of the deceased once more gash their arms and breasts, and allow their blood to run onto the basket. The men once again shake their gourd rattles and sing the songs and lamentations they intoned at the time of death.

765 [602] [304] [152] [533]

MEANWHILE, several men begin to decorate the skull, which is placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it.

765 531

The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[p. 46-C]
[text continues on p. 48-A]

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6;Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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DURING DECORATING, women gash their skin and allow blood to drip on skull.

Notice cuts on arm of woman at right, whose hair is cropped as mourning sign.

[p. 47-B]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
● 304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogòdau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the tatou canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.
562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 289 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

Brazil.

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "bangs." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 177 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown children occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

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000 fixed upon a maiden, though without her knowledge, his father sends a message to the girl's father, saying that he with his son and relatives will visit him shortly. The recipient of this message readily surmises the object of the visit, and if the prospective marriage is agreeable to him, makes preparations for a grand festival. Finally, after the festivities have lasted two or three days, the bridegroom's party suddenly seize the maiden in question, hurry her away to their canoes and disappear, as if they had kidnapped her. But no attempt is made to prevent this act, or to pursue the apparently fleeing party, and the girl is henceforth regarded as married.

Some other tribes test the skill of their young men in archery before allowing them to marry; and if one does not prove to be a good marksman, the maiden whose hand he seeks refuses him on the ground that he has not the skill to shoot fish and game enough to sustain a family.

553 Resuming our story of life among the Bororó: A very interesting naming, initiation, or naturalization ceremony, suggesting a Romish baptism, is observed for all male children while still in early babyhood. Early in the morning, at the first [302] token of the approach of the "supreme power," the family and [304] friends of the little one, whose body has been decorated by smearing it with gum and coating it with crimson and white feathers, accompanied by a conjurer, take up a position on the highest ground in the vicinity of the village; and at the *meri rutu*—sun rising—as the "supreme majesty and power" sweeps upward from behind forest and hill, bathing the earth in its glorious light, the conjurer pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument, made especially for the occasion, and beautifully ornamented with many-colored feathers, at the same time pronouncing, *Piadudu*, or the name of some other animal or object the name of which the child is to bear. *Piadudu*, softly repeat the family and friends; so *Piadudu*—humming-bird—a favorite name, be- [551] comes the name of the child. The Bororó, like most savages, regard their names as deep secrets for religious or other reasons, refusing to reveal them to any person not a member of

/252 cont./

B *171 532 BO 171 532 a huge arched back and the long tail, the extremities form a wavy line; the picture was always recognized by others without difficulty as a jaguar. When for all the Bororó animals the faces are simply filled in black, one might attribute this to the drawing style of the sketchers and point out that the rest of the body is treated in the same way, but even the Bakaïrí on the Kulisehu plate I scribbles over the face of his jaguar. The Indian woman, Bororó II, who, of all the figures, shows the best proportions, has a completely scribbled /253/ head. Above the fine beard covering the torso of the center figure at the bottom, Bororo I, eyes, nose, and ears have been forgotten, the legs are stunted into beetle pincers. In none of the five Bakaïrí portraits has the mouth been drawn; none lacks the nose, which the Bakaïrí pierces. On the other hand, for the Bororó, who pierces the lower lip, it cannot happen that he would omit the mouth, whereas he forgot the nose twice.

BO [304]

The profile position, so popular in the art of children, is absent in the Indian drawings of human beings and invariable in the case of four-legged animals. The former is to be regretted, since there can be no comparison with the cases where children give the profile two eyes and then, when they remember that the nose comes between the eyes, sometimes two noses as well, and furthermore where they attach double arms on the exposed side, since two must, of course, be shown, and so forth. It is to be hoped that these efforts of a childlike mind would by this time be impossible for the Indians. Nevertheless, among the sand drawings, we have to show an example that corresponds exactly to childlike art. The matrincham (Fig. 34 /see p. 263/) has two eyes next to the gill arch; the pakú (Fig. 35 /see p. 263/) in profile is likewise drawn with two eyes. That these are profile positions is shown in the case of the matrincham by the indication of the side line, the gill arch (exactly as in the case of the wooden fish), the fin position, and, finally, as also in the case of the pakú, the tail position. In the case of the ray, the two eyes are justified, since the Indian naturally avoids the problem of drawing it from the side.

B *171 532

/474 cont./

291 exaggerated. According to Langsdorff's description, however, the belt seems to be the main thing, since strands hung down freely and there was no band to be fastened to it. The observer himself does not believe that its purpose was concealment. There was very little of this likewise among our Bororó women, and, as far as their modesty is concerned, it remained not only partly, but entirely concealed, or more accurately, the very opposite of it was present and, quite apart from the dissoluteness of the Brazilian civilizers, was present in large measure to begin with. All things considered, I regard it as not impossible that the wide [482] belt of bark or tapir skin originally had a different purpose. The women carried home from the forest back-baskets so heavily loaded with palm nuts that they seemed almost to collapse under the load and were unable to walk, but only to trip along; moreover, the end of the back-basket rested in the small of the back on the strip of belt and the latter protected the skin here just as the bast ring protected the shoulders of the Kulisehu Indians in the transport of canoes. A piece of tapir skin, especially, must have served excellently as padding. Meanwhile, however, it had turned into a pretentious, tightly clasped armor.

• 304 The ear lobes were pierced in the case of both sexes, but among [852] the boys this was done by the father at the age of eight to ten years when they were beginning to practice hunting skills seriously and among the girls, as we shall see, it was done with an entirely different meaning by their future husbands.

[619] The pierced lower lip was the tribal mark of the men. I have told how our Antonio, whom a woman claimed as her stolen /475/ 301 son, was examined for this. Waehneldt says of the Bororó of the Jaurú that some of them also wear a sort of "toothpick" /Figs. 130-132 appear here/ in the nasal septum; an ornament of pieces of wood was found in the pierced lower lip on a number of them. In their everyday life our Bororó never wore anything at all in the hole of the lower lip. Only boys, cf. Fig. 128 /see p. 571/, were in the habit of using small sticks which kept the hole open; one saw bone splinters, for example, from the cayman, occasionally a nail, and sticks of resin with a little button at the end inside the mouth. Adults, for festive ornamentation, wore sticks of the

/475 cont./

301 same kind, cf. Plate 27 /see p. 588/, or the lip chain, cf. Plate 1 /see p. i/ and Figure 130. The chain consisted of half a dozen small elongated shell plates hanging on one another, with a small string tassel at the lower end, and was 12 centimeters long.

•304 852 The lip hole was pierced for the baby by the medicine man shortly after its birth. The instrument used for the operation, baragára, was a feather rod ending in a bone point, cf. Fig. 131 which was very showy and was worn in the hair as an ornament on festive occasions: the rod on which the bone was fastened with resin had alternate red and orange-colored little feathers densely pasted over it, with fine white down also in between now and then, and [301] terminated at the upper end in a long blue arara feather, while at the point of attachment a bunch of striped falcon, parrot, and arara feathers hung down, about one meter long from tip to tip. The medicine man with the baragára in his hand danced in front of the baby, singing and stepping up to it and back, and on one of these rounds he pierced the lip.

Fig. 130. Lip chain. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 131. Lip piercer. Bororó. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 132. Scratching bone. Bororó. (2/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical
757 413 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage
765 304 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one.
512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable
[824] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt
302 was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally,
757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after
237 30 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children were always doéte /sic/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply
[164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[147] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from [411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.

846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat, [844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not [515] bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done

847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If

853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."

757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,

846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.

352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip [304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.

551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

/503 cont./

855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about 854 their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was 593 less clearly expressed; they /594/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú [114] from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure 765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
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THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraterni-
[10] dade Indígena near Barra do Bugre on the Para-
guay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the
Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
[161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184 Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In
two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type
142 kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichoce-
phalic. The local Brazilians call them the Bar-
bados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*saukíno*) was built
on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
62 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming
down to the ground, the whole being covered with
pacova palm fronds except the two ends which
were left open. This house type is the same as that
formerly found among the Guató who live to the
south of the Umotina. Each family had its own
house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all
night not only for warmth but also to drive away
the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after
puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyetókwa*) made
from a buriti palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide
the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the
back of their heads, and allowed their beards to
grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
● [304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the
lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand,
cut their hair short, and plucked out their eye-
brows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imatá*) made
from woven cotton. Like the men, the women
304 had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

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787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8
[P.127-B]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

6/b daughter's husband is also *yeddga*. Boys are *made*,
6/1 girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéde*, moiety-son; and *irdgo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imágu*; sisters before puberty, *iwáye*; and sisters after puberty, *irdgo*.

[281] Children before puberty are just *made* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irdgo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[281] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the
[281] ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irdgo*.

6/6
6/4

Cherédo clans	*Tugaréde clans*
1. Bokodóri.	1. Arári.
2. Bakóro.	a. Arurécha bógi wúgi.
3. Badójebage.	b. Arurécha tchibógiwúgi.
4. Kiédo.	2. Iwágododgi.
5. Borótcheré.	a. Tobóreu.
6. Óchera.	b. Kédjagureu.
	3. Apíbóregi.
	4. Ipayéda.

601 daughter's husband is also *yedóga*. Boys are *mede*,
616 girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *iwúga*; sisters before puberty, *itwíye*; and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

601 Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety.
[304] After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

Cheráide clans

616 1. Bokodéri.
614 2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Boróteherá.
6. Ócherа.

Tugaréde clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tehibú-giwúgi.
2. Iwágudorigi.
   a. Tobóreu.
   b. Kódjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]

/152 cont./ They say that this metal
301
[135]
• [306]
was gold, news not very hard to accept because the Bororo occupied regions in which gold appears frequently even today. Nowadays, the earrings reproduced here in natural size are made of the metal from cartridges. They are called meriri-kiga-réu and are made firm by means of an annular brass wire in the

[613]

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

/152 cont./

301 The earring without a tooth, represented in Figure 2, belongs to the clan of the Paí-we; the one with a tooth, in Figure 3, is from the clan of the Dyakome(r)-koadda.

[237] It is probable that the shape of these earrings might have been taken from the chest ornament made with the claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/ (Priodontes giganteus) called bokodori inoge (bokodori: tatú canastra; inoge: claw), and represented various times by Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 50) and by Karl von den Steinen (o.c.).

[306] I saw a Bororo in Sangradouro also make a chest ornament in the shape and with the size of the bokodori inoge, but out of a sheet of tin plate.
I was not able to find out whether this shape has any connection with the moon.

/153/ We may consider as "individual adorning" among the Bororo the use of transverse cords on the chest and of the narrow woven ribbons on the arms. Both sexes, /154/ adults and children, are in the habit of wearing them occasionally in order to, as I was assured, be protected from illnesses.

[562] [751]

It seems that the chest ornament made out of animals' teeth serves for the same purpose. Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 479) wrote about this ornament: "Only very rarely does it happen that women also receive these ornaments, which probably results from the change by the colonization, because it is said that among the other Bororo it is common

[237] [751] [562]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

long tongue-like leaf furnishes a silk or band of strands called 222
bokigo, which he rolls into a single strand as he sits cross-legged on [283]
the ground, and by twisting this strand with others he obtains cording with which to make his fishing nets, harpoon lines, etc. From the ground he digs two or three varieties of the potato family, which he boils. Corn is eaten as roasting ears or cut from the ears and boiled. They use no salt. The large ant bear is considered the 224
most valuable of all creatures. Nearly every part of its body is utilized. When discovered it is driven to the village for slaughter in order to secure its blood. After this comes the tapir, which is also greatly esteemed. When food is plenty they eat nearly all the 264
time when awake, and even rise several times in the night to take a little food. While we were in the baehytu at the Kogy ao Paro village we saw 33 men devour upwards of 25 gallons of boiled shelled corn within an hour and a half, and they had been nibbling roast ears all the morning. The two men who had accompanied us from the Ja-Dare-Mano Paro were induced to eat from every pot as they were brought in one at a time. They seem never to get full, and will eat as long as there is anything to be had. While at work making bows and arrows and ornaments, they are nibbling food, if they can obtain it. They eat the corn mush squatting and standing around the pot, using large oyster-like shells or broad leaves as spoons.

Their language seems quite free from clicks and from deep gut- 194
turals. The names given to animals are often in imitation of the sound produced by the animal. Ki, for instance, means tapir, and is a close imitation of the note of this animal; pobu means river or water; pobu camahina is great river; meri rutu, sunset; adugo, spotted tiger or ounce; and aigo, brown ounce. Báekimo is the negative; Boe by báekimo means "Indian die not"—"I will not die."

They are wonderful whistlers and seem able thus to communicate 198
whatever they otherwise would by speech.

All the fine and ornamental work is done by the men. A great 462
deal of time and labor is spent in making seemingly unimportant articles, and the time consumed in shaping and burnishing an arrow is astonishing, generally the larger part of two days. The shell [321]
ornament worn around the neck is made by the reciprocating motion [322]
of the point of a sharp instrument of flint or of iron or steel, if they can obtain it, fastened near the center of a roughly shaped shell. A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into another bit of wood. When holes have been made in bits of roughly 600

When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
223 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

/487 cont./

412 (Coelogenys paca), a small rodent; they still planed,
237 polished, and bored in good Indian fashion.

Their plane was a Bulimus shell, ruo, ten centimeters long, cf. Fig. 140 (and Fig. 27 /see p. 206/ from the Schingú), into which sharp-edged holes
322 were struck with an oaussú nut. Moreover, they polished wood, for example the whizzer sticks which were made for the burial ceremony, by rubbing it for a quarter of an hour with a wet, smooth stone. Or they took the rough leaves of the lischa and the imbauba tree. They sat with

Fig. 139. Capybara chisel. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[412] [237] [284] →

legs folded and crossed and cut and planed the objects on their foot as a support. On the outer part of the ankle resting on the floor I often felt callous thickenings and even movable pieces as hard as cartilage.
● 321 Monkey bones for chain ornaments were cut up on their foot, and I constantly feared for their own bones.

Boring was always done with a twirling motion. A nail was fastened to a stick half a meter long and this was twirled between

Fig. 140. Plane-shell. Bororó. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[412] [237] →

the two hands sliding rapidly up and down. In this way they bored through the small shell plates for their lip chains, which they made

/487 cont./

●321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

285 [765] → [142] [301] [302] ←

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-
[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

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SP8 Bororo SP8

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Fig. 140. Plane-shell. Bororó. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[412] [237] →

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots.
323 The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by
415
[462]

412
237
284
415
531
534

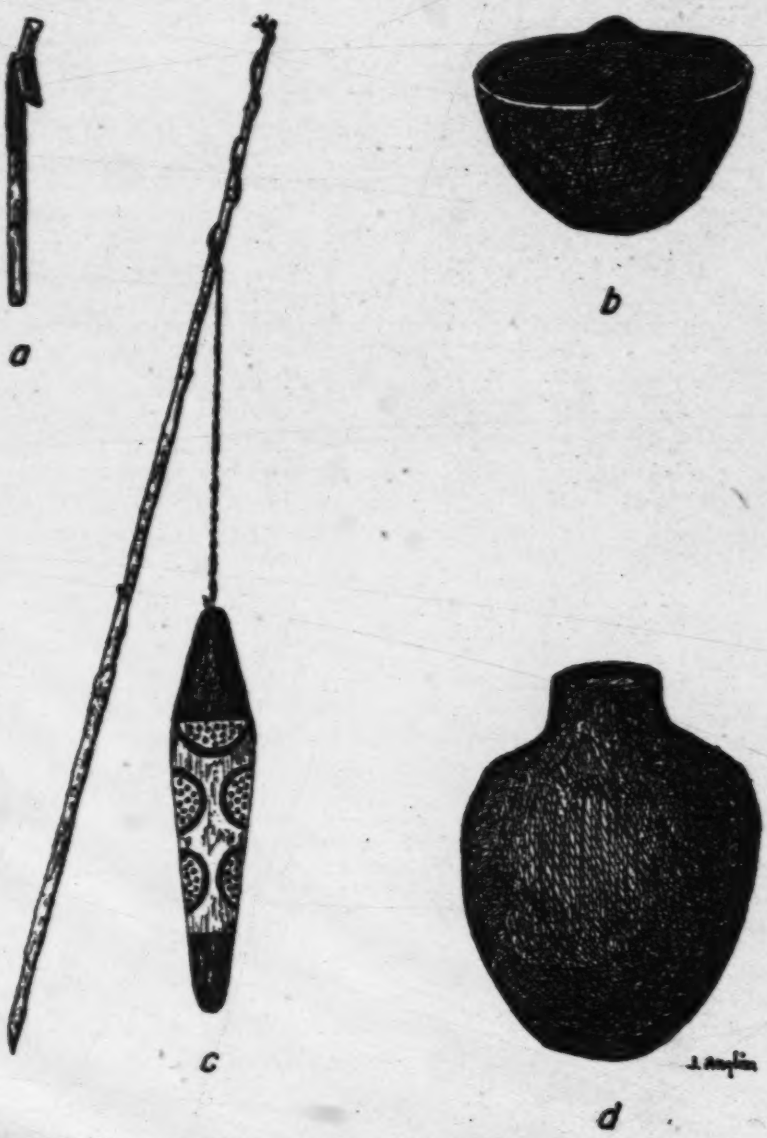

FIGURE 32.—Bororo manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent teeth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

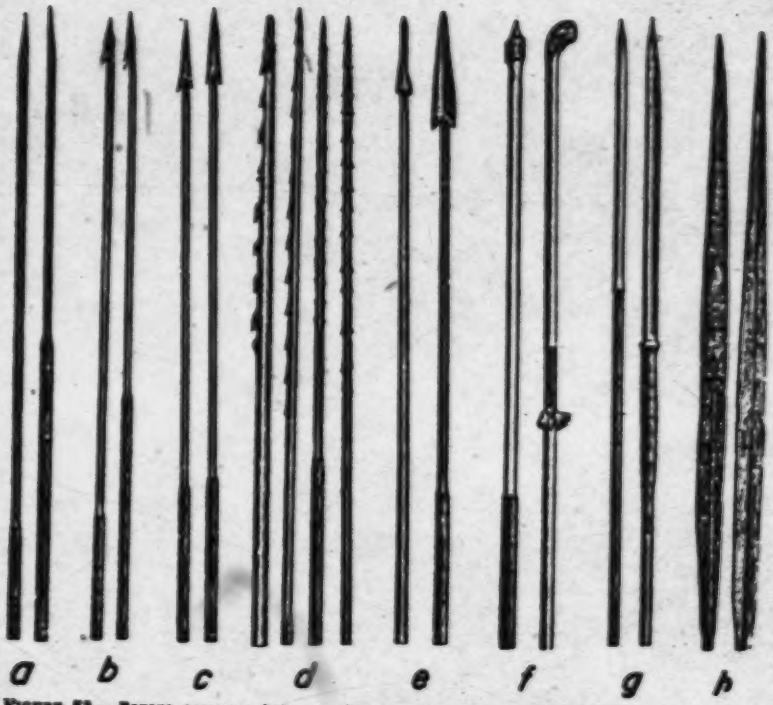

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (⅓ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

São Lorenço valley. The mussel shell beads and the cylindrical jasper kind are not to be found among the Bororo or those groups mentioned above.

M B 172

The method of burial of the Bororo is radically different from what was revealed in this excavation, leaving no doubt that the cemetery must antedate the occupation of the territory by these people.

B [301] [171]

The piranha is associated in magico-religious concepts of the tribes of the Kuluseu-Kulueme region. Its jaws and teeth find practical application by all of the aborigines, being used as scrapers, or cutters. The cache of piranha jaws and teeth thus becomes meaningful.

B [764]

The body was not buried always in the same position. The site revealed that it was placed sometimes on the side, and sometimes on the back, with the legs flexed at various degrees.

All of the burials were unquestionably primary, judging from the articulating position of the bones. No marks of any kind were found on the skeletal material.

The pottery is of poor quality, being of coarse clay and badly fired. The decoration that was found on several potsherds and on one small pot was impressed string pattern. The pottery ware is different from that made by the Bororo.

B [323]

The lithic industry is too poorly represented to permit any conclusions. What was found is polished, and badly made. Its scarcity suggests that it was not a major industry in the culture represented. However, the stone, if not the artefacts, must have been imported from the highlands of the west or the north, since there is no stone in the region.

CEMETERY II

(Plate VIII, 1, 2)

About five miles to the west of Cemetery I, and the port of Descavaldos, is located Cemetery II, part of an extensive archaeological site whose limits have not been determined. The land is slightly elevated from the rest of the pantanal, so that during the floods it forms an island, but at the height of the dry season it remains partly surrounded by a large lagoon which is connected with the Paraguay only by marshes. When the water is high it can be reached by canoe from the Paraguay. It constitutes an ideal location for a native village, in that it is situated in the pantanal where game is plentiful, it is close to the river, though hidden

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina 574
to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had 735
been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. 342
The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleep- 352
ing either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no 592
further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make 323
pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no indus- 287
try whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were 411
several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language 177
being almost forgotten even by the older people. 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, 574
they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the 533
men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompani- 535
ment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Sev- [273]
eral times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

is ever lost. Our Bakairi were imbued with the same spirit, for often the paddle would be dropped and replaced with bow and arrow though we may not have needed the extra food. This anxiety to gather as much food as is encountered was also manifested in the case of turtle eggs found in the sand banks. For those days that we travelled, each canoe at the end of the day would have gathered at least thirty or forty eggs. This food was shared generously with everyone. [Plate XIII, 2.]

Y Ba 226 105 171 [222]

Another method of fishing was with a spear. Especially in the dry season, the fish withdraw to the deep pools where it is impossible to reach them with an arrow. A spear is usually made of two sections: a wooden shaft with a large conical bone point and a reed extension to the shaft. Both sections measure about seven metres in length. [Plate XIII, 1.]

Y [411]

Damming of the lagoons is resorted to. A dip net with a handle about three metres long is in use, and drag nets are apparently used in season.

Y [227]

Fish is eaten almost raw; the only method of cooking seen was barbecuing, either by placing it on a platform over a fire or by placing it on a framework close to the fire. Salt is unknown and not liked, as evidenced when they were asked to try our food, when though hungry, none would accept it if it had been seasoned with salt.

Y 105 171 252 [263]

Another food in usage, highly prized and carefully stored away is the fruit piki, which grows wild. The fruit is boiled in the large earthen pots, placed in cylindrical bark containers, about one and half metres to two metres in length and a third of a metre in diameter, sealed tight at both ends, and placed under water in some cool pool. These bark containers are reinforced with wooden slats. On ceremonial occasions they are opened and a quantity sufficient for the immediate needs is taken out to be distributed to every member of the village equally. It is mixed with water and drunk, without fermentation. Both the Yawalapiti and Naravute had these bark containers.

Y 105 171 251 415

Pottery

Pottery is poorly developed in the region. Neither in quantity nor variety, nor in technical perfection does it compare with that of the Bororo. The forms are simple though characteristic.

Y Bo 105 171 323

[text continues on p. 155]

Brazil.

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by
353 the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

/490 cont./

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice
574 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

415

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

/504 cont./

764 "The departed remains on his deathbed untouched for three days until decomposition is already far advanced and there is a disagreeable, nauseating odor; on the third day the corpse is wrapped in skins, mats, and green leaves, laid in the pit, and this again covered with earth, palm leaves, and mats.

"The burial place is in the center of the village and is kept very clean; it had the appearance of a European cemetery."

765 In this valuable account one point must be discussed in more
174 detail. Waehneldt, with his short visit in the Mato Grosso, re-
114 gards the Bororó as ancient inhabitants of the region and believes, since he saw burial in urns, that urns, too, which are found "in abundance in old habitations now forsaken, largely filled with bones," originated among the ancestors of the Bororó. His Bororó, however, are the ones who were settled here by the fazendeiro Leite after long struggles; there are many old urn-cemeteries of the same type in the vicinity of Villa Maria; they have nothing to do with the modern Bororó and
765 are yet to be investigated. Waehneldt himself says that he only
174 "came across a few pots of clay which were made by them and
[323] in addition several larger vessels for storing various objects, which were heirlooms from the ancestors because they are no longer made today." Either the Bororó had taken such urns as models and replaced their bone-baskets -- a /illustration appears here/ /505/ first step toward the urn -- with them, or, what I consider more likely in view of their acknowledged inferior performance in ceramics, which corresponds exactly to our Bororó, and the statement that old urns were used for other things, they buried their dead in the old urns which are to be found in such numbers and in part empty at the old dwelling sites
765 now abandoned. The original custom of the Bororó is the same
171 as that of Humboldt's Aturen /Ature/, of whom the traveler found only remnants in the form of 600 well-preserved skeletons colored red with urucú and packed in baskets of palm-leaf ribs as in a square bag, and of whose language only an old parrot of the nearby mission was still able to prattle a few words. The Aturen also, in accordance with tradition, had first laid their corpses in the earth for a time, let the flesh decompose, and

[Text Continues on p. 634]

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupá*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buritĩ palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 514 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 241 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 621 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 291 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 561
club where visitors are received and entertained. The baehytu of 346
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 442
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 572
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 764
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged bee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

Plate VIII

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others dis-
[178] puted the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition
224 to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were pre-
[222] dominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also
[462] helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and
[756] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated
[231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.
226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.
262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are
[263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded
[574] or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large
[342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall,
[345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of
[184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

only the Caboclass

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
364 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground,
352 over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
342 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[881] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[714] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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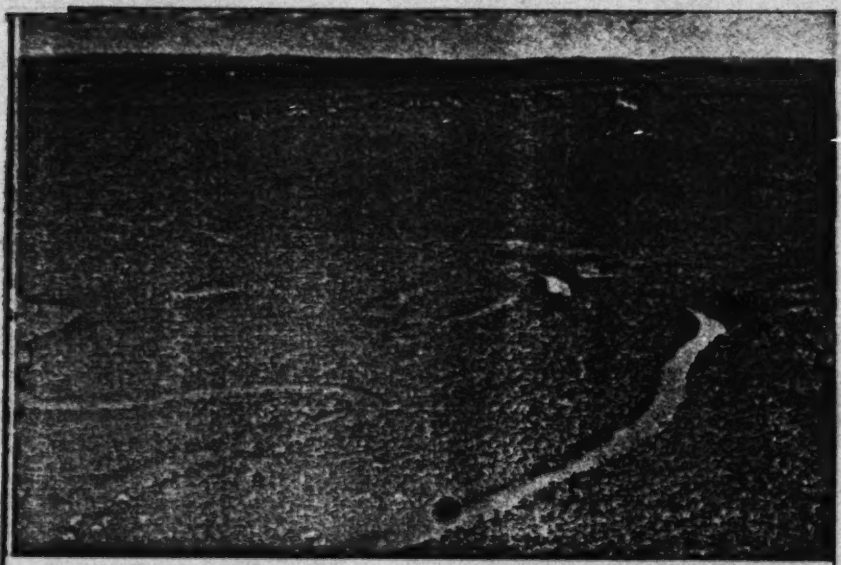

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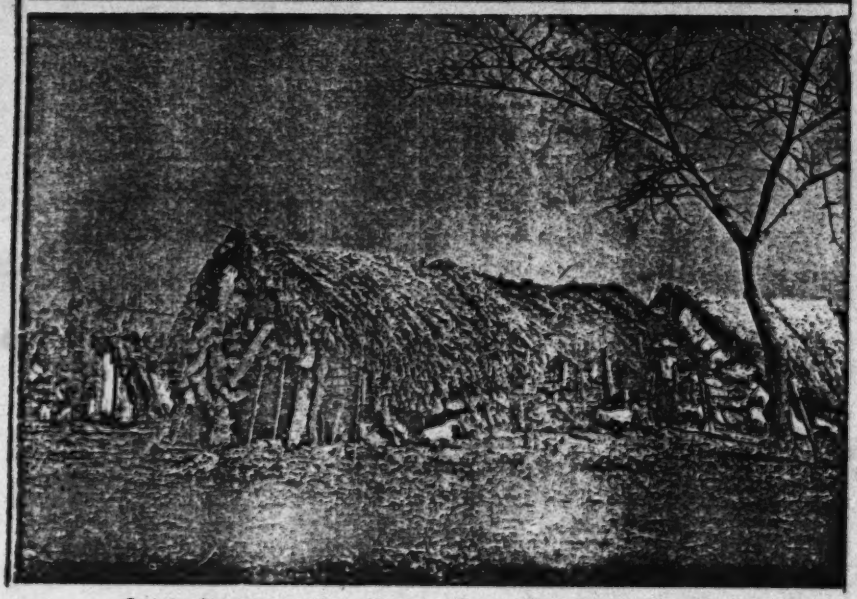

PLATE 82.—Bororo country and houses. *Top:* Air view of the Chapadão, north of Cuyabá. *Bottom:* Bororo palm-thatched hut. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-A]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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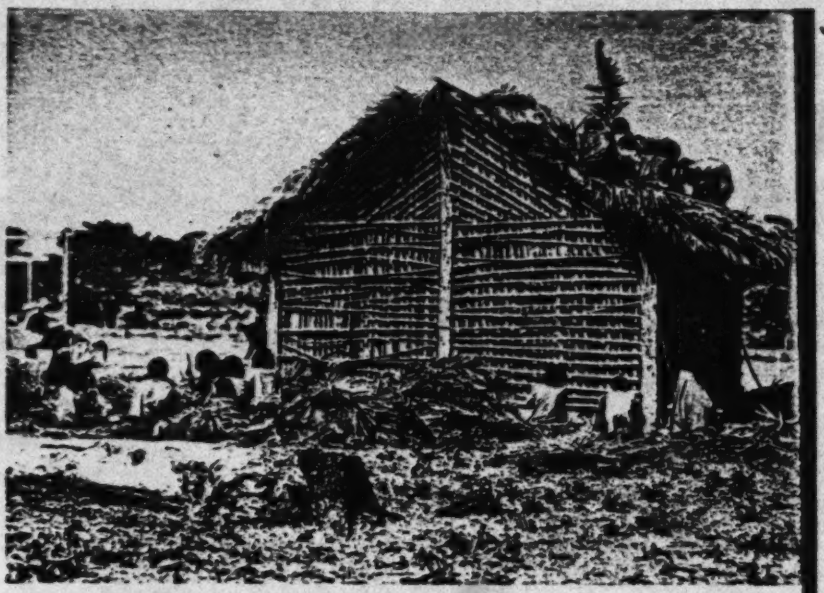

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PLATE 91.—Bororo houses. *Top:* São Lourenço *Bororo* house. *Bottom:* *Bororo* de Campanha village. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 432-B]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Kejara Bororo SP8

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PLATE IV.—Bororo festival at village of Kejara. Top: Dance of the "Marédo." Bottom: Presentation of the "Marédo." (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[p. 432-E]

[Bororo da Campanha]

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space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina 574
to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had 735
been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. 342
The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleep- 352
ing either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no 512
further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make 323
pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no indus- 287
try whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were 411
several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language 177
being almost forgotten even by the older people. 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, 574
they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one 533
for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the 535
men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Sev- [273]
eral times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
794 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
616 moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

5: Baldus--46 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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9: Eastern Bororo: houses of Indians of Meruri

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10: Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Diretor /Director Priest/ in Meruri.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

[facing p.50]

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BORORO HOUSE, BRAZIL

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INTERIOR OF BORORÓ HOUSE, BRAZIL

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

its obscure heart an exact image of anything it winks at, must be some wicked device of the *bopi*—demons. The savage believes that any one having his picture may practice some black art over it and bring evil upon the original: that, as one may do what he wishes with the image, he likewise has power over the real man. Moreover, if one is such a powerful conjurer that he can secure that image, What may he not do with the original? I had to bribe them with valuable gifts in order to secure a number of pictures.

The Bororó, like other South American tribes, dwell in gloomy palm-branch huts that resemble squatty, old hay-stacks huddled together in complete disorder in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees of the upland jungle. They are constructed by first planting two posts in the ground twenty or thirty feet apart, ten feet high, and terminating in a fork, to support the ridge pole, which is held in position by means of creepers from the forest, instead of nails. Against the ridge pole, are reclined and bound, the rafters, the feet of which are sunk slightly in the ground and the upper ends are bound to the ridge pole. Bamboo poles are next bound horizontally to these rafters, while upright stakes are set in at the gables; and finally, to the entire frame-work, are bound huge, feather-shaped palm-branches, to shed the rain, and exclude the light because of the flies. The primitive residence is now complete. The only light that enters is what filters through the palm-branches. To enter, one pushes aside the palm-branches at one end and enters in a stooping position.

These strange, uncouth dens of savagery, are dark, unclean, and ill-smelling, and so devoid of every object considered absolutely essential to a civilized human abode, that it is difficult to comprehend that they are the dwellings of true human beings—the homes of multitudes of real men, women and children; where they are born, reared and pass their days, and the only abodes they have ever known. Entering one of these human lairs, we find it more or less strewn with decaying food refuse, such as bones and other rejected parts of fish, mammals, birds and reptiles; shells, stones and peelings

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by
353 the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, washing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is permitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

/449 cont./

122 only with grass. A single, but tall tree stood beside the little brook, whose banks were lined with many young buritf palms. It required courage to live and work here. Except for the farm walls at S. José, scarcely anything along the way reminded one of the struggles with the Bororó. Only we were occasionally struck by low, narrow arbors which had been made by putting together dwarfed sertão trees; they were attributable to the soldiers and had served for protection during the night. On 19 March, across terribly desolate grassy areas, we reached the first brooks flowing toward the S. Lourenço, which were as yet only a few meters wide. On the Ribeirão Prata we found a charming little landscape, which, with its woods and succulent meadow and the silver ribbon of the little source stream, vividly recalled our home to us. Only a few young palm trees argued against this, and the thermometer, which stubbornly measured 22.8° for the very refreshing, "ice-cold" water. On 21 March there followed the descent from the plateau terrace past picturesque red sandstone rocks, and in the afternoon we reached the orange groves of the military colony, where the beautiful forest-edged S. Lourenço flowed past at a width of 127 meters. We were very hospitably received by the commander, Captain Serejo.

361 On the next day we arrived at Thereza Christina. It is situated upstream, also on the right bank and not far below where the Prata empties, but the S. Lourenço makes great bends between the two colonies and the forest area is so swampy that one is forced to make a long detour inland.

[342] Above a bank a few meters high, an extensive forest clearing; on the open place covered with dry weeds, many massive old tree trunk still standing, and here and there hewn trunks lying about, a great many low, rec tangular, in part long huts with gable roofs covered with palm straw which begin just above the door; everything prosaic and cheerless in the same grayish-yellow shade of straw and loam, surrounded by forest on three sides, the fourth bordered by a majestic, wide stream and beyond it a dark strip of luxuriant forest, above which appears an extended chain of flat hills -- that was Thereza Christina.

/450 cont./

361 Arrangement of the colony. The principal building of the colony had as its groundplan a long, very narrow rectangle. It consisted of a number of rooms with stamped loam floor, loam-plastered paneled walls, and a low straw-roof; the doors all opened out on the same side facing the main plaza. The furniture was limited to tables, chairs, and chests. On one end was Duarte's one-window room without a door to the outside; then came the room where meals were eaten, where Caldas sometimes taught school in the morning, and where people gathered generally, with a door to the plaza and also an opposite one leading out to the rear, to the left the entrance to Duarte's room and to the right the door to a supply room in which alcoholic spirits were kept and the key to which played an important part in dealings with the Indians. There then followed, with doors to the plaza, the cadêa /jail/, a small detention room for the soldiers, which was always occupied and the inhabitant of which was obliged to spend the day in the hammock, a room for Eliseo and the administrator, and supply rooms. The apothecary had his well-stocked poison-kitchen in a little house by himself which lay a few steps /451/ opposite. The soldiers lived in small ranchos, some of them toward the river, some on the edge of the forest. [342] Round about lay the Indian huts, like gabled roofs standing on the ground, six paces wide, ten to 13 paces long; they afforded protection against the sun and to some extent against rain, left nothing to be desired in the way of simplicity, and served as an abode for one family each.

345 In the center of the colony a large area was left free; here stood the so-called ranchão, namely, large rancho or baitó of the Indians, cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/, ten paces wide and 26 paces long. It, too, was built without any skill, though with the help of the soldiers; the longitudinal sides consisted of poles which were covered carelessly with palm leaves and were so far apart that one could enter almost anywhere; the transverse sides were even more open. The illustration shows the Indians busy repairing the roof with palm branches. The bachelors worked and slept in the baitó; it was also the center for all festivities,

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*muktmo*) was built
621 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
● 342 (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

344

[Information on the "Great Hut" of the Bororo, which serves as a residence hall for the single men of the village, as a clubhouse, village workshop, and "public brothel", will be found in category 345.]

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of estab-
595 lished institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

/271/

616 Čera Phratry:
614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan
O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan
Ki (Tapir) clan
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan
Bakoro clan
Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates
621 the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big
● 343 circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.
621 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation
616 to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves:
614 the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/: in the foreground the O Čera Čębege^{w}ō hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreŏ, Bokodori Čębege^{w}ō, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddada^{w} huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure.
616 But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very
614 oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the
823 course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čābōge^{w}ōge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębege^{w}ōge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614
823 Ewãguddudõge čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewãguddudõge čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaʷge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47 /).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokęjeʷõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokęje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokęjeʷo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewãguddudõge bo'pokęjeʷõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewãguddudõge kurigeõ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/273 cont./

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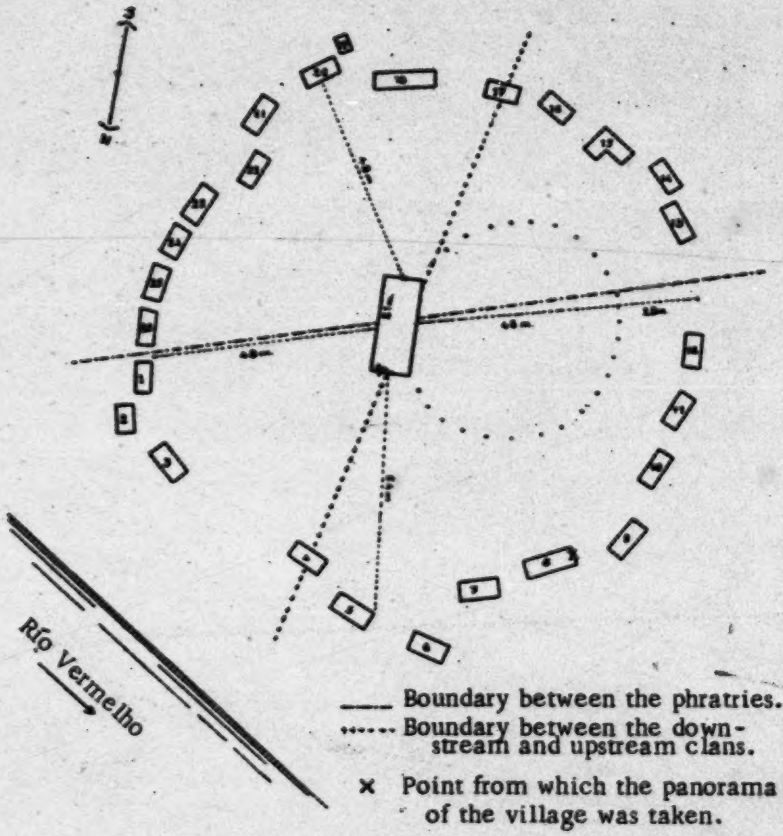

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čãbõgeʷõge are on the left (upstream) and the Čębegeʷõge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddaďeᵀge.

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the population. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage° was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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463
301

1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:

535 wure wure	foot, foot
533 kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
čegu'ę	we others
čę	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
čęgiga	we joyous

764 of the Ewãguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bãdejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewãguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
● 345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau prepared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous
[576] ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text continues on p. 27]

/297 cont./

Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never observed spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

[283] [345] [283] [286]

/298/ Note I

614 779 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Čera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct ᵃKario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

1:Lévi-Strauss--47 E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

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B

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--47a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The men's house, door of the Tugare.
B. Dance of the Paiwe clan.
C. Dance of the buriti clan.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others dis-
[178] puted the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition
224 to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were pre-
[222] dominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also
[462] helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and
[756] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated
[231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.
226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.
262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are
[263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded
[574] or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large
[342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall,
[345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of
[184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Women wear a gray perineal band,
841 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a
342 girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture
[431] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.
[583]

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São
[386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous
[237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus
[755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92,
237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice
[184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço
489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding
[481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and
[501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck
[345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage,
[301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards.
[286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 56.—Bororo village of Kejara. *Top:* Men's club in foreground. *Below:* Women in native dress. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

345 [513] [796] 616 [476] 177 648 [181]

[p. 39-F]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually 000
in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that 342
even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they 364
erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of 361
the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of 364
huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- 356
ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing 296
to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, 592
each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very 345
large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut [361]
is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling [342]
is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a [342]
bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; [589]
a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the [548]
men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is per- [562]
mitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts 000
in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Nagarêda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now 526
steps quickly over to the *Sheraidi* group, grasps a man by the 616
wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheraidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarêda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm.

The signal to begin the race being given, each team in- 526
stantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw [361]
down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the [345]
contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, [352]
who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows.

The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals— 533
if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. [512]
They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall [345]
nearly every evening just after nightfall.

8: Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909 SP8 Bororo SP8

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Camping in the Matto Grosso Wilds.

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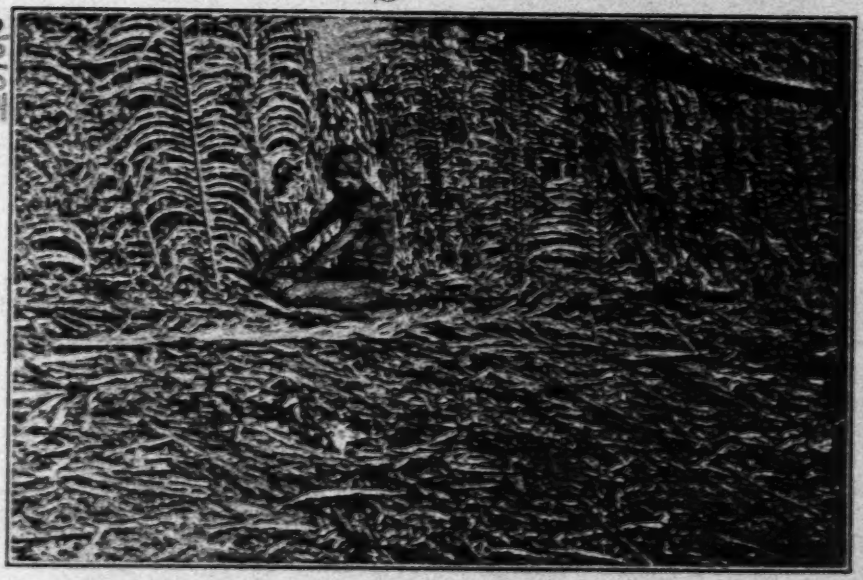

Bororó Funeral Ceremonies. The mother of the deceased, her hair jerked out and her body slashed from head to foot, is chanting just outside the great hut.

[Facing 398]

361 some distance before casting ourselves into the current.
[122] Missing the landing place, there was great danger of our losing, not only our effects, but our lives as well.

We found the cluster of huts situated about one mile back from the river, and in the heart of the densest and most impassable upland tangle that I have ever seen. The trees
[137] were fifty feet high and less, and almost numerous enough to form a thick forest, while below them, the whole country was overgrown by a terrible jungle of bushes, briars and coarse grass. A small, circular space, like a gigantic nest, had been cleared in the center of this forbidding thicket, in which fifteen or twenty palm-branch huts clustered in the usual disorder.
[487] This wild man's lair was approached by a serpentine path just wide enough to allow men to pass in single file. The village was hidden away in this manner in order that its position might not be known to enemies, or that it might be very difficult to assault.

122 We were conducted at once to the great hut, where we
●345 were entertained while in the village, and in one corner of which we suspended our hammocks and made ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. But we found this a hot, stuffy, ill-smelling *hotel*, and in addition, the mosquitoes were very numerous and industrious.

622 As soon as we were settled, we asked to see the chief man of the village, who appeared. He was six feet tall, well proportioned, intelligent and dignified, and the finest appearing Bororó I had seen. He seemed to have more real authority, too, than any Bororó captain I had met. The Bororó have
622 no tribal chief. Each village governs itself, independently,
624 having a few elderly men who are captains, in a way, by reason of seniority, in whom the chief authority is vested. But their powers, and the obedience rendered them, seem to be variable and uncertain. A strong character may arise from time to time, and by favoring circumstances, reach a position where he may command the entire obedience of his village. But ordinarily, the chief men do not appear to possess much real authority, individually. Of course, when they go

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

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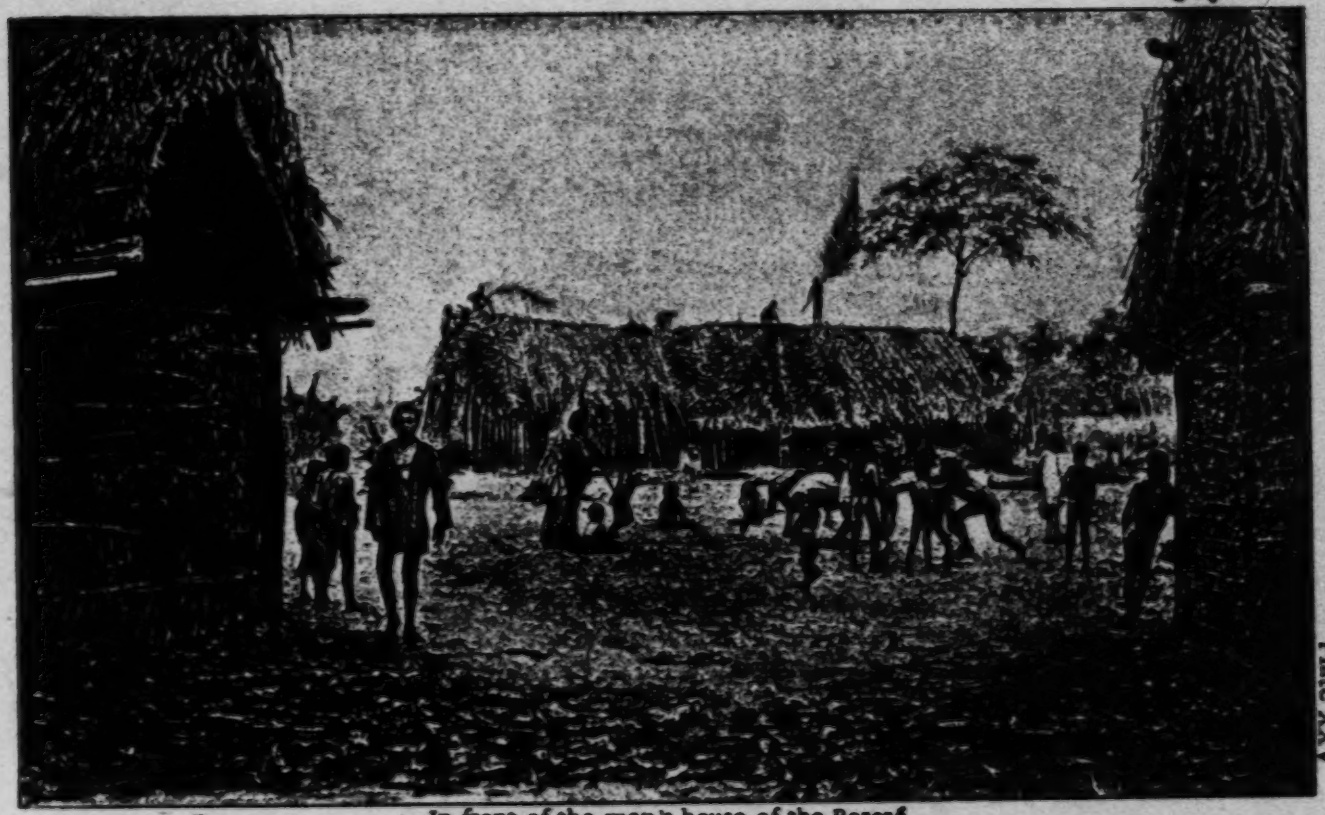
Bororo SP8
2: Steinen--552 Fp-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Plate XXV



In front of the men's house of the Bororó.

/450 cont./

361 Arrangement of the colony. The principal building of the colony had as its groundplan a long, very narrow rectangle. It consisted of a number of rooms with stamped loam floor, loam-plastered paneled walls, and a low straw-roof; the doors all opened out on the same side facing the main plaza. The furniture was limited to tables, chairs, and chests. On one end was Duarte's one-window room without a door to the outside; then came the room where meals were eaten, where Caldas sometimes taught school in the morning, and where people gathered generally, with a door to the plaza and also an opposite one leading out to the rear, to the left the entrance to Duarte's room and to the right the door to a supply room in which alcoholic spirits were kept and the key to which played an important part in dealings with the Indians. There then followed, with doors to the plaza, the cadêa /jail/, a small detention room for the soldiers, which was always occupied and the inhabitant of which was obliged to spend the day in the hammock, a room for Eliseo and the administrator, and supply rooms. The apothecary had his well-stocked poison-kitchen in a little house by himself which lay a few steps /451/ opposite. The soldiers lived in small ranchos, some of them toward the river, some on the edge of the forest.
[342] Round about lay the Indian huts, like gabled roofs standing on the ground, six paces wide, ten to 13 paces long; they afforded protection against the sun and to some extent against rain, left nothing to be desired in the way of simplicity, and served as an abode for one family each.

●345 In the center of the colony a large area was left free; here stood the so-called ranchão, namely, large rancho or baitó of the Indians, cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/, ten paces wide and 26 paces long. It, too, was built without any skill, though with the help of the soldiers; the longitudinal sides consisted of poles which were covered carelessly with palm leaves and were so far apart that one could enter almost anywhere; the transverse sides were even more open. The illustration shows the Indians busy repairing the roof with palm branches. The bachelors worked and slept in the baitó; it was also the center for all festivities,

•345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/486 cont./

411 bamboo point, hollowed out with the capibara chisel, and is only loosely fastened with a little resin and string; cf. No. 4. The war arrow, No. 10, also carved out of seriba, bears a very narrow (one to two centimeters) piece of bamboo, round, but sharpened along its entire length (37 centimeters). The bamboo points break off in the body.

The barbed arrow is equipped with a harpoon device to catch alligators and larger fish. The length of the harpoon arrow in No. 9 was 1.78 centimeters /sic/, 31 centimeters of which should be allowed for the barbed stick fastened to a rope; the shaft, a thick ubá reed, was additionally wound half a meter in breadth.

The snapshot in Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ and Plate 28 /see p. 600/ show the stretching of the bow. The crouching archer holds the bow horizontally; the standing one, vertically. A reserve arrow is held parallel to the bow with the left hand. In this case the arrow rests to the left of the bow on the index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. At its rear end it is grasped between thumb and index finger, the thumb lets go, the index finger, in extended position, supports and adjusts the arrow more accurately, the other three fingers, especially the middle
[171] finger, stretch the bowstring. Thus, the stretching is different from that on the Kulisehu (cf. page 237). In the case of the crouching archer, where the arrow lies on the bow and is slightly pressed against it there by the tip of the index finger of the left hand, the position of the stretching right hand differs insofar as the rear end of the arrow is held between the tightly grasping thumb and the bent index finger.

•345 Work in the men's house and techniques. Each one had his particular place: one who lived in the direction of the river, in the corner facing the river, and so forth, all according to the position of the house of the nearest relatives. Here where the
[571] Indians were among themselves there prevailed, except for the sexual practices, a commendable order, even according to our
461 concepts. A person who had nothing to do, of course, idled with great perseverance, but a person who was occupied with his weapons, ornaments, and implements worked indefatigably and

2: Steinen--633 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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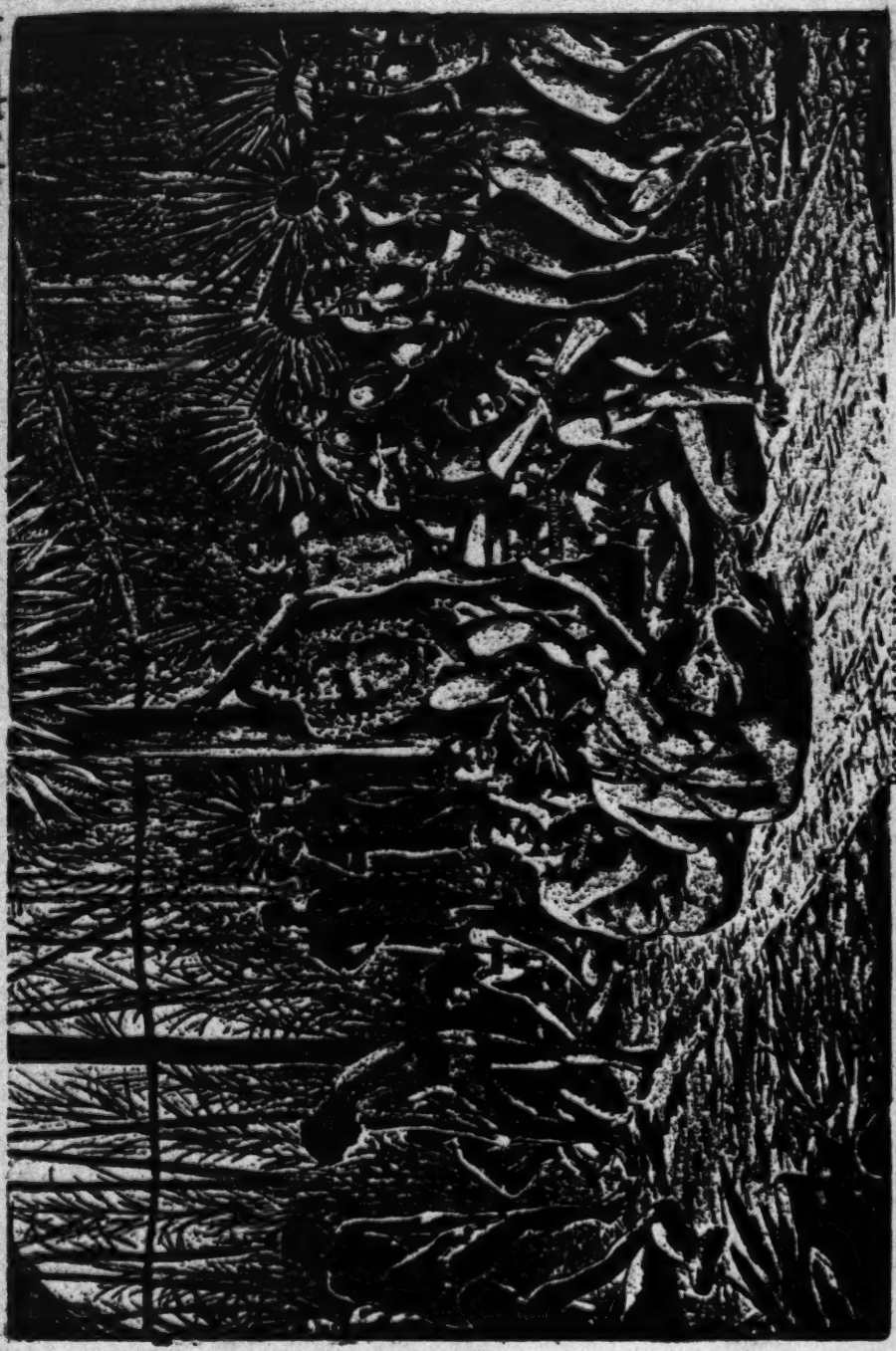

Bororo death-rites.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the taton canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood
346 in the center and was called bachytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This bachytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 361
club where visitors are received and entertained. The baehytu of 346
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 412
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 572
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 764
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

only the Caboclas

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
● 352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
342 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[881] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
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[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently. 574 735

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut. 342 352 512

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 323 287 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people. 411 177 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance 574 533 535 [273]

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524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the ap-
[352] plause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each
224 party eating separately.

226 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are
533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the un-
[532] earthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them.
583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

Brazil.

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

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415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
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252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
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857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
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Nagarêda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now 526
steps quickly over to the *Sheraidi* group, grasps a man by the 616
wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheraidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarêda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm.

The signal to begin the race being given, each team in- 526
stantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw [361]
down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the [345]
contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, [352]
who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows.

The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals— 533
if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. [512]
They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall [345]
nearly every evening just after nightfall.

/455 cont./

517 him over, but he was lifted up and lost. Small fires were burning
[352] alongside the house. The men were lying in a row, one beside the other, their heads resting on chunks of wood, to sleep out there; they were chatting and biting stalks of sugar cane with their teeth, tossing the remains in an arc behind them. They were very much amused when I squatted down beside the fire and wrote down their words. At small fires to one side women were sleeping with their husbands; children were still running around gaily late in the night and romping across the plaza.

648 /456/ Meat distribution. 26 March. An efficient administration would find an excellent means of getting the Indians accustomed to order by the manner of its food distribution. But no one thinks of fair equality, either in rations or in other things. Everything is arbitrary. The crude scene at the distribution of the tapíra, the ox, about two of which are slaughtered weekly and which represent a cheap food in the Mato Grosso, defies all description. The Brazilians could hardly make things easier for themselves. The pieces of meat and chopped bones are piled up in layers on top of one another in a great heap on a skin in front of the house; the Indians, men and women and older children, some of them armed with baskets, stand waiting to one side, one of the cadets gives the signal, and the whole crowd pounces on the meat and bones like a pack of wolves. It was such a disgusting sight that I lost my sense of humor, although a circle of onlookers regarded the spectacle with a certain enjoyment. Espe-
[732] cially the idiot Dyapokuri, a cretin type, attracted general attention; with animal savagery the imbecile, the deputy of the men's house, seized three huge pieces and, with grunts of triumph, dragged them away with shining eyes while the spittle ran down his hanging lower jaw. If this were nothing but a crude occasional joke, but no, it is the regular, local procedure. The
[756] Indian is thereby reduced to conditions which in his hunting life
[626] he overcame ages ago; for it is one of the chief purposes of the institution of the barí or medicine men (as we shall see) to prevent discord in the distribution of booty, a problem which the latter, it is true, solve by securing the best pieces for themselves.

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not
[515] bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

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616 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the
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The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
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The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
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614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
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over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
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[facing p.50]

342
291

BORORO HOUSE, BRAZIL

353
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INTERIOR OF BORORÒ HOUSE, BRAZIL

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/135 cont./

added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

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longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

Brazil.

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
● 354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by
353 the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 361
club where visitors are received and entertained. The bachytu of
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 346
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 482
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356 ●
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 572
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 764
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually 000
in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that 342
even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they 364
erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of 361
the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of 364
huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- 356
ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing 296
to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, 592
each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very 345
large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut [361]
is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling [342]
is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a [342]
bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; [589]
a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the [548]
men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and
finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is per- [562]
mitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts 000
in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
● 361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[199] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

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Čera Phratry:

616 614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan

O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan

Ki (Tapir) clan

Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan

Bakoro clan

Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 621 [345] The morphological structure of the village directly indicates the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baïte-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis. 621 616 614 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves: the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/: in the foreground the O Čera Čębege^{w}ō hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreŏ, Bokodori Čębege^{w}ō, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddada hut). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 616 614 823 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure. But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čąbōge^{w}ōge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębege^{w}ōge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

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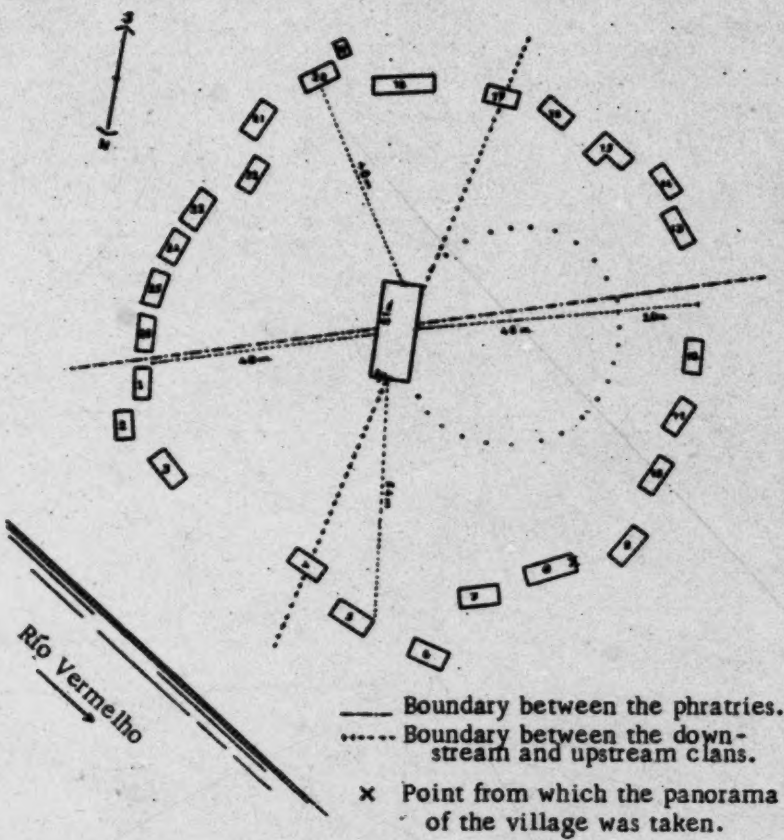

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čãbõgeʷõge are on the left (upstream) and the Čębegeʷõge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddaďeᵗge.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the population. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tušawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tušawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

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203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[516] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact
[302] of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuǰawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuǰawa, the

Plate VIII

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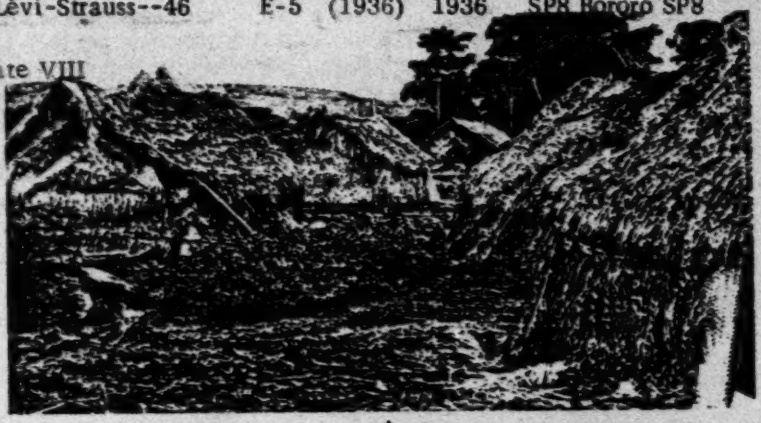

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Otuké SF18 Bororo SP8

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepetuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçaes* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kajari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1896 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

Food preparation.—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional only the Caboocass
184 equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

784 Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
361 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
616 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the
614 southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
462 it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
859 by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
342 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to
881 the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
764 necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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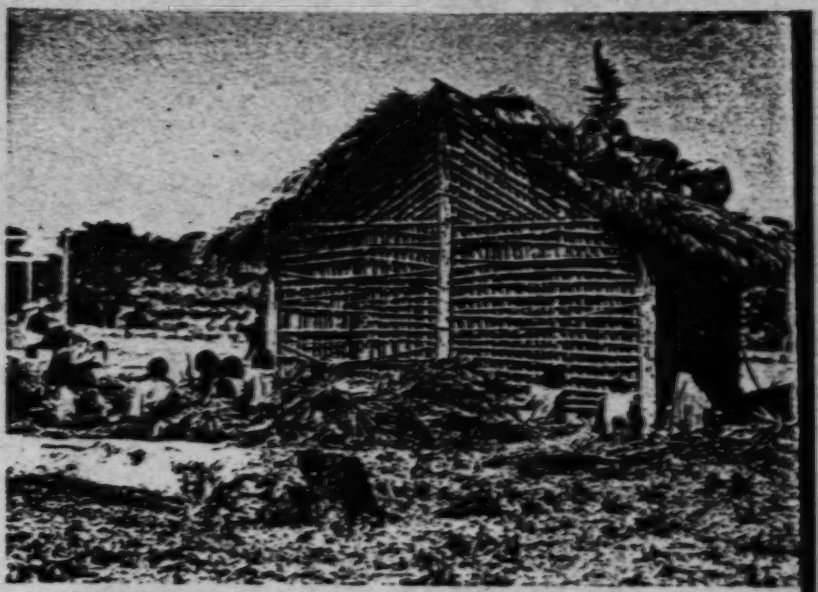

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PLATE 61.—Bororo houses. Top: San Lourenço Bororo house. Below: Bororo de Cerqueira village.
(Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 432-B]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 16.—Bororo village of Kejara. Top: Man's club in foreground. Bottom: Women in native dress.
(Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

M 13 chapadão, as is also mammalian and floral life. The rivers are likewise well stocked with fish, and as the pantanal originally was comparatively thickly settled, so is this part of Matto Grosso. The quantities of fish seem to determine the density of the population. Indian villages are found along the rivers quite closely together. It is this section of Matto Grosso that is poorly and in some parts totally unknown.

M 361 Most of the southern part of the state is given over to civilized pursuits. The aboriginal peoples have practically disappeared, either having because exterminated or absorbed by the newcomers. From the time of the arrival of the earliest exploring parties, diamonds, gold and rubber have attracted the European adventurer, but now the main activity is cattle raising, though the search for diamonds still continues, especially at the headwaters of the Paraguay and the Araguaya rivers. A number of modern towns thrive along the railroad line, which runs from Porto Esperança on the Paraguay river, eastward. The most important cities are Cuyabá, the capital of the state, and Corumbá, the terminus of the shipping lines from Montevideo and Buenos Aires. S. Luis de Caceres is a typical frontier town, conservatively maintaining an atmosphere of the old colonial days. [Plate II, 1.]

B 361 648 Only the Eastern Bororo, on the São Lorenço, have survived the incursions of the white man. Pacified but a few years ago, they have been collected on reservations, where they still maintain their own culture. Pirigara, Corrego Grande and Rondonopolis, all on the São Lorenço river, are comparatively large settlements.

B 101 The Bororo da Campanha have almost disappeared, and there exist but a few families of the semi-nomadic Guató. These are not of pure blood, having mixed with negroes and whites, and have practically forgotten their original culture. On the Taquary, a few Terenos have been collected in a settlement.

B 101 648 At Barra dos Bugres a few Barbados[1] remain. Their pacification has been completed and they are making rapid progress under the tutelage of the Inspectoria.

000 Further north the Paressi and some Nhambikuaras live in settlements along the telegraph line. The Paressi have shown great adaptability for Brazilian culture.

The Inspectoria maintains other posts, in various parts of the country, but at places like Pedro Dantes it has not succeeded in establishing permanent settlements. [See map, Plate XXV.]

1 [i.e., Umotina.-Analyst]

[text continues on p. 100]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

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With the exception of the hills of Dourados, the country between Corumbá and S. Luis de Caceres is pantanal, with here and there a hill or range of hills rising abruptly from the level lowlands. Between Dourados and the Jauru river, the Bolivian border and the Paraguay river, is the vast ranch of Descavaldos, which is larger than Belgium in area, with many thousands of cattle roaming its meadows and an insignificant number of people to testify to its existence as a reclaimed land. Wild life is more abundant than the cattle, demonstrating its great tenacity in comparison to human life. Its original human inhabitants have gone, and new ones, Brazilian, Paraguayan, Bolivian, German and American, have taken their place. A mere handful of Bororo, who are so only in name, remain where there were once thousands.

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But the ranch is rich in archaeology. Its aboriginal population planted in the ground some phases of its culture which have withstood the action of water and other destructive elements. There are numerous localities where the archaeologist can recover some of the products of the arts of the now-extinct tribes. The newcomers to the land have not left these undisturbed. In the making of cuña and in keeping it afterwards the large funeral urns that can be so easily gotten from the ground have been found to be excellent receptacles. In the making of new pottery, it has been discovered that the clay of the old mixed with the fresh preparation, gives it a better temper. The result of these two useful discoveries has been the ruthless excavation of a number of sites in a most destructive way. Fortunately the area is a vast one and the population very sparse, and archaeology is to be found everywhere, so that the scientist can still tap fresh and undisturbed sources.

B
M
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It has been known that urn fields are plentiful in the region, and Max Schmidt also discovered petroglyphs in the hills of the Morro do Triompho near the Ilha de Caracaras. The natives also report the presence of mounds or tumuli, from one of which at Agua Verde, located on the Descavaldos ranch, the specimen shown in Plate XIX, 3 is supposed to have come, according to the lessee of the territory. It had been planned to visit the Morro do Triompho and the hills of Dourados to search for petroglyphs, and also to excavate one of these mounds. Climatic conditions interfered, causing the abandonment of these projects, for when the waters were high it was impossible to reach the desired localities, and when they had withdrawn, ethnology was occupying my attention.

[text continues on p. 106]

M
B
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Unit C

A large urn bearing a bowl cover, the inner surface of which bears a painted rectilinear design in red. The bowl is a large one, measuring forty centimetres across the top and fourteen in depth. In the bottom of the urn were found fragments of bones.

Unit D

A globular urn about forty centimetres in diameter, bearing rudimentary handles. It was covered with a bowl and contained disintegrated skeletal material.

Unit E

Urn of type (a), on which rested another urn of type (b), which was covered with a bowl. Both urns contained skeletal material.

Unit F

One of the largest urns taken out, measuring 1.23 metres in height, and .97 metre at the greatest diameter. This specimen is now in the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. It bears no decoration. With the debris that it contained was found some skeletal material.

Unit G

A large urn of type (a), measuring .90 metre at the greatest diameter and an equal amount in height. The sides slope in abruptly forming shoulders, terminating in upturned rim collar. It bears no decoration. It likewise was originally covered with a bowl.

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Bororo da Campanha

While work continued at the cemetery site, a visit was paid to the remnants of the Bororo de Campanha, collected at a village locally known as Laguna.

B
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The trip to Laguna was made in the company of Messrs. E. R. Fenimore Johnson, John S. Clarke, Samuel T. Hoopes, Floyd Crosby, the cameraman, and guides. The village is situated on some high ground, covered with palm and banana groves. It consisted of a few huts arranged haphazardly, with that of the headman at the edge of a cleared

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently. 574 735

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut. 342 352 512

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 323 287 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people. 411 177 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance 574 533 535 [273]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

Eastern Bororo

B 101 184 361

On the São Lorenço river are a number of colonies of the eastern Bororo, who have not come so much under the influence of European civilization. These people still live apart in their villages and maintain their own institutions and industries. They unquestionably differ from the western Bororo in many ways.

B 114 361

The colonies at Pirigara, Corrego Grande (São Lorenço), and Rondonopolis were visited by the expedition, but Corrego Grande received most attention. Sound motion-picture studies of the dances and industries were made and rich collections of artefacts obtained.

B 361 184 423

Unlike that of the Western Bororo, the village is still an orderly affair, being built in circular fashion with the men's hut in the center. The men actually live in this hut, the other houses really belonging to the women. Fishing, the cultivation of manioc, and hunting are the main occupations. [Plates IV, 2; V, 1, 2; VI, 1, 2; VII, 1, 2.]

B 114

Since an excellent study of a community of Bororo exists by Colbachini, little could be said of a descriptive nature in this brief paper that would not be duplication. Therefore, it is felt that time and space ought to be given to the Xingu trip.

At the Headwaters of the Xingu River

M 114

My original plans were to descend the Kuluene river, which has never been descended by an ethnographer; in fact, only recently has it been mapped by Major Ramior Noronha. However, after several conversations with Major Noronha at Cuyabá, finding that such a plan would add difficulties which would not bring any added results, I decided to descend the Kulusen and ascend the Kuluene to the Seventh of September, and then to ascend that river. This had the advantage of avoiding a longer overland trip and many miles of rapids, and offered the opportunity of seeing more aborigines.

For purposes of reconnaisance and as a safety measure, it was decided to make use of the airplane. Accordingly, before beginning the overland trip, two flights were made to the north. We decided to depend on water for taking off and landing, since the country did not offer such open runways that landing on wheels would be safe.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7

Ba
Bo
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[Facing P. 180-A]

[Plate XXV-A]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8

Bacairi SP7

PLATE XXV

Ba
Bo
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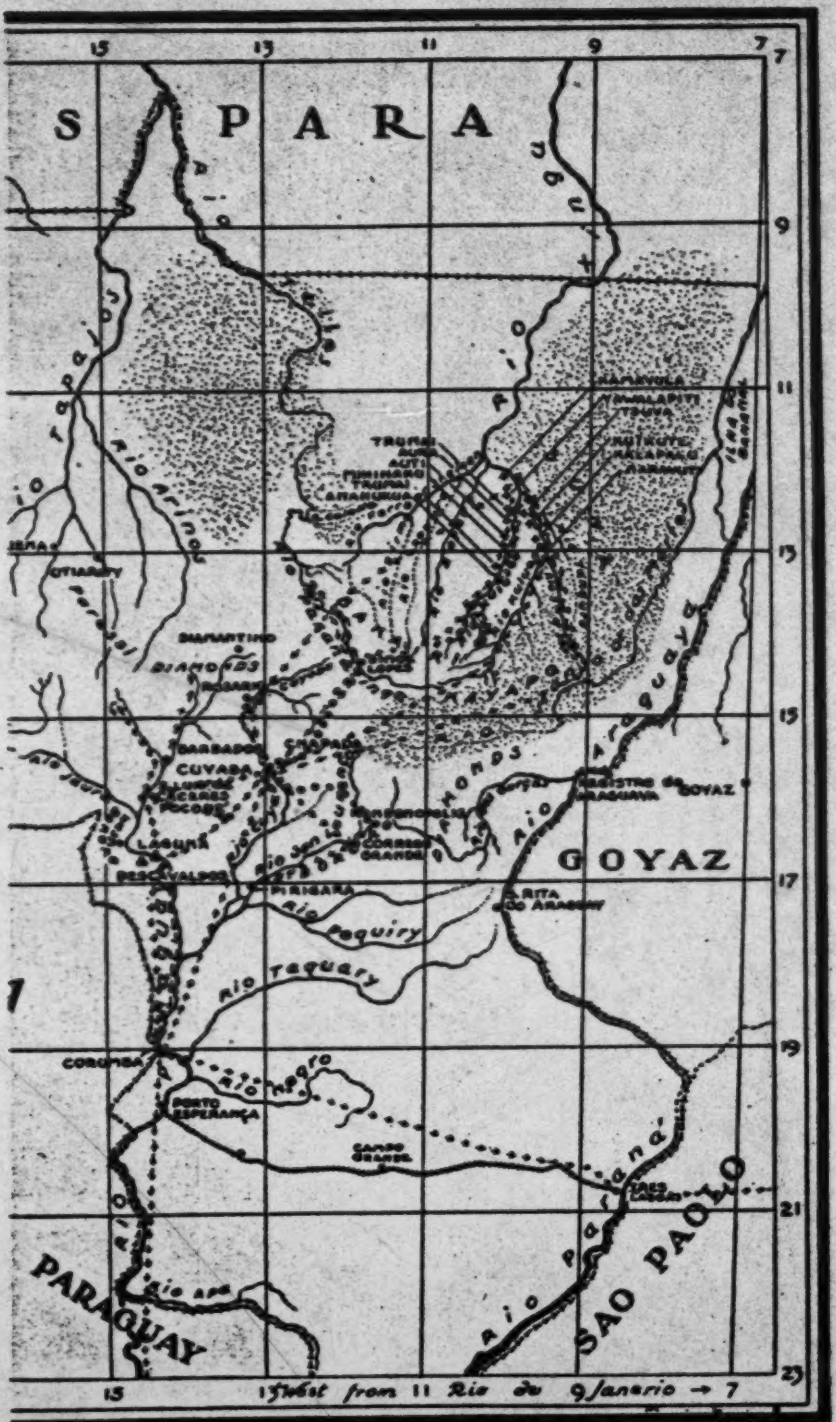
S P A R A
GOYAZ
PARAGUAY
SAO PAOLO
Rio Araguaya
Rio Tapajos
Rio Arinos
Rio Paraná
Rio Paquiry
Rio Taquary
Rio Aporé
Rio Apa
CUYABA
CORUMBA
PORTO ESPERANÇA
LAGUNA
DESCALVADOS
PIRIGARA
CORREGO GRANDE
CAMPO GRANDE
S. RITA DO ARAGUAYA
REGISTRO DO ARAGUAYA
GOYAZ
DIAMANTINO
DIAMOS
BARBADOS
CHAPADA
TRUMAI
AUTI
TUMIAMO
TRUMAI
ARANUKUA
KAPAYOLA
YAMALAPITI
TSUVA
KUTIKUTE
KALAPALO
ARAMAYT
KAYAPO
CAMPOS DOS PARECIS
CAMPOS DOS PARECIS
ITIARUTY
Rio Jauru
Rio Sta Ana
Rio Sta Ana
Rio Sta Ana

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabà, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[79] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

• 361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

and ornaments or just chatting.

361 The village layout is a reflection of the Bororo social structure. The Bororo point around the village circle with their fingers to show the place of important social groups. It is not necessary that these social groups actually be present in a village; the ideal village plan is in Bororo minds.

The villages are always situated near rivers. In the part of Mato Grosso where the Bororo live, rivers flow from east to west, and the villages are oriented so that the east-
61 west axis divides them into two halves. The Echerae moiety occupies the southern half, the Tugarege moiety occupies the northern. Each moiety consists of four clans, each clan of two subclans, and each subclan of many lineages. A lineage consists of people who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor and carry the same family name, which is the ancestor's personal name. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said by the Bororo to be related as matrilineal descendants of
[553] brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, animals, and plants. Though the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within the moiety are treated as if their common ancestors had been broth-
621 ers. In a village it is desirable for the important lineages
61 to be represented so that the village can properly carry out

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table XI

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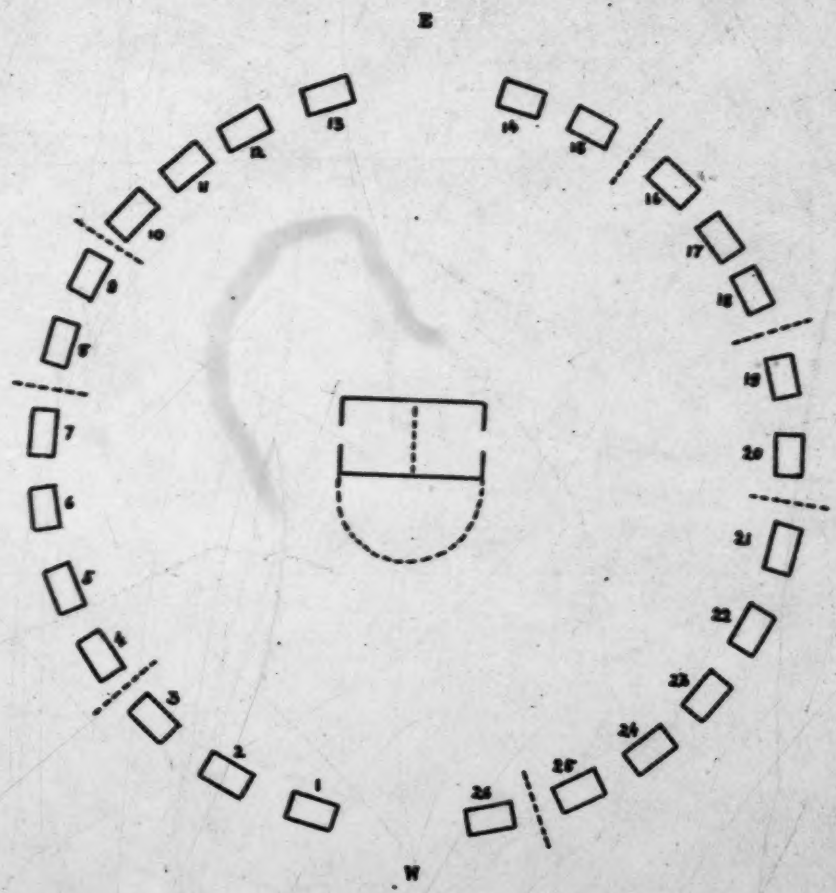

613 Paiwoe, Apiborege[1]
614 Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge
[796] Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge

[361] The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echerae (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Enogujeba Echerae (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

613 The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugi-
614 wuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Che-
571 begiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

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[1] The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[772] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[229] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure arego-
dure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day. Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and assexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
[361] Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the <u>Enciclopedia Bororo</u> show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7; Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the description of the Marido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echerae door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here,
613 allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase in population and consequent clustering of the members of the same lineage within a single village can motivate the less important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other places where they will be more appreciated and will have the chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies.
[362] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage
[591] sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can become more independent, but there is always the risk that she and her children will in time be classified as younger brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names
[36] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 With the decrease in population that has been going on
178 from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization,
361 the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-
613

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[551] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the village of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e.,

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

ritual practices accompanying death are often among the most elaborate and impressive ceremonies to be found in the primitive world. No more spectacular funerary ceremony is known to ethnology than that of the Bororo Indians of Brazil. 764

The Bororo now living on the São Lourenço River in the state of Mato Grosso call themselves *Orarimogodogue*—Fish People. Their settlement consists of a number of large thatched houses arranged in a circle around an open dance plaza. Each hut is occupied by a group of closely related women, together with their husbands and children. 131 101 361 592

[p. 39-E]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the tatou canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood
346 in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 561
club where visitors are received and entertained. The baekytu of 346
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 442
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 592
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 964
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [554]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet 609 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing [291] nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the [302] time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were 533 no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars. 133 137

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of *college yells*, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females. 361 574 122

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, brightly painted, uncouth appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The 361 137 291 302 000 136

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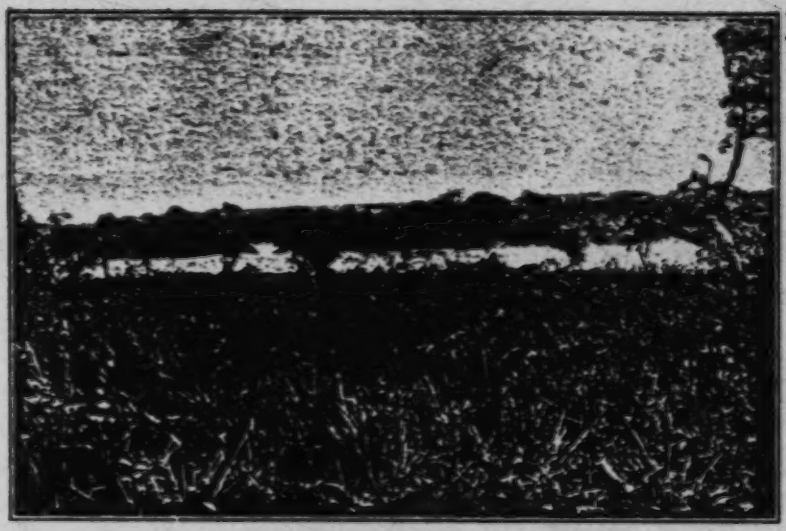

A Bororó Village.

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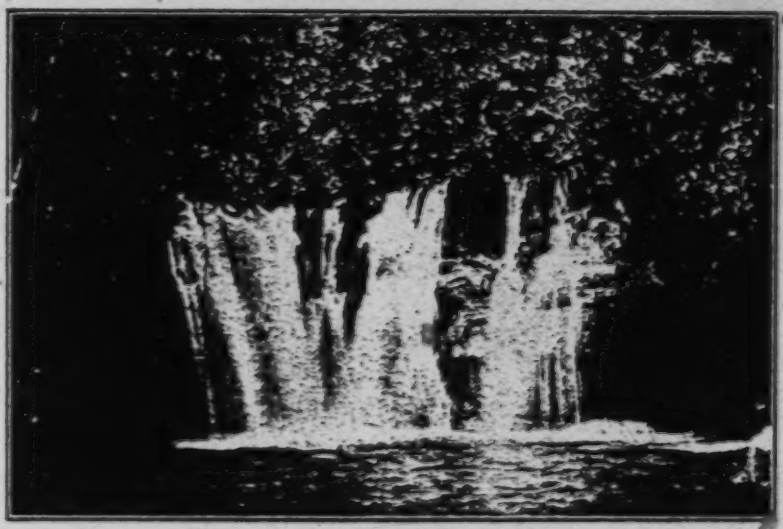

Christmas Day in the Heart of the Primitive Forest.

[Facing p. 360]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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CHAPTER XXXII.

LIFE AMONG THE BORORÓ.—EYED CONSTANTLY BY A HORDE OF NUDE SAVAGES.—ASTONISHING MAKE-UPS.—PRIMITIVE HOUSEKEEPING AND SANITATION.—HORTICULTURE.—FOODS.—VEGETABLE COWS.—A WONDERFUL PALM.

361 [133] AFTER nearly two months of horseback riding and camping, we arrived at the confluence of the river Pogúbu, or Ponte de Pedra, and the Rio Vermelho, which is about forty miles north of the junction of the former river with the [103] São Laurenço. Here, we found a large Bororó village, called the Tá Dáre Máno Páro—potato bank—where we remained [122] several weeks, camping in a stake-walled, palm-branch roofed hut that had been erected a quarter of a mile from the Indian village by my companion. We had to cross the river Pogúbu, which we did in a small, dugout canoe made by Senhor Antonio, and swam our horses over. It is about two hundred [133] yards wide at this point, deep, and has a strong current. A heavy rain storm broke just as we were within a few hundred yards of our destination, so we rushed our entire cavalcade right into the big, open hut.

123 152 When our arrival became known at the primitive metropolis, and it was known instantly, our hut began to fill with our nude and painted fellow beings of all ages and both sexes, who came to observe us and to examine all the marvelous things that we had brought from our wonderful, and to them, enchanted world. They flocked in upon us regularly at dawn

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

its obscure heart an exact image of anything it winks at, must be some wicked device of the *bopi*—demons. The savage believes that any one having his picture may practice some black art over it and bring evil upon the original: that, as one may do what he wishes with the image, he likewise has power over the real man. Moreover, if one is such a powerful conjurer that he can secure that image, What may he not do with the original? I had to bribe them with valuable gifts in order to secure a number of pictures.

The Bororó, like other South American tribes, dwell in gloomy palm-branch huts that resemble squatty, old hay-stacks huddled together in complete disorder in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees of the upland jungle. They are constructed by first planting two posts in the ground twenty or thirty feet apart, ten feet high, and terminating in a fork, to support the ridge pole, which is held in position by means of creepers from the forest, instead of nails. Against the ridge pole, are reclined and bound, the rafters, the feet of which are sunk slightly in the ground and the upper ends are bound to the ridge pole. Bamboo poles are next bound horizontally to these rafters, while upright stakes are set in at the gables; and finally, to the entire frame-work, are bound huge, feather-shaped palm-branches, to shed the rain, and exclude the light because of the flies. The primitive residence is now complete. The only light that enters is what filters through the palm-branches. To enter, one pushes aside the palm-branches at one end and enters in a stooping position.

These strange, uncouth dens of savagery, are dark, unclean, and ill-smelling, and so devoid of every object considered absolutely essential to a civilized human abode, that it is difficult to comprehend that they are the dwellings of true human beings—the homes of multitudes of real men, women and children; where they are born, reared and pass their days, and the only abodes they have ever known. Entering one of these human lairs, we find it more or less strewn with decaying food refuse, such as bones and other rejected parts of fish, mammals, birds and reptiles; shells, stones and peelings

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually 000
in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that 342
even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they 364
erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of 361
the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of 364
huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- 356
ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing 296
to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, 592
each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very 345
large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut [361]
is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling [342]
is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a [342]
bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; [364]
a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the [548]
men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and [562]
finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is permitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts 000
in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

used with fatal effect against traders ascending narrow streams in canoes, for the savage manipulator, hiding behind the dense masses of trees and bushes that lined the bank of the river, stealthily launched his deadly darts without being discovered.

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In war, the Bororó, like many other South American tribes, prefer a hand to hand attack with heavy clubs. If they can choose the hour of attack, they select a moment just before dawn, or else the evening just after dark. They yell fiendishly when making an attack.

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The Bororó always build their villages near some important stream, for they look more to the water for their flesh food than to the forest, and are far more expert fishermen than hunters. Though when fish are scarce, which they are during several months each year, they scour the forest in search of game. At such times, entire families leave the village to wander far away through forest and jungle, remaining absent two or three months.

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They bravely attack, hand to hand, even the most ferocious game—the jaguar. When this powerful beast attacks a man, it springs to within a few feet of him, then rises up on its hind feet, like a bear, and closes with him. It is remarkable that an animal of the cat family should assume this position; but perhaps it is suggested to it by the upright position of the man. When forced to meet the beast in close combat, the Brazilian hunter provides himself with a heavy bar of wood five or six feet in length and terminating in a fork. Grasping this with the left hand, he holds it inclined in front of him with the foot resting upon the ground, and parries the attack by receiving the brute in the fork, which gives him time to thrust into its vitals the long knife held in the right hand.

But the Bororó hunter rarely uses the fork, employing, instead, a still more dangerous method. Having wound fifteen or twenty yards of hair rope around the left arm, he presents it, doubled, to the great cat when it rises to attack him, and at the same instant, plunges a knife into its heart. I saw

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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Nagarêda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now steps quickly over to the *Sheraidi* group, grasps a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheraidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarêda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm. 526 616

The signal to begin the race being given, each team instantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows. 526 [361] [345] [352]

The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals—if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall nearly every evening just after nightfall. 533 [512] [345]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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CHAPTER XXXVI.

FOLLOWING THE WILD MAN'S TRAIL.—LIFE IN A SAVAGE CLUB-HOUSE.—FLOATING DOWN THE RIO POGÚBU.

WHILE we had our headquarters near the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, we made a visit to the Kogi au Paro village of the same tribe some twenty miles distant.

We followed a trail used only by the savages, and over which no civilized man had ever before passed. It led largely through a forest which was so dense in many places, that the trail was like an opening through a thick hedge, or through a wall. This opening was just large enough to permit the naked wild man to pass comfortably. But we were mounted on mules, and had one mule carrying two boxes containing our cooking outfit and food. Consequently, we had to make the hole larger on all sides. Even after our muleteer, who led the way on foot, had enlarged the opening, we were compelled to practice rough riding continually to avoid being raked off our beasts, or having our limbs crushed. Besides, our passage was barred by many deep ravines, gulches, washouts and streams, the banks of which were often nearly vertical. Our mules were experts in descending the banks, for they would bunch up their feet, like mountain goats, and slide down. But, in many cases, they were unable to climb out on the other side until we had dug steps with a grubbing-hoe. There was often deep water in these places. We also encountered at nearly every step great bunches of wild pine-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that 122
sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints 136
of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack.

All during the second day we continued to carve our way 122
through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling.

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au 609
Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidi*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity.

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, 361 ●
and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open [621]
ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was [133]
between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, [103]
flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage 122
over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding 361
together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river

361 some distance before casting ourselves into the current.
[122] Missing the landing place, there was great danger of our losing, not only our effects, but our lives as well.

We found the cluster of huts situated about one mile back from the river, and in the heart of the densest and most impassable upland tangle that I have ever seen. The trees
[137] were fifty feet high and less, and almost numerous enough to form a thick forest, while below them, the whole country was overgrown by a terrible jungle of bushes, briars and coarse grass. A small, circular space, like a gigantic nest, had been cleared in the center of this forbidding thicket, in which fifteen or twenty palm-branch huts clustered in the usual disorder.
[487] This wild man's lair was approached by a serpentine path just wide enough to allow men to pass in single file. The village was hidden away in this manner in order that its position might not be known to enemies, or that it might be very difficult to assault.

122 We were conducted at once to the great hut, where we
345 were entertained while in the village, and in one corner of which we suspended our hammocks and made ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. But we found this a hot, stuffy, ill-smelling *hotel*, and in addition, the mosquitoes were very numerous and industrious.

622 As soon as we were settled, we asked to see the chief man of the village, who appeared. He was six feet tall, well proportioned, intelligent and dignified, and the finest appearing Bororó I had seen. He seemed to have more real authority, too, than any Bororó captain I had met. The Bororó have
622 no tribal chief. Each village governs itself, independently,
624 having a few elderly men who are captains, in a way, by reason of seniority, in whom the chief authority is vested. But their powers, and the obedience rendered them, seem to be variable and uncertain. A strong character may arise from time to time, and by favoring circumstances, reach a position where he may command the entire obedience of his village. But ordinarily, the chief men do not appear to possess much real authority, individually. Of course, when they go

2: Steinen--540E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
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Bororo SP8

/440 cont./

P 173 was born on the Matihurizá, "where there is neither land nor forest," that is, no shore, "and he went far upstream." The Matihurizá is the Tapajoz, if it does not represent the Amazonas itself. Thus, if the main movement of the Karaiben tribes was in the direction from south to north, at least this part of the Nu-Aruak group moved from north to south.

To be sure, the good people are not concerned about the slight contradiction that Uazale came from the far north and that his grandmother Maisö made the Rio Cuyabá as the first of all rivers!

/441/

Chapter XVII.

On the Bororó.

I. Historical. Founding of the Colonies.

Bororó da Campanha and do Cabaçal. "Coroados" = Bororó. Confusion in the literature. Little Sebastian. Martius. Ending of warfare and catechesis. Pillage in the colonies.

B 101 Two groups of Bororó are distinguished in the Mato Grosso: the "Bororós da Campanha," or of the plains, and the "Bororós Cabaçaes," or of the Rio Cabaçal. The Bororós da Campanha B 131 live in small settlements below Villa Maria, on the right bank 133 of the Paraguay and Jaurú, toward Bolivia, the Bororós do 361 Cabaçal not far from them in the north, along the banks and in the source region of the river of the same name as well as of the Jaurú, both of which empty into the upper Paraguay from the right, the former at Villa Maria, the latter somewhat farther south.

B 175 These Bororó were not infrequently visited by travelers; in [114] 1827 they came into contact with the Langsdorff Expedition; in the same year the Austrian naturalist Natterer gathered an abundant collection among them, now in the Vienna Hofmuseum; Count Castlenau and his companion Weddell, who stayed in the Mato Grosso during their famous crossing of South America in

/443 cont./

114 touching stories and who was baptized "Sebastian" in Cuyabá. "We shall give a few words which we learned from him." There follow 52 words -- unfortunately copied from the glossary of Martius, pp. 195 ff., and originating unfortunately from the "Coroados" on the distant Rio Xipotó, on the border of Rio de Janeiro, who, like the "Coroados" of Paraná, have nothing more in common with the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso than the unfortunate Portuguese name! Without the name, the disagreeable confusion* would have been impossible. Moutinho had an

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* Moutinho says: "We once showed little Sebastian the sky. He, raising his hands as a sign of reverence, answered us humbly "tupáng" (N.B. Tupí word - thunderstorm, interpreted and adopted by the missionaries as "God"). We showed him the sun -- he said "obé" ("Coroado" word from the Rio Xipotó = sun) and he bowed his head to show respect." No "Coroado" boy ever delivered to Cuyabá knew the words tupáng and obé, and still less did one ever know the reverence so beautifully described by Moutinho. Such anecdotes, however, are taken at face value by the innocent reader and put into circulation. The author himself, in his ignorance, has no idea of what great nonsense he is dishing up in his well-meaning way.

opportunity to inform himself better, /444/ foolishly not utilized, when he visited the village of the tribal division on the Rio Cabaçal called, not "Coroados," but correctly "Bororó." On this visit, which he describes on pages 169 ff., he should have noted that the Indians spoke a dialect of the language of devout little Sebastian. Again he consulted his Martius and there on page 14 found the "Bororós" and here copied 40 words which actually belong to the Bororó on the Cabaçal. Here, too, his ill-luck

/446 cont./

648 women climbed over the garden walls and climbed trees, as was their habit, to fetch down fruit for themselves.

The province sighed with relief; with customary exaggeration, the Bororó were estimated at 10,000 souls and the entire 10,000 were already visualized as planting mandioca and working in the sugar mills. The government immediately made 70 contos (at 1000 milreis) available for the catechesis and the citizenry voluntarily added three contos, which altogether amounted to about 140,000 marks at that time. The expenses increased within a short time to 118 contos. The Indians were [361] settled in two colonies: the one where the Prata flows into the S. Lourenço was called Thereza Christina after the Empress; the other where the Piquiry flows into the S. Lourenço was called Izabel after the Crown Princess and wife of Count d'Eu. The President also founded a "Collegio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição" for the education of Indian children -- a school that was never attended by pupils.

648 Solemnly the entire company was baptized by the bishop.
797 The then President, Don Alvaro Marcondes, and his wife were godfather and godmother for all; Chief Moguyokuri, whose personal acquaintance we shall make -- truly a magnificent figure of an Indian, 1.9 meters tall and, despite some inborn brutality, an exceedingly good-natured gentleman -- was given the name Alvaro. His Christianity, to be sure, was limited to his remembering this name for a few days.

648 "Muguiocury," reported the Jornal do Commercio in a
[177] Cuyaban letter, "seems to be completely identified with the cause of civilizing his tribe, assiduously visits the palace to call on the President and bring him presents; he manifests the greatest sympathy toward him and calls him 'Godfather,' kissing his hand as often as he sees him. Each time he meets the President he shows his satisfaction with much laughter and repeated embraces."

Difficile est, satiram non scribere /it is difficult not to write satire/. It is indeed very difficult. Good Moguyokuri undoubtedly had the best intentions, within the limits of his intelligence, as

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2: Steinen--552 fp-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8
Plate XXV

In front of the men's house of the Bororó.

/449 cont./

122 only with grass. A single, but tall tree stood beside the little brook, whose banks were lined with many young buriti palms. It required courage to live and work here. Except for the farm walls at S. José, scarcely anything along the way reminded one of the struggles with the Bororó. Only we were occasionally struck by low, narrow arbors which had been made by putting together dwarfed sertão trees; they were attributable to the soldiers and had served for protection during the night. On 19 March, across terribly desolate grassy areas, we reached the first brooks flowing toward the S. Lourenço, which were as yet only a few meters wide. On the Ribeirão Prata we found a charming little landscape, which, with its woods and succulent meadow and the silver ribbon of the little source stream, vividly recalled our home to us. Only a few young palm trees argued against this, and the thermometer, which stubbornly measured 22.8° for the very refreshing, "ice-cold" water. On 21 March there followed the descent from the plateau terrace past picturesque red sandstone rocks, and in the afternoon we reached the orange groves of the military colony, where the beautiful forest-edged S. Lourenço flowed past at a width of 127 meters. We were very hospitably received by the commander, Captain Serejo.

361 On the next day we arrived at Thereza Christina. It is situated upstream, also on the right bank and not far below where the Prata empties, but the S. Lourenço makes great bends between the two colonies and the forest area is so swampy that one is forced to make a long detour inland.

[342] Above a bank a few meters high, an extensive forest clearing; on the open place covered with dry weeds, many massive old tree trunk still standing, and here and there hewn trunks lying about, a great many low, rectangular, in part long huts with gable roofs covered with palm straw which begin just above the door; everything prosaic and cheerless in the same grayish-yellow shade of straw and loam, surrounded by forest on three sides, the fourth bordered by a majestic, wide stream and beyond it a dark strip of luxuriant forest, above which appears an extended chain of flat hills -- that was Thereza Christina.

/450 cont./

361 Arrangement of the colony. The principal building of the colony had as its groundplan a long, very narrow rectangle. It consisted of a number of rooms with stamped loam floor, loam-plastered paneled walls, and a low straw-roof; the doors all opened out on the same side facing the main plaza. The furniture was limited to tables, chairs, and chests. On one end was Duarte's one-window room without a door to the outside; then came the room where meals were eaten, where Caldas sometimes taught school in the morning, and where people gathered generally, with a door to the plaza and also an opposite one leading out to the rear, to the left the entrance to Duarte's room and to the right the door to a supply room in which alcoholic spirits were kept and the key to which played an important part in dealings with the Indians. There then followed, with doors to the plaza, the cadêa /jail/, a small detention room for the soldiers, which was always occupied and the inhabitant of which was obliged to spend the day in the hammock, a room for Eliseo and the administrator, and supply rooms. The apothecary had his well-stocked poison-kitchen in a little house by himself which lay a few steps /451/ opposite. The soldiers lived in small ranchos, some of them toward the river, some on the edge of the forest.
[342] Round about lay the Indian huts, like gabled roofs standing on the ground, six paces wide, ten to 13 paces long; they afforded protection against the sun and to some extent against rain, left nothing to be desired in the way of simplicity, and served as an abode for one family each.

345 In the center of the colony a large area was left free; here stood the so-called ranchão, namely, large rancho or baitó of the Indians, cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/, ten paces wide and 26 paces long. It, too, was built without any skill, though with the help of the soldiers; the longitudinal sides consisted of poles which were covered carelessly with palm leaves and were so far apart that one could enter almost anywhere; the transverse sides were even more open. The illustration shows the Indians busy repairing the roof with palm branches. The bachelors worked and slept in the baitó; it was also the center for all festivities,

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 514 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161] number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

●361 In the old days the village (*muktmo*) was built
621 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here,
613 allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase in population and consequent clustering of the members of the same lineage within a single village can motivate the less important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other places where they will be more appreciated and will have the chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies.
[362] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage
[591] sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can become more independent, but there is always the risk that she and her children will in time be classified as younger brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names
[36] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 With the decrease in population that has been going on
178 from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization,
361 the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-
613

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

its obscure heart an exact image of anything it winks at, must be some wicked device of the *bopi*—demons. The savage believes that any one having his picture may practice some black art over it and bring evil upon the original: that, as one may do what he wishes with the image, he likewise has power over the real man. Moreover, if one is such a powerful conjurer that he can secure that image, What may he not do with the original? I had to bribe them with valuable gifts in order to secure a number of pictures.

The Bororó, like other South American tribes, dwell in gloomy palm-branch huts that resemble squatty, old hay-stacks huddled together in complete disorder in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees of the upland jungle. They are constructed by first planting two posts in the ground twenty or thirty feet apart, ten feet high, and terminating in a fork, to support the ridge pole, which is held in position by means of creepers from the forest, instead of nails. Against the ridge pole, are reclined and bound, the rafters, the feet of which are sunk slightly in the ground and the upper ends are bound to the ridge pole. Bamboo poles are next bound horizontally to these rafters, while upright stakes are set in at the gables; and finally, to the entire frame-work, are bound huge, feather-shaped palm-branches, to shed the rain, and exclude the light because of the flies. The primitive residence is now complete. The only light that enters is what filters through the palm-branches. To enter, one pushes aside the palm-branches at one end and enters in a stooping position.

These strange, uncouth dens of savagery, are dark, unclean, and ill-smelling, and so devoid of every object considered absolutely essential to a civilized human abode, that it is difficult to comprehend that they are the dwellings of true human beings—the homes of multitudes of real men, women and children; where they are born, reared and pass their days, and the only abodes they have ever known. Entering one of these human lairs, we find it more or less strewn with decaying food refuse, such as bones and other rejected parts of fish, mammals, birds and reptiles; shells, stones and peelings

Brazil.

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The
354 "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck
353 around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually 000
in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that 342
even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they 364
erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of 361
the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of 364
huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- 356
ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing 296
to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, 592
each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very 345
large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut [361]
is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling [342]
is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a [342]
bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; [361]
a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the [548]
men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and [548]
finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is per- [362]
mitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts 000
in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 88, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[644] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (½ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

Y 532 796 W 532 716 The headdress shown in Plate XXIV, 8, was collected from the Naravute, but similar objects were seen in the Tauva and Yawalapiti village. It consists of a gourd painted with geometric figures, in black and white, with wicker and grass attachments.

Woven splint diadems were found in every village. Generally they Y 292 535 bear geometric designs in black. A specimen from the Naravute is encircled by a band of feather mosaic. These diadems are worn by the leaders in the dance.

Miscellaneous

Y 412 Combs are made of splints held in place by cotton string woven in with them. A Yawalapiti specimen is shown in Plate XXIV, 1. The splints are further lashed together by transverse pieces of bamboo. A string wrapping hides the woven designs on the body of the comb.

Y 249 276 Tobacco is not cultivated, but some wild form is smoked in the form of cigars, though not to any extent. It is dried and kept in wicker mats.

Y 372 484 Fire-making is avoided as much as possible. In the villages, the fires are kept smouldering when not in use. On canoe trips, fire is carried in the stern, both for heat in the early morning, and also to cook the fish that are caught.

Y 372 171 Nordenskiold differentiates two types of drilling appliances found in use in South America, both based on the principle of rubbing wood on wood. Type A, 'a wooden stick is twirled in a hole in another stick, and where a narrow groove more or less marked on one side leads down to the tinder, which is placed underneath the stick'; type B, 'a wooden stick, usually an arrow shaft is drilled into a slab of bamboo or wood, which is pierced whereby glowing particles of powdered wood, produced by the friction, drop down on the tinder.'

B [372] The first method was seen employed by the Bororo and also by the native Brazilian 'woodsmen' of Matto Grosso. The second method, that of piercing, was found among the Kuluseu-Kuluene aborigines. The appliance consisted of four or five small pieces of bamboo or other reed, tied together on a plane and held by one man in place on the ground. A small hole is made on the upper stick so as to receive the drill which is a long reed, twirled rapidly between the palms by another individual. In this manner the drill pierced all of the sticks in succession to the

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
●372 the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because
[177] the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut
[237] off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraterni-
dade Indígena near Barra do Bugre on the Para-
guay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the
Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
[161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In
two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type
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phalic. The local Brazilians call them the Bar-
bados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*mukíno*) was built
on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
621 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*iskípá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming
down to the ground, the whole being covered with
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were left open. This house type is the same as that
formerly found among the Guató who live to the
south of the Umotina. Each family had its own
house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all
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the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after
puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyatókwe*) made
from a buriti palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
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back of their heads, and allowed their beards to
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[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the
lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand,
cut their hair short, and plucked out their eye-
brows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imatá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women
had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial
292 days the men make and wear special bands in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kõge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreõ
G. Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjwo
H. Paiwe Čoreõ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ewãguddu) Baiaddada
J. Āróre Čẹbegeʷõ
K. Āróre
L. Ki
M. Ewãguddu Čãbõgeʷõ
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Ạpibore
Q. Ewãguddu
R. unidentified

• [386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucũ seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bãdejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
30 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[439] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

841 Women wear a gray feather band.
342 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture [431] [853] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São [336] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous [237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus [755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, 237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice [184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço 489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding [481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and [501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck [345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, [301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

8:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

on the São Lourenço River, and to 114
photograph the events that followed a death that had just occurred there. This story gives only the highlights of these events—a complete report would require an entire monograph.

When a Bororo is gravely ill, with- 763
out hope of recovery, his friends and [301]
relatives decorate him with feather [302]
ornaments and anoint his body with
urucú, a brilliant red paint made from [386]

[p. 40-C]

the oily seeds of a shrub. As death nears, the assemblage begins to chant softly. Then, one by one they approach the dying person and pay him their last respects by briefly placing a hand on his forehead. 763 [386] [533]

As soon as breathing has stopped, the body is quickly covered with a sleeping mat, for the corpse must not be seen again by the women or chil- 764

[p. 40-D]

/473 cont./

291 like to say that for this or for some other reason they bind their waists with a piece of tree bark ten inches wide, and, to be sure, so tightly that the skin at stomach height and over the abdomen and hips forms a bulge, which tends to disfigure them; but to go back to the strange custom, I must add that from this belt two strands (filamentos) two to three inches wide hang down in front and back." According to Waehneldt, the women wear a piece of tapir skin, one and a half spans wide, tied around their waists; "coming out from it is a bast band half a span wide, which covers their genitals." Rohde writes: "The women likewise go naked, the sole article of clothing is a narrow strip of cactus bark which conceals only the smallest part of the sexual organs."

With regard to our Bororó women, I have said on page 186 [287] that they wore on a hip cord a gray bast band three to four fingers [841] wide, and during the menses a similar black one, that in place of the hip cord they also used a piece of hard bark over which the /474/ T-band extended down in front and up in back, both of which were additionally secured by a string or bast wrapping. Younger women seemed to prefer the "corset" to the hip cord; the abdomen was tightly encased in the rigid bark armor.

291 The gray bast came from the jangadeira tree (jangada = raft), 287 whose light wood is used for the construction of rafts; it is also 824 called embira branca and its botanical name (from the family of Tiliaceae) is Apeiba cymbalaria. The black bark-belt came from the jiquitiba or pot-tree, Lecythis, a beautiful ornament of the primeval forest with a huge crown. A thick piece of bark was hewed off medium-sized trunks and laid in water for a week. Then a very fine, soft bast could be peeled off on the inside, [386] which furnished the hygienic bands. It was dyed black in rotten mire (tyjuca of the Tupí). The coarser hard outer layers provided the material for the belts, which had a width up to 28 centimeters. Often even children three to four years old wore the belt and looked very droll in it.

291 From what we have seen, the bark belt might be regarded merely as a substitute for the hip cord, whose firm embrace was perhaps agreeable, as long as the fashion did not become

/476 cont./

757 has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-
237 strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like
301 a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front
[302] edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face,
[302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed
765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeletonized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamentation of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú
531 /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any
237 implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on
136 the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize
302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was
[237] mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing
[386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing, but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

only the Cabocass

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

[462] The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
● 41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
342 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to
[881] the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[74] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

●411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

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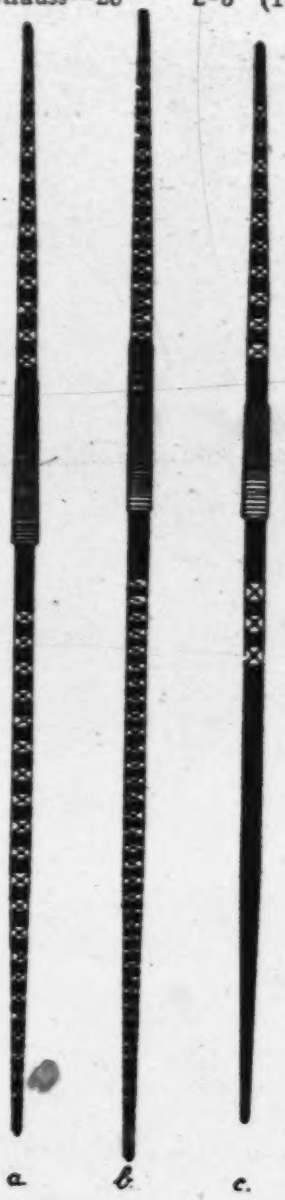

Fig. 16.—Bows for big hunting.

a: Ki clan (21/12)
b: Apibore clan (38/18)
c: Bãdejeba clan (3/10)

/288 cont./

411 the ceremonial bow. As in the preceding type, /289/ the
531 central part is of bare wood, save for the protective rolling. All
237 the rest of the bow is covered with ornamentation which varies with different specimens: sheaths of glued on feathers, rings of feathers or fur, mosaics of feathers of different colors, etc.... All along the wood long feathers or throat feathers of the arara, in pairs or singly, are attached. Finally, some specimens show a bunch of varicolored feathers at the top end.

411 The origin of the bow can be deduced from the three follow-
531 ing elements: 1) nature and color of the casing of the wood;
237 2) number, distribution, nature, and color of the feathers adhering
614 to the wood; 3) nature of the feathers or insignia placed in the bunch at the top; thus, some bows of the Bakoro clan have, in the middle of the feathers at the end, a small wooden lath covered with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, this technique being its privilege.

Figure 17 /see p. 29/ gives four "formulas" for ceremonial bows:

a. Not identified; 1.52 meters long. Wood covered with small red /rouge/ feathers glued on with resin; on the sides two crests of white /blanc/ down broken in the middle.

br: blue and red arara feathers
vr: green and red arara feathers
bj: blue and yellow arara feathers
bn: throat feathers in alternate white and black bands
j: yellow toucan feathers.

b. Āróre clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with red feathers glued on. All the hanging feathers are attached in pairs. Top bunch of small red and yellow parrot feathers, with five long emblematic feathers.

b: blue — r: red
br, bj, bn: as above.

c. Āróre (čębegeʷõ) clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with alternate rings of black, yellow /jaune/, and red feathers glued on.

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Ewāguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:

harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;

"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;

bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;

ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

[616] 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the
[531] Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
531 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. ᵃKario Bokodori — C. Ewāguddu (?) — D. Apibóre kujagoreŏ — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore — H. Bādejeba (Bakoro) — I. Āróre — J. Kōge Čera — K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Āróre.

[237] Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

[Text Continues on p. 30]

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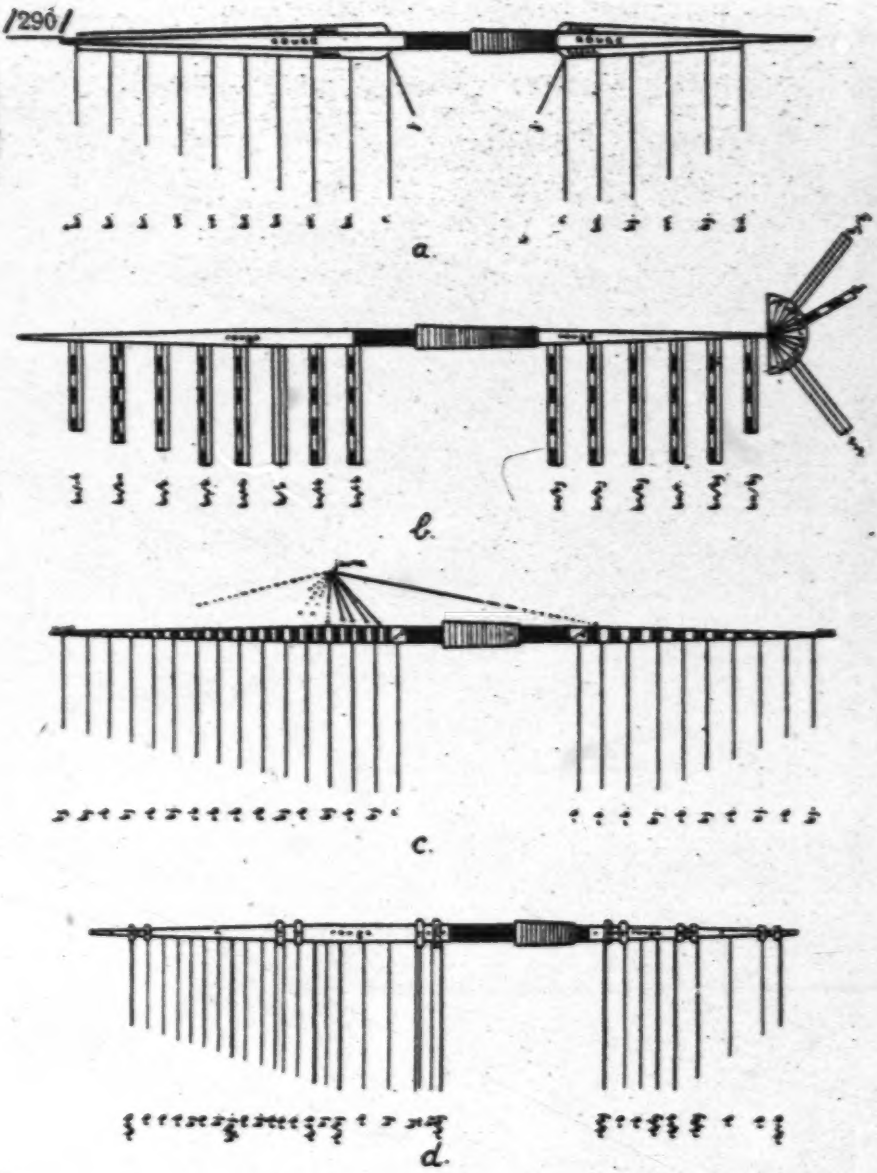

Fig. 17. Ceremonial bows.

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills,
[239] decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Ārōre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-y. -b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

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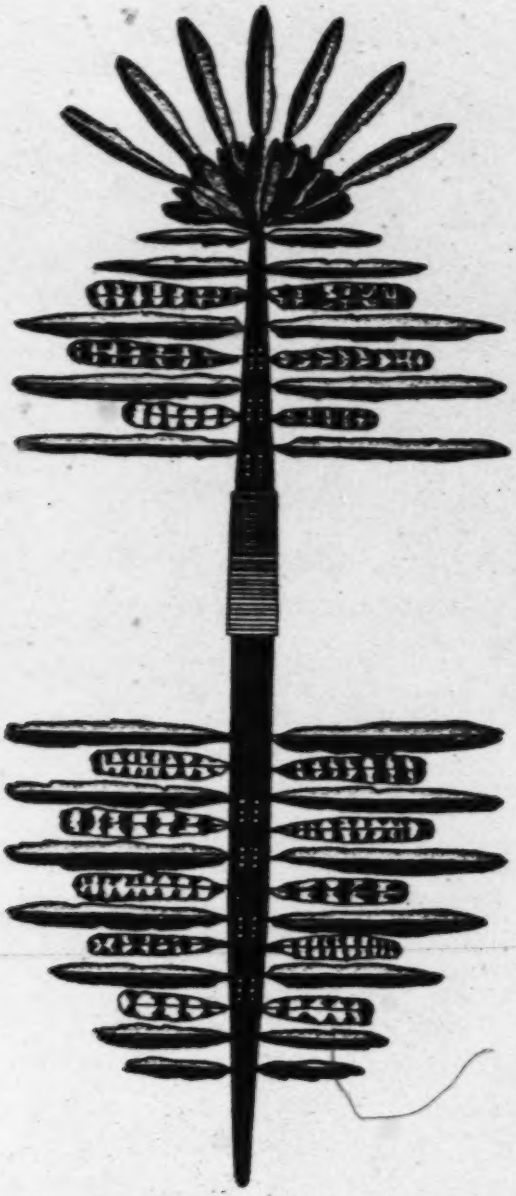

Fig. 18.—Ceremonial bow /in color in original/.

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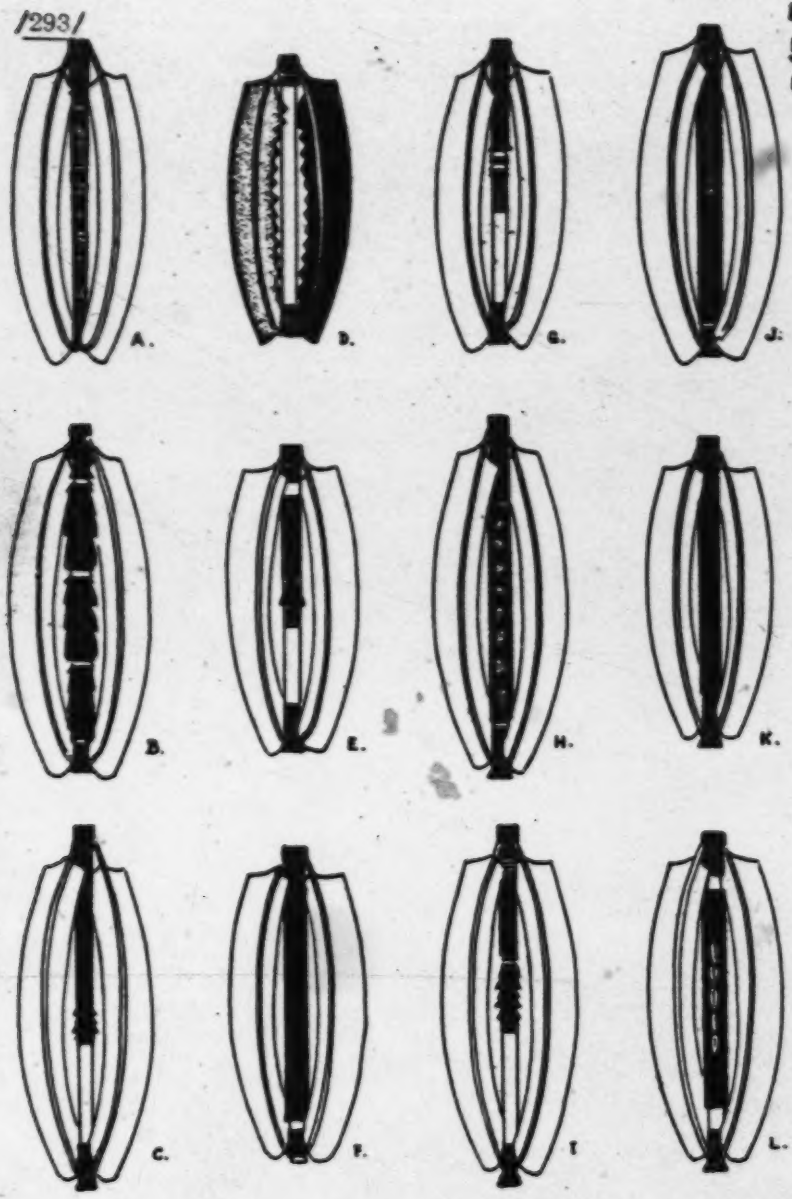

Fig. 19. —Arrows with emblems /in color in original/.

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a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*). 285 323 415 [177]

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*). 411 824 237

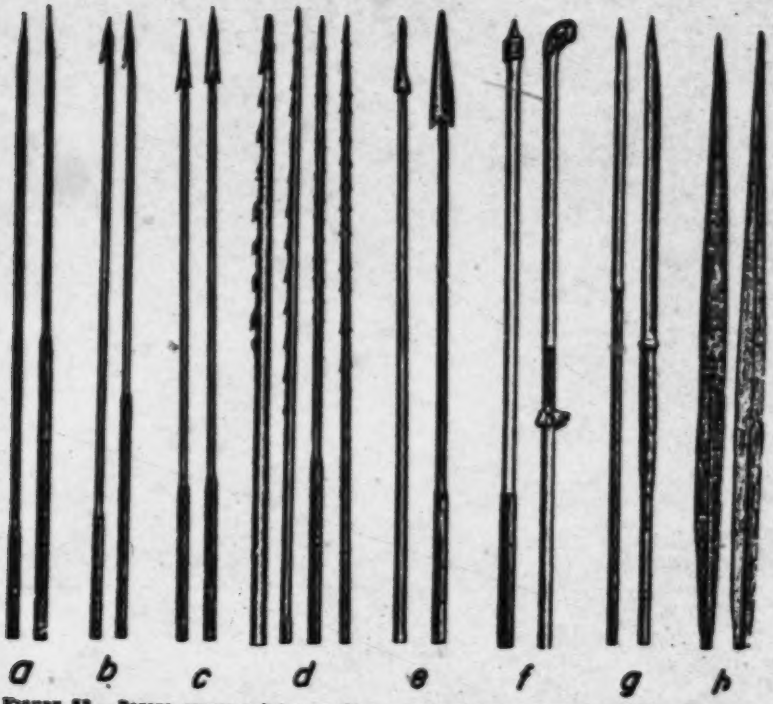

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (½ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

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441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[644] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
506 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[978] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
224 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [541] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 524

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

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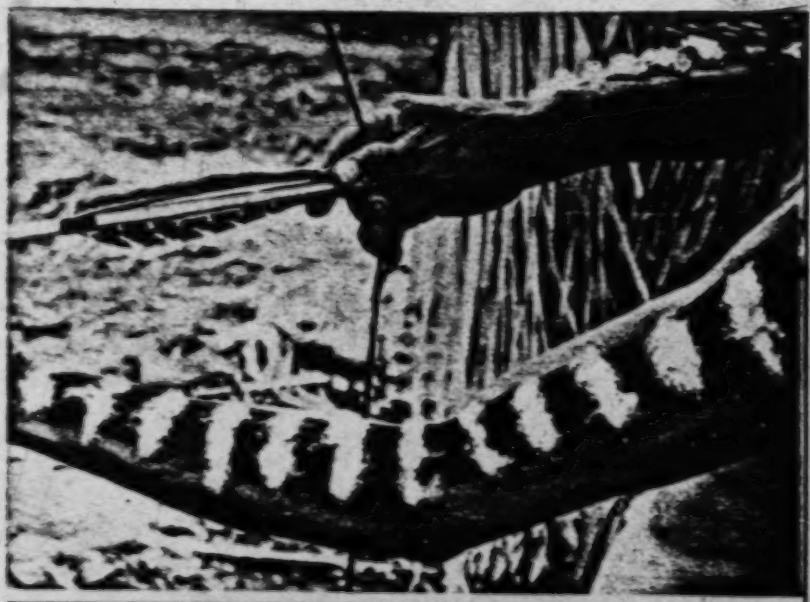

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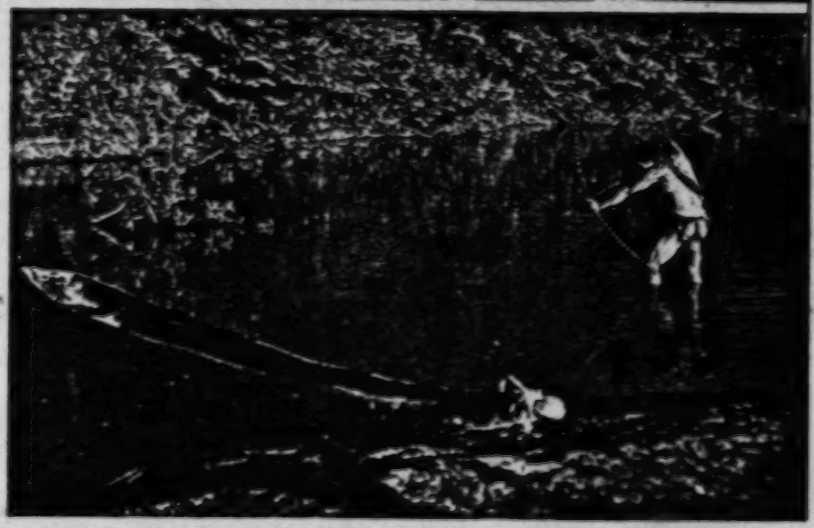

PLATE 36.—Bororo archery. Top: Arrow release. At village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) Bottom: Ala Lawrence, Bororo shooting fish. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

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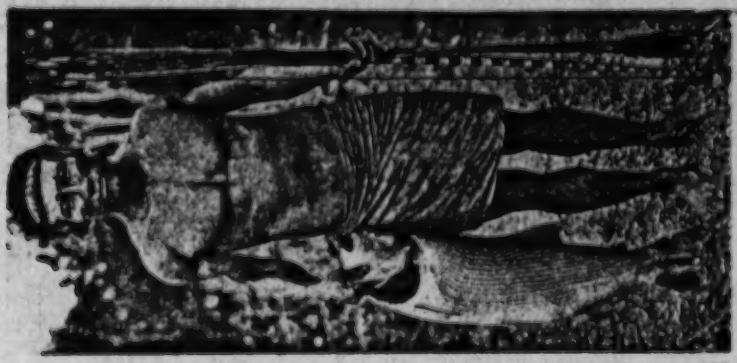

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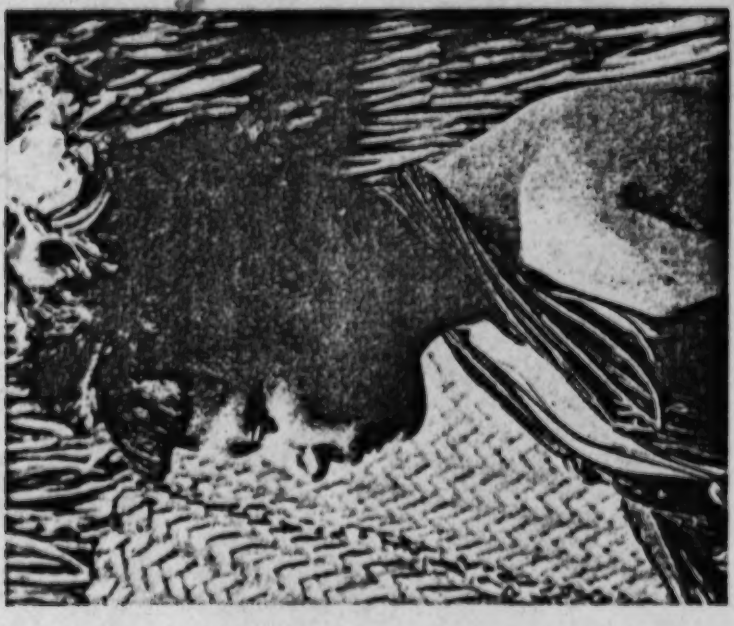
PLATE 18.—Bororo Indians. Left: Tribal war or ritual dance. Right: Chief of Bororo Indians. (Courtesy Chicago Natural History Museum Photographs.)



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[P. 432-J]

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FIGURE 1. AIR VIEW OF THE UPPER PARAGUAYAN VALLEY

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FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO SHOOTING FISH

[P. 102]

[Plate IV]

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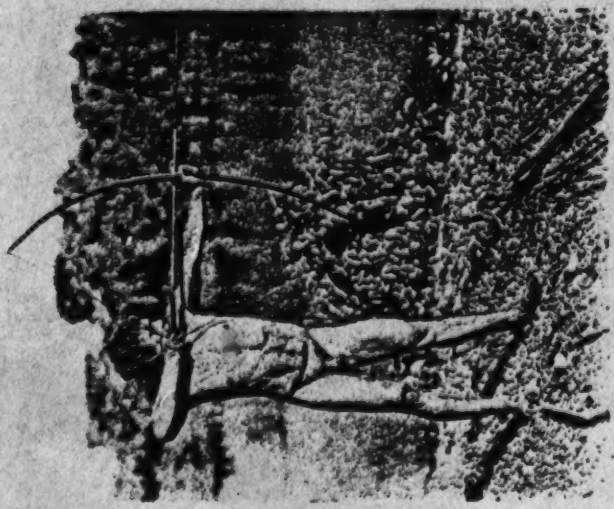

Figure 2. São Lourenço Bororo Drawing the Bow

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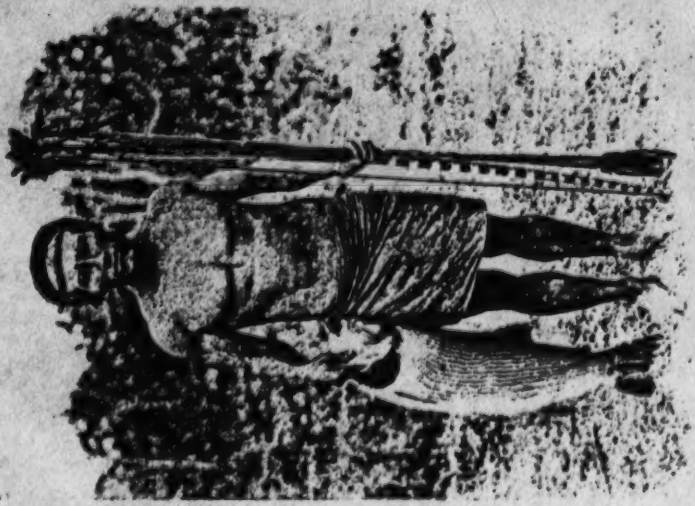

Figure 1. São Lourenço Bororo with Fish Hook Short

[P.105] [Plate V]

[Bororo da Campanha]

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space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina 574
to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had 735
been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. 342
The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleep- 352
ing either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no 512
further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make 323
pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no indus- 287
try whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were 411
several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language 177
being almost forgotten even by the older people. 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, 574
they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one
for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the 533
men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompani- 535
ment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Sev- [273]
eral times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

Y 105 171 285 Grass, palm leaves, and splints, are used in making basketry. Some of the baskets are reinforced and decorated with interwoven cotton thread.

Bows [Plate XXII, 8-14]

Y 105 171 411 The bows are uniformly large, only those of the Aura showing a slight comparative smallness. One bow collected from the Naravute measures 262 centimetres in length.

In cross section, the most common is the slightly ovoid; the round bow appears, but is less common, and one of rectangular cross section with rounded corners that was collected was said to have been made by the Suya.

S [411] With the tension of the string released, the bows are almost straight. The Suya bow mentioned is curved outwardly at both ends.

Y [285] [264] None of the bows are reinforced even by lashing. The string is made of fiber or of burity leaf strands. Part of it is wound about the middle of the bow, serving as a reserve should the string break in drawing the bow.

Bo 411 The Bororo bows show greater specialization and higher technique. They are smaller, somewhat flattened, and highly decorated according to the membership of the owner in one of the clans. Colbachini has given a good description of these.

The pellet bow, similar in almost every feature to one collected by Max Schmidt from the Guató, was collected from the Bororo.

Fish Spears

W 411 A number of spears, used to transfix fish found in deep clear pools, were collected from the Yawalapiti-Mehinaku. A Mehinaku with a Yawalapiti wife was first seen using one, and later a number were collected in the Yawalapiti village.

The spear consists of a long wooden shaft, pointed at both ends. One end receives a large bone conical barbed point; the other a long reed extension of the shaft, used only when the depth of the pool is greater than the length of the wooden shaft. The total length of the spear, including the point and the reed extension, is over six metres.

W 226 Most of the fishing is done in lagoons or bayous which contained many deep pools. The water is generally crystal clear, so that the hundreds of fish swimming about close to the bottom can be as easily seen as in

Bacaini
Yaruma SP25

Bo
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The Bororo arrows show more specilization and difference in technique. They are smaller, in keeping with the smaller bows, with a finer reed and wooden foreshaft. Of the bone points, only the conical points made from the humerus of some mammal is in use. Even this point is smaller and better made than the Kuluseu-Kuluene. The feathering is also quite different. The feathers, spiralled, are lashed to the shaft, not sewed.

The feathers are trimmed on both sides, but unlike the Kuluseu-Kuluene type, not to the midrib on one side. The inner surfaces of the feathers are toward the shaft and each other.

Sometimes the foreshaft has many miniature barbs, and in one case the foreshaft has been serrated on two sides.

Often the bone point is lacking, its place being taken by an accuminated foreshaft.

Bamboo blades on the jaguar and war arrows are common and of two types—a flat wide blade, and a narrow grooved one.

Spears and Throwing Sticks

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A number of throwing-sticks were collected, all conforming to the same type. Only one shows decorations, which consists of a basket sheath. A wooden peg is lashed to the end of the stick, serving to receive the butt of the spear. The spear is thrown in the following manner: the tip of the index finger is inserted in the hole just above the hand grasp, the arm is pulled back and the spear thrown without guiding it with the fingers.

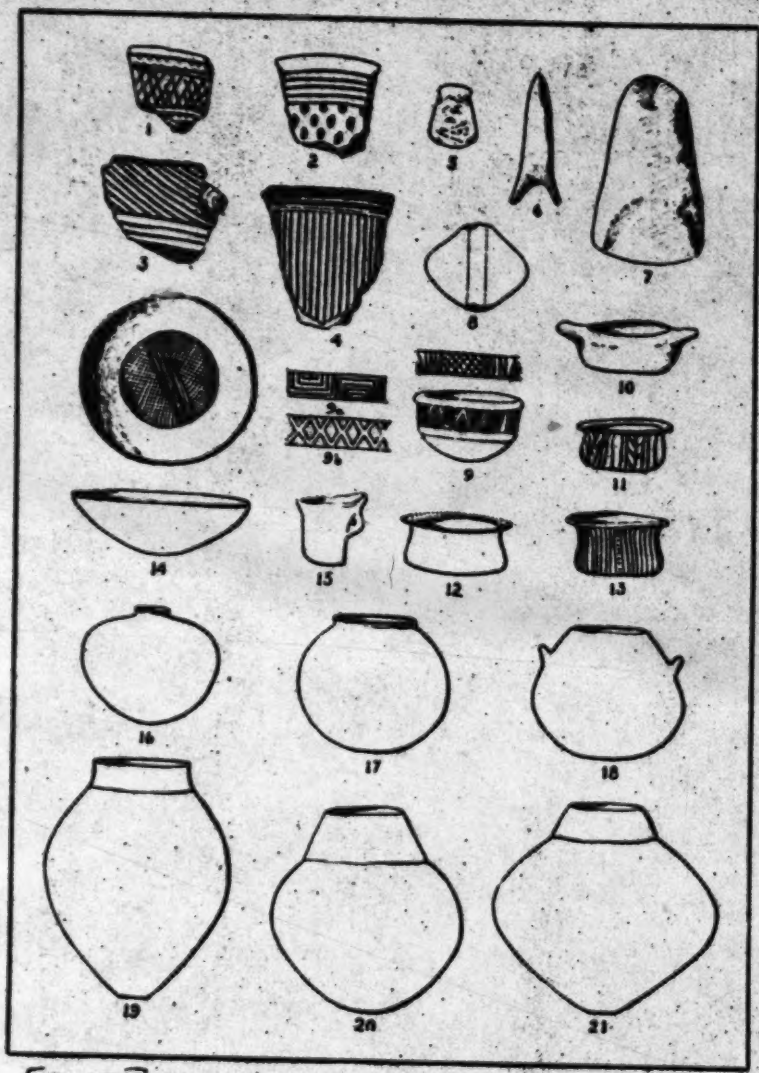
Y
[526]

The 'spears' consist of a reed with a heavy knob at the end, which consists often of a piece of wood covered with wax, or some heavy object. The butt is not notched. Many of the spears are inserted in a tucum nut shell with slits in it so that a whistling sound is produced when the spear is thrown. These spears are used only in a game, which consists of two parties lining up facing each other at a good distance and throwing the spears at each other. The goal is to hit one of the other party.

It seems that the function of the throwing stick with a true spear, such as is used in the Chaco for hunting and war, has been forgotten by these people. In the forest such a method of hunting would not be practicable. [Plate XXIV, 3.]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1
Yaruma SP25 PLATE XX



B
M
172

B
415
411

Y
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531

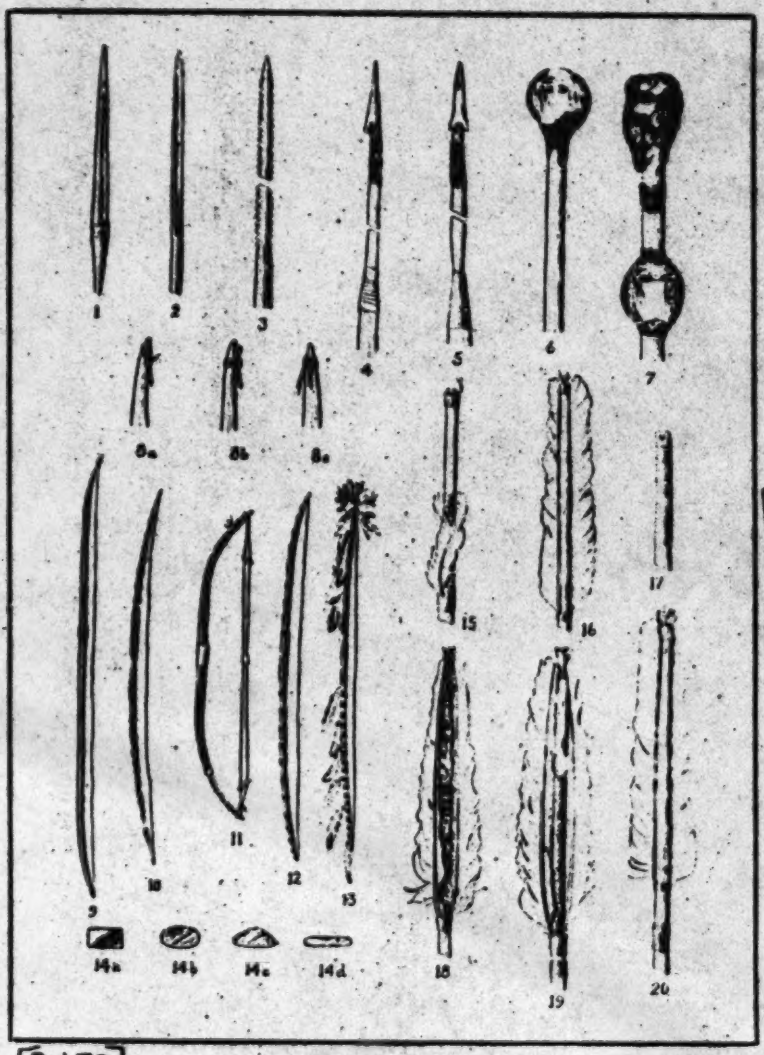
[P. 175]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp. 87-88. — Analyst]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

PLATE XXII



Y
105
171
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B
[237
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W
[284
411]

[P. 177]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp 88-89]

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

/135 cont./

593 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents'
[512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not
[354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the
[603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It
[855] continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest: 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are
836 evident from the following indications of the same explorer
431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long
[411] bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love
[602] arrows for one girl. Th[illegible]are handed to the brother or to the
[421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to
224 which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over
602 "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
593 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that
114 her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/144 cont./

000 goddess of the earth, had in common seven rings. "When they met at night, they would decorate themselves with these rings, that is, the one who was lying on top always wore the first four rings, and the one who was lying underneath wore the remaining three rings" (Leo Frobenius: Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes, /From the Cultural Realm of the Continent/, Berlin, 1923, p. 112). According to an ancient Syrio-Judaic tale, Adam and Eve argued in paradise about which of the two, during coitus, had to lie underneath and which one on top (Frobenius, ibidem).

/145/ To what point the socially inferior position of the woman in our civilization is manifested also with respect to the sexual life is shown by the following expressions: "to possess" or "to use" or "to dishonor" a woman. Our collective morality does not tolerate the woman's using such expressions also with respect to the man. She cannot "possess him," but must "belong to him," she cannot "use him," but she must "surrender herself," and she can never "dishonor him," because she must seduce him in such a way that he considers himself the seducer.

Among our Indians, we shall look in vain for a mentality 562 that establishes similar violent differences between the sexes. This is not contradicted by what Koslowsky (o.c. p. 384) relates about the western Bororo /The following quotation has been translated from the Spanish/: "When they get 562 224 ready for hunting/the ounce [H.B.]) they begin by observing certain ceremonies, which consist principally of [411] not sleeping with one's wife for four days before leaving to hunt the feline: in this interval he starts by painting his face with urucú, he prepares his arrows at the heat of the fire in order to harden the fibers of the tacuara /bamboo/. Under no circumstance is the woman allowed to touch the point of the arrows, since the Indian believes that with her contact they would lose their power of penetration and that it would [833] attract misfortunes to him." -- When the man avoids relations

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should
not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of
this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation
of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already
found out "that any look or smile between persons of different
sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral."
Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom
and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

562 We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
(Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c.,
p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner:
"When the contention within the hut reached the culminating
point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running
out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one.
Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three
women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One
of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to
meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce
fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center
of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned
in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass
/148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing,
the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure,
the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries
held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the
hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines
of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the
front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and
try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
521 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing
152 this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me: "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not
593 going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

5: Baldus--48 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8 Eastern Bororo

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13. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu (Meruri)

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14. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu returning from hunting (Meruri)

441/302 768 516 285 142

6:Kozdk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

ORNATE BOW, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

[p. 42-A]

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

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made from the mourners' hair, which the hunter wraps around his left wrist to prevent it from being injured by the snap of the bowstring.

EVEN though the shaman has "learned" the location of a jaguar from the spirit of the deceased, several days may pass before the hunter succeeds in finding one. The ensuing struggle between hunter and hunted is a feat of great daring and skill. As soon as a jaguar comes within shooting range, the hunter releases an arrow. He then immediately lifts his bow into a horizontal position and extends it toward the jaguar, pointing the far tip directly at the beast to parry its attack (a single arrow is seldom lethal). This maneuver must be accomplished with great speed before the jaguar pounces. Enraged by pain, the jaguar leaps at the end of the bow, clawing and biting it. Eye to eye the two struggle, the hunter warding off the beast with his bow held rigidly in both hands. When the jaguar recoils to pounce, the hunter quickly looses a second arrow and again raises the bow to protect himself. When the jaguar finally falls to the ground, weakened by the wounds, a last arrow is shot to end the struggle. If the hunter does not deliver this coup de grâce, he may lose the contest, for the jaguar may still have enough strength to attack when the hunter least expects it.

With the help of a companion, the hunter carries the dead jaguar

[p. 42-C]

[text continues on p. 44-B]

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[Ritual dance to appease spirit of the commercial fish.-Analyst]

[p. 43-C] [See caption, see p. 43-B]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [411] [531] [766] 765 535 825 782

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

Uneu holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a [304] priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 361
club where visitors are received and entertained. The bachytu of
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 346
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 412
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 572
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 764
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate cap- 301
tain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's 179
riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufac- 437
ture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various [126]
sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of [822]
which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a [103]
distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them [411]
beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WEAPONS.—THE BLOW GUN.—HUNTING.—MARVELOUS FISHERMEN.—THE MANO RACE.—THE WILD MAN'S EVENING ANTHEM.—WOMAN.—UNIQUE MARRIAGES.—FIGHTS.—PRIMITIVE ARITHMETIC.

411 THE weapons of the Bororó, used both in war and in the chase, are huge bows that are longer than the archer is tall, spear-like arrows four or five feet in length, and two styles of clubs, made of iron-like wood, one of which is shaped like an enormous dagger.

[824] They obtain the wood for their bows from a certain palm-tree, and the fibre with which to make their bow strings [283] from the long, slender foliage of another plam. The fibre is stripped out of the green leaves by the primitive artisan, and twisted, or spun, by rolling between the palm of the hand and the leg above the knee as the spinner sits, cross-legged, on his palm-leaf mat, and lastly, these strands are twisted dexterously into cordage in the same manner. The bow is usually wound half its length with reserve string.

The arrows are made by skilfully fitting together three different pieces of wood. The point, or spear part, is made [824] either of taquara or palm-wood, and in a variety of forms, according to the use to be made of it. Broad blade points are used in hunting large game, and for war, while various styles of harpoon points are used for fishing. A special kind of arrow is made which is six feet in length and very

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

heavy, and is shot with a line attached. It is really a harpoon, to be used in fishing. A big Bororó, with a bow six and a half or seven feet in length can launch an arrow with such force as to drive it through a tapir at close range; but he is not an accurate marksman beyond fifty yards. 411

A unique weapon, used by many of the aborigines of the Amazon valley, is the blow-gun. It resembles a gigantic pea-shooter ten or fifteen feet in length, or an enormously elongated bass clarinet, for the mouth-piece is made flaring like the bell of a clarinet. The wild man finds this weapon nearly ready made by Nature. It is constructed of the stem of a palm that grows but fifteen feet high, without joints, and two inches thick, and has a soft, pithy heart, which, when removed, leaves a smooth, polished bore. To make the gun, two of the straightest stems obtainable are selected, one small and the other large; and when the bores are cleared, the small tube is forced inside the large one, in order that one may counteract any slight crookedness in the other. A bell-shaped, or conical wooden mouth-piece is next attached, and sometimes the tube is wound spirally from end to end with the smooth, shiny bark of a creeper. 000

The needle-like arrows are made of the spinous processes of the patawa tree, having a conical tuft of cotton secured to the base, which fits snugly, but not tightly, into the bore of the gun. This projectile is hurled by a short, sharp puff of breath, like a boy shoots a pea, and has a range of forty or fifty yards. But it cannot be propelled with sufficient force to kill anything, so the points of several are dipped in a poisonous liquid just before they are to be used, which immediately stupifies and kills the victim, if only the skin is broken, though the animal may be restored if salt is at once rubbed into its mouth.

Since the blow-gun is noiseless, it is more useful to the primitive hunter than a firearm. With it, he is enabled to bring down monkey after monkey, for instance, until he has bagged an entire troop, whereas, with a firearm, all would be frightened away by the first shot. This weapon has been

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

used with fatal effect against traders ascending narrow streams in canoes, for the savage manipulator, hiding behind the dense masses of trees and bushes that lined the bank of the river, stealthily launched his deadly darts without being discovered.

721 In war, the Bororó, like many other South American tribes, prefer a hand to hand attack with heavy clubs. If they can choose the hour of attack, they select a moment just before dawn, or else the evening just after dark. They yell fiendishly when making an attack.

361 The Bororó always build their villages near some important stream, for they look more to the water for their flesh food than to the forest, and are far more expert fishermen than hunters. Though when fish are scarce, which they are during several months each year, they scour the forest in search of game. At such times, entire families leave the village to wander far away through forest and jungle, remaining absent two or three months.

224 They bravely attack, hand to hand, even the most ferocious game—the jaguar. When this powerful beast attacks a man, it springs to within a few feet of him, then rises up on its hind feet, like a bear, and closes with him. It is remarkable that an animal of the cat family should assume this position; but perhaps it is suggested to it by the upright position of the man. When forced to meet the beast in close combat, the Brazilian hunter provides himself with a heavy bar of wood five or six feet in length and terminating in a fork. Grasping this with the left hand, he holds it inclined in front of him with the foot resting upon the ground, and parries the attack by receiving the brute in the fork, which gives him time to thrust into its vitals the long knife held in the right hand.

But the Bororó hunter rarely uses the fork, employing, instead, a still more dangerous method. Having wound fifteen or twenty yards of hair rope around the left arm, he presents it, doubled, to the great cat when it rises to attack him, and at the same instant, plunges a knife into its heart. I saw

Brazil.

226 526 147 These men display amazing strength in the water. They have almost lived in the water from babyhood, and have learned the secret of just how to bring into play nearly every ounce of their great strength. An ordinary swimmer wastes the greater part of his strength in the water because he has not acquired the secret of how to apply it. A Bororó will roll over on his back, seize an object with both hands, and pull almost like a tug-boat.

226 When fish become scarce, part of the men of the village, taking their sack-nets, form a cordon across the river, then bellowing, screaming and diving, treading the water and making a great commotion, drive the scattered fish down the river, much as cowboys round up cattle; while the remaining men, with their sack-nets, form a line across the river two or three miles below to complete the round-up. Thus they corner and bag the fish.

[411] [221] Another method of fishing employed by the Bororó, is with a harpoon. The point, including the one or two barbs, is of bone, and detaches from the staff, which is eighteen inches in length. Fifty or one hundred yards of strong line is wound around the point part and one end secured to the detachable staff. Armed with this weapon, the fisherman dives very quietly to the bottom of the river at a spot which he knows to be the lurking place of a *jahú*, for instance, a fish that grows as large as a man. Espying one as it rests in the shadow of some rock, he approaches it with great stealth, lying, perhaps, motionless in the water and allowing the current to float him gently within reach of his prey. Then, suddenly, he plunges the harpoon into it, and retaining the staff in his hand, he rises quickly to the surface, lands, plays his game, and finally brings it ashore. This method of fishing is practiced when the water becomes less charged with earth.

[411] [221] Still another method of catching fish is with the bow and the large harpoon arrow with the line attached. Thus armed, the fisherman awaits his game at some shallow place, or where the fish pass near the surface of the water; or at a spot where they approach the edge of the river to feed upon certain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches 226
of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men.

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon- [41]
pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes [227]
near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them.

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the [103]
river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie [136]
called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the [511]
natives are contented and grow fleshy.

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They [501]
have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them.

One of the most striking traits of character of these chil- 151
dren of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) 825
is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita-

/460 cont./

726 the fire and the grave faces were sharply illuminated for a moment. The dancing lasted half an hour. Then we sat down around the old rattler, who was trembling violently from the exertion and was swallowing great draughts of water; we had to hold the pot to his mouth, for otherwise it would not have reached its goal. Now, however, we were all filled with fresh courage; the venerable old man, in a half singing tone, expatiated further on the subject of the agenda and our great chorus replied either an enraptured "uakína," "very good," or with coarse laughter, "hahahá," or with a determined threat, "uh...."

At noon on 3 April the patriotic enthusiasm against the unseen foe reached its climax. We were sitting and eating when suddenly ten or twelve Bororó came storming up in weird attire. In the [411] lead Moguyokuri, drunk, his face flushed, in my Turkish woman's jacket, armed, or rather loaded, with bow, arrows, a maize pestle, and a heavy ax blade without a handle, behind him José Domingo, face and body blackened with soot, swinging a beautiful bow decorated with ostrich feathers, a black hair-string around his right wrist for protection against the snapping bowstring, on a strap around his naked stomach a cavalry saber, and similarly fitted out for war the rest of the heroes -- last not least /given in English/ the idiot Dyapokuri. This unfortunate fool had also smeared himself all over with soot, around his pathological skull he had wound a black hair string, like a Chinese his pigtail, on his back hung a long kitchen knife, and with his right hand he twirled a club in the air; like one possessed, uttering inarticulate sounds, he leaped about to the laughter of the company at the table. The terrible warriors were setting out to seek the traces of the Kayapó. They soon returned, they had found nothing suspicious, the foolish people seemed to have come to their senses, and the episode was ended.

302 In the men's house in the morning there had been great activity; during the afternoon and into the evening a dozen Bororó were busy coloring the hair, face, and body of their lovers a festive bright red, and outside, after darkness descended, an entirely different kind of scene was enacted. A child of about two which had been

763 /460 cont./ A child of about Two which had been struggling with death for about 24 hours and whose end the baris had predicted for today was brought out in front of the hut. The mother was holding it in her lap; the medicine men and relatives sat around and lamented. Behind the mother squatted the father; for a while he remained motionless, then -- one of the onlookers was just lighting his pipe -- /461/ he drew a cord around the neck of the poor little mite and quickly brought to fulfillment the prophecy of the doctors. Immediately everyone except the [535] mother got up; the medicine men fetched their feather ornaments [764] and rattles and, with a booming "aroé..., aroé..." song, commenced the mourning dance.

726 The festivity in the ranchão and the mourning ceremonies outside suddenly suffered a mighty disturbance, however, when two shots were heard from the forest. Somebody there was again shooting at the Kayapó! One man who was sleeping off his intoxication had caught sight of them and heard them shouting! Having waked up, he sounded the alarm and a mad hubbub was the result. Eliseo had the soldiers report; in no time the plaza [411] was filled with men, all of whom carried bows and arrows, clubs, and axes, with women who had packed up all their belongings in carrying baskets and were dragging their children or pushing them on ahead, with half-grown boys, most of whom were also armed. [764] Only the woman with the little dead creature in her lap remained [535] in her place, and a few dancers with the great radial wheel of red arara feathers around their heads stamped, sang, rattled on steadfastly, or, after they had mingled for a moment in the bustle, returned to their duty.

The crowd was milling about wildly and pressing around the main building. The soldiers stood there in a long row; the cadets and officials could scarcely defend themselves against the onslaught, and no one could hear his own words. It was a dark night as well. The agitated ones demanded an immediate crossing to the other river bank before the Kayapó arrived; the entire company was ready to march. Fortunately, the people did not dare separate themselves from the soldiers. There was such a surging and seething that one did not know whether he still had possession of his five senses. Gradually the surging

2: Steinen--600 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Plate XXVIII

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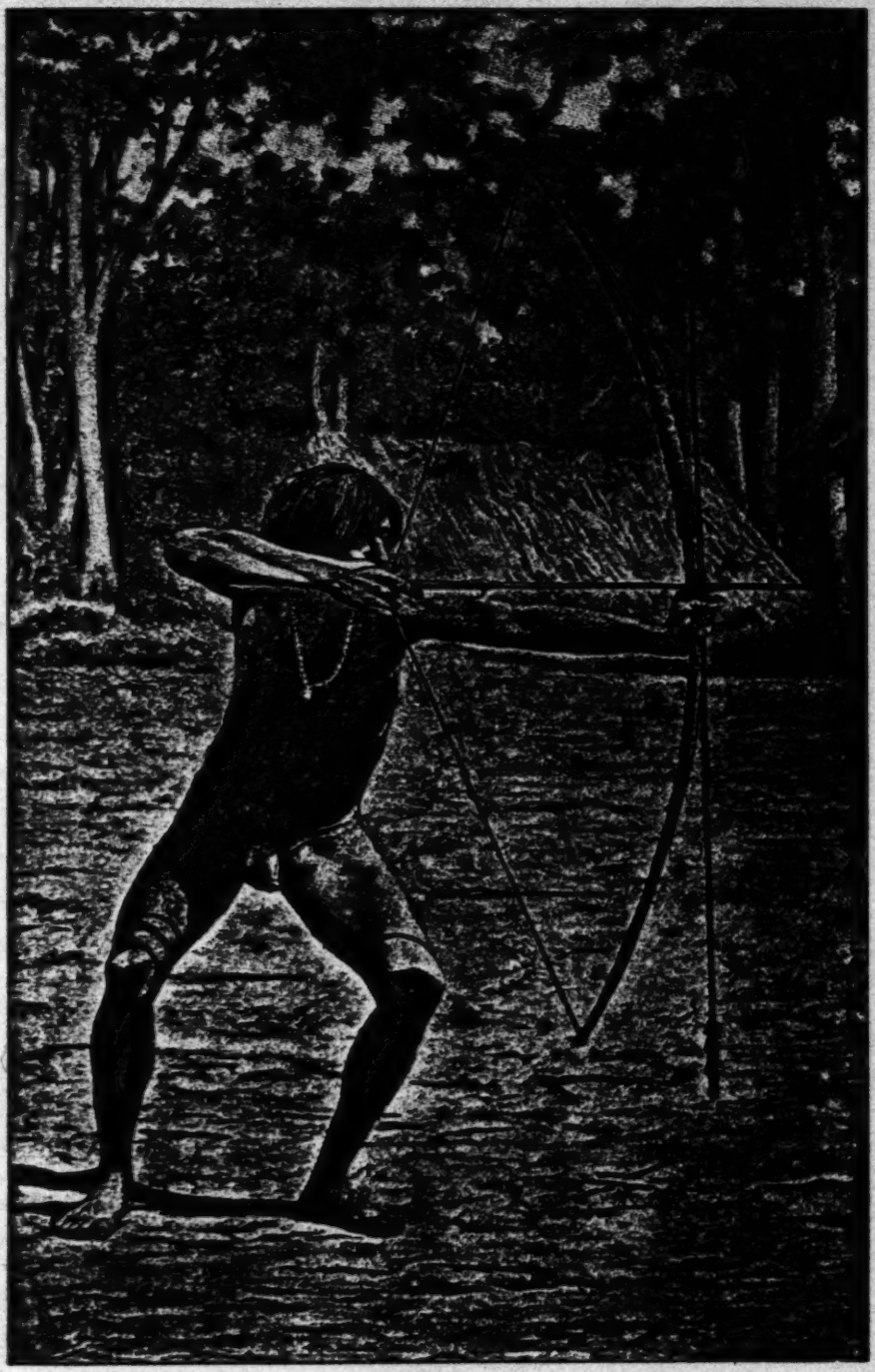

Bororó shooting.

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians íka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

● 411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs 237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [531] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

2: Steinen--605 F,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
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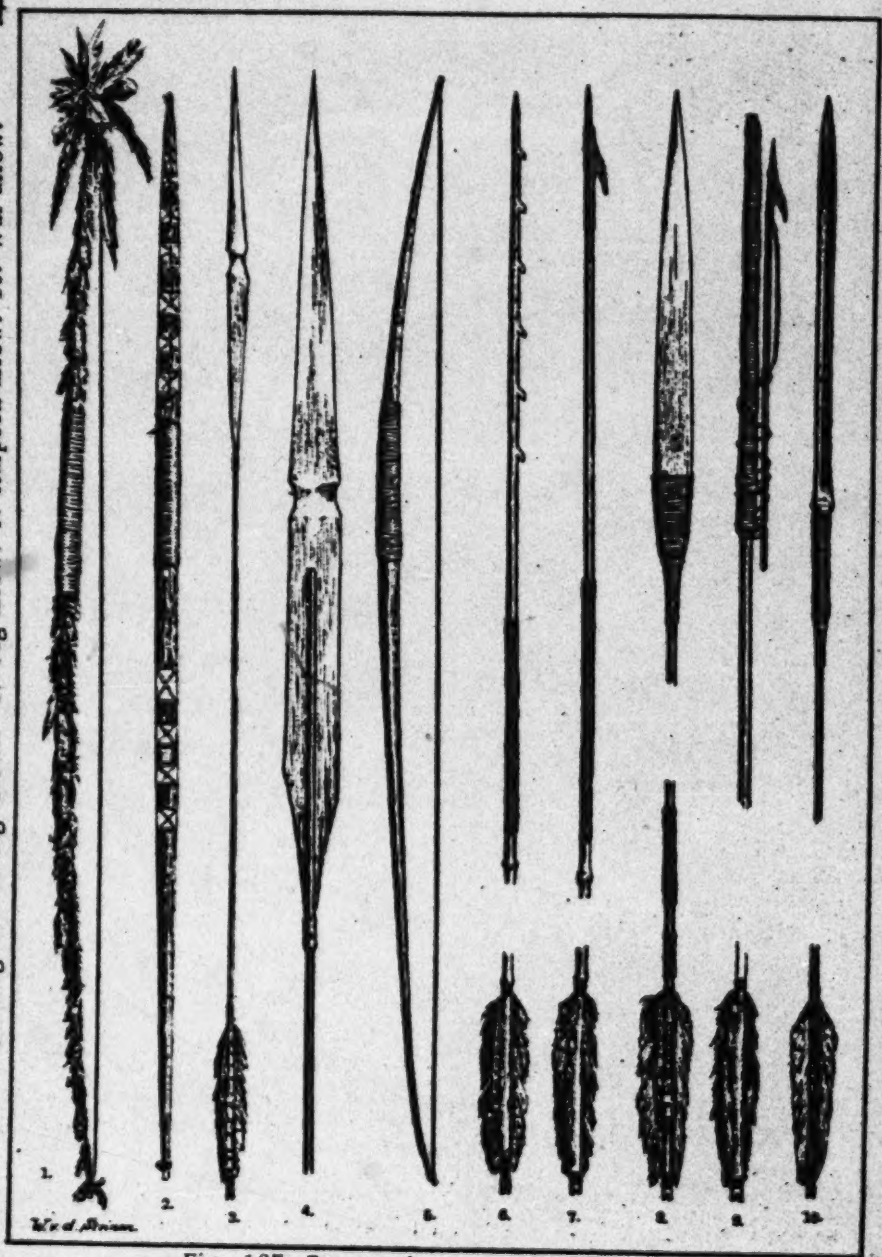

1. Bow of the chief, 2. of the jaguar hunter. 3. Jaguar arrow. 4. Bamboo point of 3. 5. Ordinary bow. 6 and 7. Hunting and fishing arrows. 8. Pig arrow. 9. Harpoon arrow. 10. War arrow.

Fig. 137. Bows and arrows. Bororó.

2: Steinen--606 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Bororo SP8

/485 cont./

411 The arrows are one and a half to one and three-fourths meters long. In the case of the most common type of hunting and fishing arrows pointed sticks of wood are driven into the kambayuva reed and on them sit a sharpened piece of bone. Or a bone is tied on [239] as a barb, No. 7, or the wood is notched, No. 6. The bones come from the monkey or the tapir. For bird hunting, arrows with blunt points are used; they bear a wooden cone, the wider end at the top, and in the center of the surface they are provided with a pointed knob.

Fig. 138. Bororó shooting.

Other arrows have sharpened pieces of bamboo as points; the bamboo is hung in smoke for a long time, so that it dries out sufficiently. The simplest form, which is used in hunting wild pigs, is shown by No. 8.[1] The flat bamboo point, 30-40 centimeters long, two and a half centimeters wide, is lashed to the reed shaft. No. 3 shows the beautiful seriba arrow for hunting jaguars; the entire arrow is one and three-fourths meters long, the feathered end-piece 24 centimeters, the bamboo point 60 centimeters long and three centimeters wide. The seriba shaft rests in a /486/ groove of the flat

[1] [See P. 605--Analyst]

/486 cont./

411 bamboo point, hollowed out with the capibara chisel, and is only loosely fastened with a little resin and string; cf. No. 4. The war arrow, No. 10, also carved out of seriba, bears a very narrow (one to two centimeters) piece of bamboo, round, but sharpened along its entire length (37 centimeters). The bamboo points break off in the body.

The barbed arrow is equipped with a harpoon device to catch alligators and larger fish. The length of the harpoon arrow in No. 9 was 1.78 centimeters /sic/, 31 centimeters of which should be allowed for the barbed stick fastened to a rope; the shaft, a thick ubá reed, was additionally wound half a meter in breadth.

The snapshot in Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ and Plate 28 /see p. 600/ show the stretching of the bow. The crouching archer holds the bow horizontally; the standing one, vertically. A reserve arrow is held parallel to the bow with the left hand. In this case the arrow rests to the left of the bow on the index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. At its rear end it is grasped between thumb and index finger, the thumb lets go, the index finger, in extended position, supports and adjusts the arrow more accurately, the other three fingers, especially the middle
[171] finger, stretch the bowstring. Thus, the stretching is different from that on the Kulisehu (cf. page 237). In the case of the crouching archer, where the arrow lies on the bow and is slightly pressed against it there by the tip of the index finger of the left hand, the position of the stretching right hand differs insofar as the rear end of the arrow is held between the tightly grasping thumb and the bent index finger.

345 Work in the men's house and techniques. Each one had his particular place: one who lived in the direction of the river, in the corner facing the river, and so forth, all according to the position of the house of the nearest relatives. Here where the
[571] Indians were among themselves there prevailed, except for the sexual practices, a commendable order, even according to our
461 concepts. A person who had nothing to do, of course, idled with great perseverance, but a person who was occupied with his weapons, ornaments, and implements worked indefatigably and

/495 cont./

526 suddenly become very serious; the problem is to trip up the other one and thus bring him down. One of them opens the attack by trying to get his heel into the hollow of the knee of the other one and to bend it, but the latter places his tensely straightened leg so far back that the former cannot exert any pressure. Soon the attempts follow one another extremely rapidly on both sides until one falls. He may always take revenge. A small, agile, but ugly and one-eyed man whom we called the clown, but who was called Camões by his Cuyaban baptismal name, was excellent at this sort of entertainment in the ranchão, in that he threw three or four of his tallest fellow-tribesmen, one after the other. /496/ His stronger rivals, and surpassing him in size, used to point him out proudly, but at the same moment had his heel in the hollow of their knees and crashed to the ground.

[411] Shooting with the bow on the open plaza was often practiced. The photographs of Plate 28 /see p. 600/ and Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ were taken in connection with this.

Very popular among old and young was the burika, an invention of the soldiers: a horizontal beam, with short ropes at both ends, which turned in the center on a post; cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/ where a crowd /Fig. 143 appears here/ of boys is having fun with the game. While one would sit astride on either end and others would run along hanging onto the ropes, the beam was swung around in faster and faster rotation by someone who remained a few moments longer at the post, until the riders were usually hurled to the ground.

524 In Figure 143 /see p. 621/ two kinds of toys are combined: papá, the ball plaited out of maize straw with an arara feather, and tagóra, a whip with a black urubu feather at the end of the string. The boys would swing the feather whip and enjoy the mild excitement of seeing the feather stand upright for a moment upon the ground if the handle of the whip was moved downward with a flick of the wrist. I once saw two boys make a bee and a butterfly flutter on a string.

534 765 Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Only the large rattle gourds up to 20 centimeters long and a small blow-gourd, poári,

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from [411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat, [844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not [515] bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary, was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
846 352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip [304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*zumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 [726] The siriva palm wood bow (*bóiku*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*bóiko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*iáko*) is made by fixing a notched 411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. 224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow [824] pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*báiye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (1)]

/278 cont./

[170] of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
[18] tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[442] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[522] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same
737 for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[3] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[3] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. p. 17--Analyst]

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
661 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[22] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuãwa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[239] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by

412 237 284 415 531 534

FIGURE 82.—Bororo manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent teeth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[614] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅓ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 361
club where visitors are received and entertained. The baehytu of
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 346
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and
are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 412
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 572
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 764
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to fur-
412 nish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in
433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and
226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January,
222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the
[283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

/471 cont./

141 toe: in the case of 17 men, II nine times, I seven times, I = II once; in the case of five women, II three times, I two times.

302 Dress. Eyelashes, eyebrows, beard hair, and body hair were plucked or shaved. The people are now beginning to leave the eyelashes of some children intact, which was a great advantage to them, according to our taste.

The head hair was treated in a very different manner, but equally arbitrarily by men and women alike. The tonsure which one would expect from the name "Coroados" is restricted to an occasional one of one centimeter in diameter. Perhaps the name comes from the large feather crowns. Widowers and widows wore their hair cut short. The most common and original style for both sexes was that the hair was combed to the forehead and cut off here straight across, but hung down freely in back; cf. Plate 26 /see p. 575/. Next to the ears occasionally another step was cut or a bunch tied together like a paint brush, sometimes the men's hair was twisted into a knot in back or /472/ a bast band was wound around the head. Women who proved amenable to Brazilian customs parted their hair in the center. One man or another also went about with loose, uncut hair parted in the
•412 center. Nowadays the hair was generally cut with scissors, between two shells by the old method. The comb consisted of pointed little rods which were tapered at both ends and joined together in the middle section by crude plaiting; the plaiting lay between two cross-strips tied together at the projecting ends.

291 The men, almost without exception, wear a hip cord. One or another, however, went about without it. The cuff, inobá (no, oaussu palm; ba, eggs, scrotum), called gravata by the Brazilians, has already been discussed and illustrated on page 184 (with the festive flag). One can very easily make a model from a strip of paper three centimeters wide and 14 centimeters long, by putting the two ends together to form a ring and then twisting one end about 90° and folding it slightly under the other. If a new or somewhat tighter cuff was put on, the praeputium was tied with a string in front of the glans and drawn through; by this manipulation and the wearing of the cuff, it was considerably

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
[177] the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/487 cont./

412 237 (Coelogenys paca), a small rodent; they still planed, polished, and bored in good Indian fashion.

Their plane was a Bulimus shell, ruo, ten centimeters long, cf. Fig. 140 (and Fig. 27 /see p. 206/ from the Schingú), into which sharp-edged holes 322 were struck with an oaussú nut. Moreover, they polished wood, for example the whizzer sticks which were made for the burial ceremony, by rubbing it for a quarter of an hour with a wet, smooth stone. Or they took the rough leaves of the lischa and the imbauba tree. They sat with

Fig. 139. Capybara chisel. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 237 284 →

legs folded and crossed and cut and planed the objects on their foot as a support. On the outer part of the ankle resting on the floor I often felt callous thickenings and even movable pieces as hard as cartilage. 321 Monkey bones for chain ornaments were cut up on their foot, and I constantly feared for their own bones.

Boring was always done with a twirling motion. A nail was fastened to a stick half a meter long and this was twirled between

412 237 →

Fig. 140. Plane-shell. Bororó. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

the two hands sliding rapidly up and down. In this way they bored through the small shell plates for their lip chains, which they made

/490 cont./

272 574 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to 262 247 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable 462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small 323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not 412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

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Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room. [515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical
757 413 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage
765 304 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one.
512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable
[224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt
302 was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally,
757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after
237 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children
30 were always doéte /sick/(Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply
[164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose
[181] clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
556 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured
614 products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre ČåbōgeʷōGe, Ewåguddudoge ČåbōgeʷōGe, and Ewåguddudoge bo'pokejewōGe are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ewåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O Čera clans.

The Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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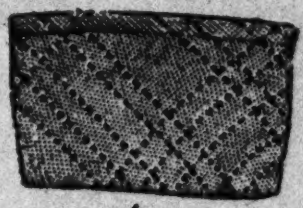

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FIGURE 51.—Bororo textiles and pottery. *a*, *b*, Bags with weave and designs the same as mats; *c*, *d*, water jars (1/7 to 1/11 natural size); *e*, ladle (1/4 natural size); *f*, plate (1/4 natural size); *g*, bowl (1/4 to 1/17 natural size); *h*, cup (1/4 natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots.
323 The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by

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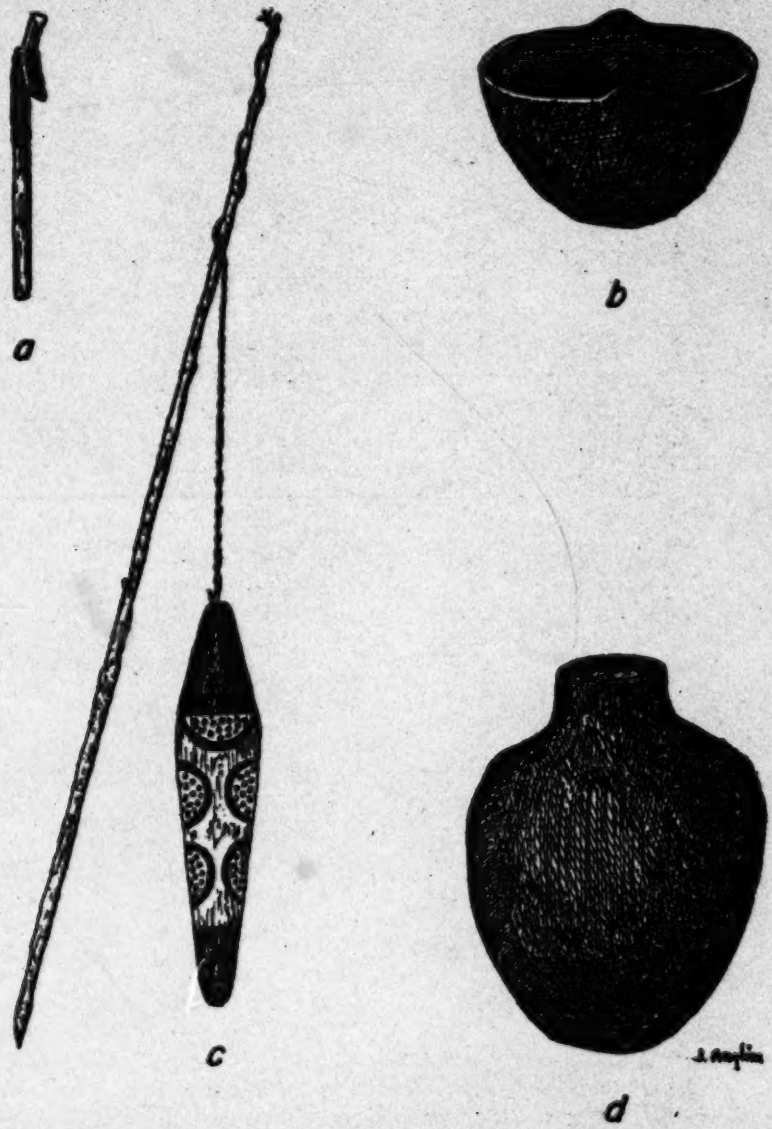

FIGURE 52.—*Bororo* manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent tooth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

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Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

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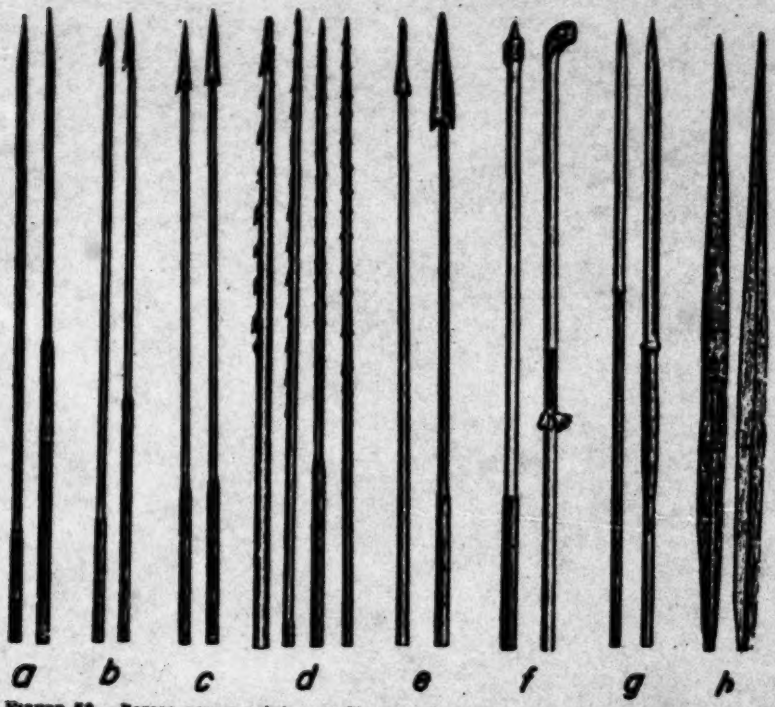

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened red foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (⅛ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP

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of parallel lines, criss-cross, and filled-in triangles. A section of it i shown in Plate XX, 9. Close to the rolled rim on one side, the vessel bear a smooth, round hole less than one centimetre in diameter. It wa unquestionably put there intentionally by the potter.

(b) This specimen is of identical shape as (a) but smaller, measur ing but seven centimetres across the top and four centimetres in heigh It bears the rolled rim, and incised lines. The painted decoration i black and consists of lines and rectangular figures, sectioned off. Th hole close to the rim again appears. [Plate XX, 9 a.]

(c) Of the same size as (b), and is identical with it except that th rolled rim is heavier and does not bear any painted decoration.

(d) This is the smallest of the four, and is identical with the other only differing in the painted decoration, which consists of diamond an triangular figures filled in with parallel horizontal lines. The ware i red and the decoration is in red. [Plate XX, 9 b.]

(a), (c), and (d) were found in close proximity to each other at th same level, thirty centimetres below the surface, but not in associatio with any of the urn burials. (b) was found also about thirty centimetre below the surface and in the section where the urns were closely packed

That the hole served the purpose of passing a string through it i order to keep the vessels suspended seems to be a reasonable assumptio but as to their probable use little that is definite can be said. One of th Bororo da Campanha workmen offered the information that in his boy hood he had seen similar vessels used by the girls in the catameni periods, especially during the period of the puberty initiation ceremon in connection with fasting. These vessels were used as measures for th amount of water and food the girl was permitted to have; whether it wa per day or per meal he could not say. However, the ware is not of th Bororo style, and such vessels were not found in use among the Boro of the São Lorenço region, so that this suggestion cannot be taken conclusive.

B
[881]
[804]
[415]

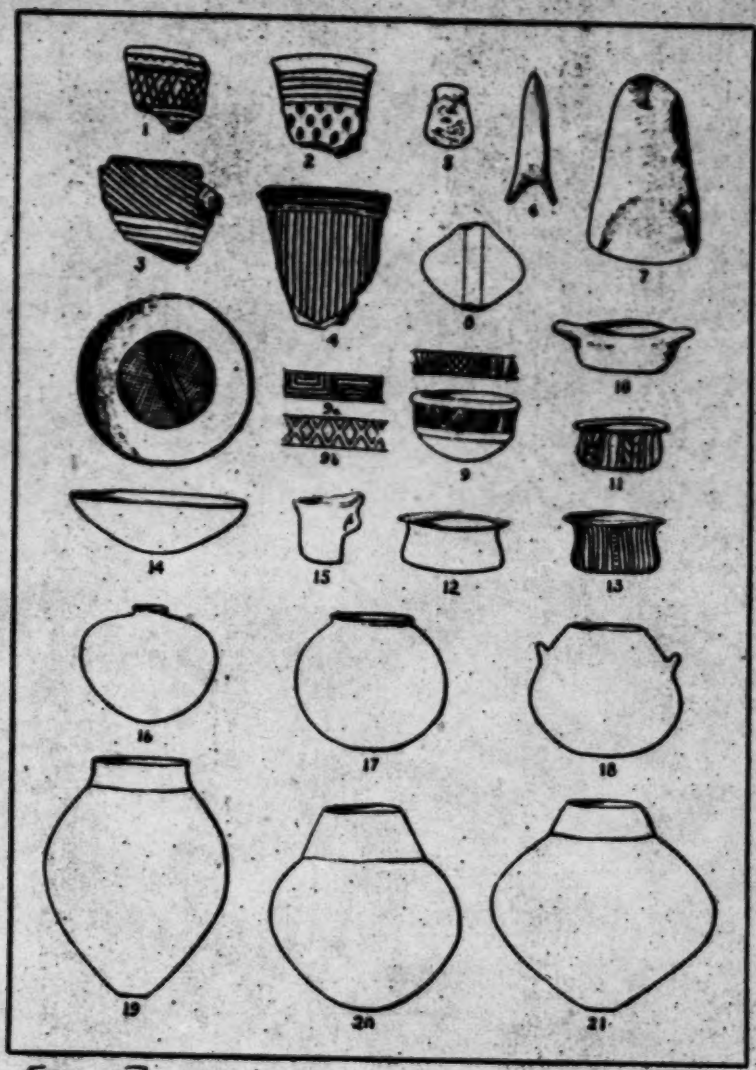
Another find consisted of several conical bone points, with concav bases, similar to those found on Bororo arrows, and also on the arrow gotten in the Kuluseu-Kuluene region. [Plate XX, 6.]

Five pottery spindle whorls of the form shown in Plate XX, 8.

Between a depth of thirty centimetres and hard pan, we came upo a large number of closely packed pottery vessels, some of which co

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1
Yaruma SP25 PLATE XX



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[P. 175]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp. 87-88. — Analyst]

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

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WOMAN scrapes wall in an ararí palm, above, after top has been chopped off. Sap seeps upward, and while it collects a leaf covers the cavity. When wall is full, below, a woman draws off the sap by using a long reed tube as a pipette.

[142
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[p. 41-B]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bakoro SP8

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PALM SAP, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p.45-B]

palm, leaving a deep well in which the sap collects by upward seepage. She covers the opening with leaves, and by the next day the well is full. A number of women then suck the sap into reeds, which they use as pipettes. When a reed is full, they close the top quickly with a thumb and transfer the sap to large pots. It is then taken back to the village and left in the shade for a day to ferment. 273 222 [445]

FOR a change of pace from the ritual dances of the funerary ceremony, the Bororo engage in an unusual kind of relay race. Two teams of young men—each team representing one of the two moieties of the society—oppose each other. Men of the two groups cut stems of buriti palms, trim them to a uniform length, and tie them into two huge circular bundles resembling cart wheels. Each one is about three feet in diameter and may weigh more than one hundred pounds. With a "cart wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man from each team begins running toward the village. When he tires under his heavy burden, the bundle is taken over 526 [764] [616]

[p. 45-D]

[text continues on p. 46-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by
353 the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *areda* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-
[261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
•415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the [824] colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in [251] carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

487

* In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [147] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [216] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/490 cont./

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice
574 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

415

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

421

421 PROPERTY SYSTEM--principles of property law; rights, privileges, and powers commonly involved in property relations (e.g., rights that others shall not use or destroy, privileges of enjoyment, powers of alienation and of transmission after death); recognized types of titles or tenure; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, joint, corporate, collective, public); their relation to classes of subject matter (e.g., land, movables, slaves); their degree of integration; their legal and statistical importance; their association with kin and other social groups; etc. See also:

Law 67
Ownership of productive capital 471
Property arrangements upon termination of marriage 588

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uyagedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong [421] to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge 614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu- 825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a 827 fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
[825] is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
796

/135 cont./

593 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents'
[512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not
[354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the
[603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother
[855] nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are
836 evident from the following indications of the same explorer
431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls
[411] in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love
[602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then,
[421] an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to
224 which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over
602 "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
114 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

The moieties have reciprocal duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 496 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [714] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their un-
[881] married children. After initiation the sons move into the
[422] men's house, but all their belongings remain in their moth-
[264] er's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their
[586] natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their
[591] mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind,
596 in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman
[264] cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared.
596 They also help each other care for the children. If a woman
855 is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

Eastern Bororo

B 101 184 361

On the São Lorenço river are a number of colonies of the eastern Bororo, who have not come so much under the influence of European civilization. These people still live apart in their villages and maintain their own institutions and industries. They unquestionably differ from the western Bororo in many ways.

B 114 361

The colonies at Pirigara, Corrego Grande (São Lorenço), and Rondonopolis were visited by the expedition, but Corrego Grande received most attention. Sound motion-picture studies of the dances and industries were made and rich collections of artefacts obtained.

B 361 184 423

Unlike that of the Western Bororo, the village is still an orderly affair, being built in circular fashion with the men's hut in the center. The men actually live in this hut, the other houses really belonging to the women. Fishing, the cultivation of manioc, and hunting are the main occupations. [Plates IV, 2; V, 1, 2; VI, 1, 2; VII, 1, 2.]

B 114

Since an excellent study of a community of Bororo exists by Colbachini, little could be said of a descriptive nature in this brief paper that would not be duplication. Therefore, it is felt that time and space ought to be given to the Xingu trip.

At the Headwaters of the Xingu River

M 114

My original plans were to descend the Kuluene river, which has never been descended by an ethnographer; in fact, only recently has it been mapped by Major Ramior Noronha. However, after several conversations with Major Noronha at Cuyabá, finding that such a plan would add difficulties which would not bring any added results, I decided to descend the Kulusen and ascend the Kuluene to the Seventh of September, and then to ascend that river. This had the advantage of avoiding a longer overland trip and many miles of rapids, and offered the opportunity of seeing more aborigines.

For purposes of reconnaisance and as a safety measure, it was decided to make use of the airplane. Accordingly, before beginning the overland trip, two flights were made to the north. We decided to depend on water for taking off and landing, since the country did not offer such open runways that landing on wheels would be safe.

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text continues on p. 27]

The moieties have reciprocal duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 406 754

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In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
556 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest
425 relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

441 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and
[264] smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 idered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 elieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were
the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him,
thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuŝawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in
trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons,
and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs
with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our
objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for com-
missions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But
skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of
macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of
tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no
matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which
are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see
p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left with-
out saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return with-
out the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example,
but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury
among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother
or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/276 cont./

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463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
661 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuŝawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[237] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
506 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
408 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
324 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[978] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of ariba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'úga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 847 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Women wear a gray peripheral band,
841 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a
292 girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture [431] [513] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

902 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São [386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous [237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus [755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92,
237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice [184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço
489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding [481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and [501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck [345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, [301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

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[For information on the ceremonial exchange of gifts between yorubodare (an alliance between two men of opposite moieties, established by the exchange of ceremonial gifts, and from which group a man should choose a wife), see category 571.]

593 837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by 836 602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though 587 606 the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him [585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but [43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, 582 593 there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by 591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [533] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [201] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere- [723] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[776] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

/135 cont./

593 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents'
[512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not
[354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the
[603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother
[855] nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

836 Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer
431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls
[411] in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love
[602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the
[421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

224 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over
602 "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
114 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/152 cont./

301 hole pierced in both ear lobes, so that the individual wears a pair of these
301 earrings. The one represented in
613 Figure 1, which has a tooth above and one below, is peculiar to the clan of the Aroia; it was worn by Mario Bokodori Kudde, pictured in Plate 21, even though this man does not belong to said clan. /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ But he had killed an ounce and had given the cadaver to the Aroia, delivering with this, a recently deceased member of that clan from being
[431] incarnated in this beast. He then received, as it is the custom in such a case, gifts of honor from the Aroia, especially the bow splendidly decorated with plumes, and permission to make and to wear "without fear and shame" all the ornaments with which their clan distinguishes itself from the others. One can obtain this permission from any clan as soon as a dead ounce is handed over to it, delivering in this way one of their dead from incarnation in this feline. I still wish to observe that the wife of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Plates 19 and 20) was an Aroia and, therefore, owned earrings like those which the
[178] husband wore. The same man told me that in the past these earrings were worn the opposite way, that is with the points turned upward.

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

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made from the mourners' hair, which the hunter wraps around his left wrist to prevent it from being injured by the snap of the bowstring.

EVEN though the shaman has "learned" the location of a jaguar from the spirit of the deceased, several days may pass before the hunter succeeds in finding one. The ensuing struggle between hunter and hunted is a feat of great daring and skill. As soon as a jaguar comes within shooting range, the hunter releases an arrow. He then immediately lifts his bow into a horizontal position and extends it toward the jaguar, pointing the far tip directly at the beast to parry its attack (a single arrow is seldom lethal). This maneuver must be accomplished with great speed before the jaguar pounces. Enraged by pain, the jaguar leaps at the end of the bow, clawing and biting it. Eye to eye the two struggle, the hunter warding off the beast with his bow held rigidly in both hands. When the jaguar recoils to pounce, the hunter quickly looses a second arrow and again raises the bow to protect himself. When the jaguar finally falls to the ground, weakened by the wounds, a last arrow is shot to end the struggle. If the hunter does not deliver this coup de grâce, he may lose the contest, for the jaguar may still have enough strength to attack when the hunter least expects it.

With the help of a companion, the hunter carries the dead jaguar

[p. 42-C]

[text continues on p. 44-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [857]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would [516]
sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and distortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

123 articles from us without offering us anything in exchange.
431 One would say, "*Bororó*, headache—handkerchief, red"—Meaning, my head aches; give me a red handkerchief to tie around it. Or, "*Boé* sick—tobacco,"—I am sick. Give me a piece of tobacco to make me well. Or, again, "*Boé* pursue tapir—catch him not. Give tobacco." At other times, they sought to obtain things on credit, saying, "*Bororó*, bring"—I will bring you something. But they usually forgot "to bring." Sometimes they tried a little flattery. One day a chief man came to me saying: "Captain"—myself—"good—Captain very good. Bororó cry when Captain go away. Bororó ask Captain not go." But this was largely to pave the way to ask for something. When I had to refuse them and they seemed displeased, I said to them: "*Bororó*, good; *Bororó*, very good. Captain, bad—very bad." They always hastened to say in reply to this, "No, no; Captain, good—very good."

157 When fish became scarce and a hunting expedition had
261 not resulted successfully, and they were, consequently, with-
[433] out food, they came to us acting as if they longed to become
[123] our slaves forever. After much self-abnegation, they would say, timidly, "*Boé tapira*,"—I like beef. *Tapira* is their word for cattle, cow, bullock or beef. But when they made a good haul of fish, their demeanor underwent an entire change, and seeming unable to recognize any one, they hastened to their huts without looking to the right or to the left. If spoken to, they feigned deafness. They do not wish many friends at such times as this as they would have to divide their catch with them. This is much like the civilized man, who, having acquired a fortune, is unable, longer, to recognize his less favored friends and relatives.

764 A death occurred in the village the day after our arrival, and as custom among these people forbids that any member of the family of the deceased should leave the village to fish, hunt, or to forage, until all the obsequies, which continue many days, are over, they must trust to the generosity of their
[123] neighbors for food. Consequently, the father of the bereaved

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836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had inter-
[561] course are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[437] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[802] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre čębegeʷõ
14. Āróre čębegeʷõ
15. Ẹwâguddu čereð kurigeð čębegeʷõ
16. Ẹwâguddu bo'pokẹjeʷõ čębegeʷõ
17. Ẹwâguddu baiaddadaᵃ eten'manaãge
(cabõgeʷõ half) 18. Ẹwâguddu kujagoreð etu'ieemage čabõgeʷõ
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čabõgeʷõ baiaddadaᵃ (1)

[128] 1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čabõgeʷõ
22. Apibore kujagoreð
23. Apibore čoreð
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreð
26. Paiwe kujagoreð

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ẹwâguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

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177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same
737 for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. p. 117--Analyst]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.
[847]

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prised feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
856 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
576 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
224 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest
425 relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

441 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to fur-
412 nish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in
433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and
226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January,
222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the
[283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

The
226 savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
433 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
[593] She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The
302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in
593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum
301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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123 articles from us without offering us anything in exchange.
431 One would say, "*Bororó*, headache—handkerchief, red"—Meaning, my head aches; give me a red handkerchief to tie around it. Or, "*Boé* sick—tobacco,"—I am sick. Give me a piece of tobacco to make me well. Or, again, "*Boé* pursue tapir—catch him not. Give tobacco." At other times, they sought to obtain things on credit, saying, "*Bororó*, bring"—I will bring you something. But they usually forgot "to bring." Sometimes they tried a little flattery. One day a chief man came to me saying: "Captain"—myself—"good—Captain very good. Bororó cry when Captain go away. Bororó ask Captain not go." But this was largely to pave the way to ask for something. When I had to refuse them and they seemed displeased, I said to them: "*Bororó*, good; *Bororó*, very good. Captain, bad—very bad." They always hastened to say in reply to this, "No, no; Captain, good—very good."

157 When fish became scarce and a hunting expedition had
261 not resulted successfully, and they were, consequently, with-
[433] out food, they came to us acting as if they longed to become
[123] our slaves forever. After much self-abnegation, they would say, timidly, "*Boé tapira*,"—I like beef. *Tapira* is their word for cattle, cow, bullock or beef. But when they made a good haul of fish, their demeanor underwent an entire change, and seeming unable to recognize any one, they hastened to their huts without looking to the right or to the left. If spoken to, they feigned deafness. They do not wish many friends at such times as this as they would have to divide their catch with them. This is much like the civilized man, who, having acquired a fortune, is unable, longer, to recognize his less favored friends and relatives.

764 A death occurred in the village the day after our arrival, and as custom among these people forbids that any member of the family of the deceased should leave the village to fish, hunt, or to forage, until all the obsequies, which continue many days, are over, they must trust to the generosity of their
[123] neighbors for food. Consequently, the father of the bereaved

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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000 five feet broad, which is partitioned off into a large number of apartments and occupied by an entire village of twenty or thirty families. It is a primitive tenement house.

231 The Bororó have no domestic animals whatever; and no captive wild creatures except the brilliant plumaged macaws and parrots, which are kept for their feathers, and for the pleasure of their companionship.

241 433 About the only agricultural work the Bororó do, in common with many other South American tribes, is to raise a little yellow corn, though they obtain but a mere handful of their annual food supply from this source. Agriculture is always carried on with extreme difficulty where the savages have no steel instruments with which to cut down the forest and prepare the soil. Those tribes that have secured axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives, sometimes plant considerable ground.

241 461 433 But the fact that all these tribes are communistic societies; that is, have all things in common, operates seriously, it seems to me, against their engaging in agriculture on a scale sufficiently large to produce their entire food supply. Their social arrangements are such that if any family should raise a quantity of produce, they would have to divide it with the rest of the community; so, after all their labor, they would find themselves without anything for tomorrow, and on a level with those who had not toiled. Consequently, there is but little incentive to provide food except as hunger drives them forth, in common with the other denizens of the wilds, to procure something for immediate consumption.

000 Therefore, the primitive man has knowledge of nearly everything in his savage world that is edible, whether it belongs to the animal or vegetable kingdom, and knows just when and where it is to be found, and how to obtain it. Some tribes look almost exclusively to the forest, others to the river, for their meat supply. Thus different tribes are either expert fishermen, or expert hunters. When fish become scarce, as they do at certain seasons, the fishermen tribes are forced to become vegetarians, largely.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

used with fatal effect against traders ascending narrow streams in canoes, for the savage manipulator, hiding behind the dense masses of trees and bushes that lined the bank of the river, stealthily launched his deadly darts without being discovered.

In war, the Bororó, like many other South American tribes, prefer a hand to hand attack with heavy clubs. If they can choose the hour of attack, they select a moment just before dawn, or else the evening just after dark. They yell fiendishly when making an attack.

The Bororó always build their villages near some important stream, for they look more to the water for their flesh food than to the forest, and are far more expert fishermen than hunters. Though when fish are scarce, which they are during several months each year, they scour the forest in search of game. At such times, entire families leave the village to wander far away through forest and jungle, remaining absent two or three months.

They bravely attack, hand to hand, even the most ferocious game—the jaguar. When this powerful beast attacks a man, it springs to within a few feet of him, then rises up on its hind feet, like a bear, and closes with him. It is remarkable that an animal of the cat family should assume this position; but perhaps it is suggested to it by the upright position of the man. When forced to meet the beast in close combat, the Brazilian hunter provides himself with a heavy bar of wood five or six feet in length and terminating in a fork. Grasping this with the left hand, he holds it inclined in front of him with the foot resting upon the ground, and parries the attack by receiving the brute in the fork, which gives him time to thrust into its vitals the long knife held in the right hand.

But the Bororó hunter rarely uses the fork, employing, instead, a still more dangerous method. Having wound fifteen or twenty yards of hair rope around the left arm, he presents it, doubled, to the great cat when it rises to attack him, and at the same instant, plunges a knife into its heart. I saw

B /200 cont./
133 ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
487 ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
*191 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.
433 The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical re-
B [281] quirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for
[252] warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later
BO 433 among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but
[252] among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predominated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
181 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
825 completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakaïrí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world; he saw

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sa. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[177] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
●433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/489 cont./

732 Sometimes Dyapokuri gave a performance. The men were far from regarding the feeble-minded one, who could only babble, as a superior creature. He liked to portray the quarreling of the women by launching into the most enraged gestures and vigorously demonstrated the mutual scratching and hair-pulling. He flew into frightful agitation himself, however, when a soldier teased him on account of his setting out to pursue the Kayapó (page 568) and, a stick over his shoulder, hitched along with huge, lunging strides: the poor devil foamed at the mouth with indignation, threw his burning chunk of wood at the mocker, and, since he did not know what else to do, snatched up a few wood chips from the ground and, with a teeth-baring grimace and unintelligible sounds of rage, depicted -- the mustache of the soldier. After a while he calmed down again and, for the funeral ceremony, practiced rattling with two rattle gourds and the rhythmic aróe grunts.

123 The hours in the ranchão were instructive and agreeable. There was only one thing that was intolerable, the incessant begging for tobacco. My pipe traveled from one man to another. The men dictated pages of Bororó to me, each one having to present in sentences whatever was going on at the moment, listened to me repeat it, and then laughed, just as gratified [157] as the Bakaírí. The more intimate we became, the more striking was the agreement in temperament and character with the Kulisehu Indians. On a post in the men's house, after we had taken the anthropological measurements, /490/ my height was also indicated. A piece of charcoal was crushed with the teeth, pulverized with saliva in the hand, and above my head a black ring was painted around the post.

•433 Food; "consecration." According to Clemente's report, in spite of all the hunting, the plant food obtained by the women is of the greatest importance, because it comes in more regularly 222 and abundantly. The women look for roots with a pointed stick, climb up the palm trees with great agility, among which preference is given to the oaussú and akurí, gather the nuts, cut the "palm cabbage" in the crown, look for jatobá and pikí fruits, 292 and so forth. The palm nuts are roasted or pounded in a mortar 574 and mixed with water to make a thickish drink, the refreshing

/140 cont./

462
141

women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being
462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi-
482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads
[434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

462 It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians
22 the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat.
[241] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in
[171] the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more
[181] intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
556 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured
614 products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre čåbōgeʷōge, Éwåguddudoge čåbōgeʷōge, and Éwåguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Éwåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O čera clans.

The Bādejebage čębegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [237] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'úga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 847 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone. 765 535 825 762

IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun. 764 302 301 292 [435]

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue. 765 535 767 776 767 776 765

ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound. [302] [775]

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
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425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
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827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
224 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had inter-
[561] course are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[439] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
(412) relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuzawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[237] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage* was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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463
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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

437 signs than by words. "*Caiba?*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Boé*, sick; *Boé*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of [281] the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day, [532] some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for [126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with super-000 stitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

/502 cont./

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593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial

292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kõge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreõ
G. Bãdejeba bo'pokejwo
H. Paiwe Čoreõ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ewãguddu) Baiaddadaõ
J. Āróre Čebegeõ
K. Āróre
L. Ki
M. Ewãguddu Čabõgeõ
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Apibore
Q. Ewãguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucú seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bãdejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
301 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
439 natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 man is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will
264 of the others.)

881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
593 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

596 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and
855 even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family, he can move his family to another village. This movement of the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people but does not affect the structure of the new group, which will be very much like the one left behind. The man will live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will de-
591 pend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's
596 mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom occur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women, the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing. The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that her children will be looked after when she goes into the woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she received from her mother.

593 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the
461 fields to do some work together that would be difficult for a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the extraction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a
593 couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man,
484 his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

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place to the accompaniment of the bull-roarers' whir. 765 [523]

At the swamp, where the final interment of the bones takes place, a deep pit is dug, and the basket is lowered into it. There is no further ritual. Only a long bamboo pole decorated with feathers is left to mark the last resting place of the bones, on the proper dis- [461]

[p. 49-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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position of which the Bororo have lavished approximately a month of their time and so much of their energy. 765 [461]

In January, 1958, Marshal Candido M. Rondon, who was a great friend and protector of the Indians of Brazil, and the first director of the Brazilian Indian Service, died. During Rondon's 114

[p. 49-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

five feet broad, which is partitioned off into a large number of apartments and occupied by an entire village of twenty or thirty families. It is a primitive tenement house.

The Bororó have no domestic animals whatever; and no captive wild creatures except the brilliant plumaged macaws and parrots, which are kept for their feathers, and for the pleasure of their companionship.

About the only agricultural work the Bororó do, in common with many other South American tribes, is to raise a little yellow corn, though they obtain but a mere handful of their annual food supply from this source. Agriculture is always carried on with extreme difficulty where the savages have no steel instruments with which to cut down the forest and prepare the soil. Those tribes that have secured axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives, sometimes plant considerable ground.

But the fact that all these tribes are communistic societies; that is, have all things in common, operates seriously, it seems to me, against their engaging in agriculture on a scale sufficiently large to produce their entire food supply. Their social arrangements are such that if any family should raise a quantity of produce, they would have to divide it with the rest of the community; so, after all their labor, they would find themselves without anything for tomorrow, and on a level with those who had not toiled. Consequently, there is but little incentive to provide food except as hunger drives them forth, in common with the other denizens of the wilds, to procure something for immediate consumption.

Therefore, the primitive man has knowledge of nearly everything in his savage world that is edible, whether it belongs to the animal or vegetable kingdom, and knows just when and where it is to be found, and how to obtain it. Some tribes look almost exclusively to the forest, others to the river, for their meat supply. Thus different tribes are either expert fishermen, or expert hunters. When fish become scarce, as they do at certain seasons, the fishermen tribes are forced to become vegetarians, largely.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the 574
wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve 576
yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of 261
their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which 262
was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of 264
roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly [252]
devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from 122
the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook 000
prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of [123]
Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the material and getting it down to the water's edge, though [461]
there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet 000
long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

/486 cont./

411 bamboo point, hollowed out with the capibara chisel, and is only loosely fastened with a little resin and string; cf. No. 4. The war arrow, No. 10, also carved out of seriba, bears a very narrow (one to two centimeters) piece of bamboo, round, but sharpened along its entire length (37 centimeters). The bamboo points break off in the body.

The barbed arrow is equipped with a harpoon device to catch alligators and larger fish. The length of the harpoon arrow in No. 9 was 1.78 centimeters /sic/, 31 centimeters of which should be allowed for the barbed stick fastened to a rope; the shaft, a thick ubá reed, was additionally wound half a meter in breadth.

The snapshot in Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ and Plate 28 /see p. 600/ show the stretching of the bow. The crouching archer holds the bow horizontally; the standing one, vertically. A reserve arrow is held parallel to the bow with the left hand. In this case the arrow rests to the left of the bow on the index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. At its rear end it is grasped between thumb and index finger, the thumb lets go, the index finger, in extended position, supports and adjusts the arrow more accurately, the other three fingers, especially the middle
[171] finger, stretch the bowstring. Thus, the stretching is different from that on the Kulisehu (cf. page 237). In the case of the crouching archer, where the arrow lies on the bow and is slightly pressed against it there by the tip of the index finger of the left hand, the position of the stretching right hand differs insofar as the rear end of the arrow is held between the tightly grasping thumb and the bent index finger.

345 Work in the men's house and techniques. Each one had his particular place: one who lived in the direction of the river, in the corner facing the river, and so forth, all according to the position of the house of the nearest relatives. Here where the
[571] Indians were among themselves there prevailed, except for the sexual practices, a commendable order, even according to our
● 461 concepts. A person who had nothing to do, of course, idled with great perseverance, but a person who was occupied with his weapons, ornaments, and implements worked indefatigably and

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
[177] the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/488 cont./

283 flock or a few hairs placed together and had fastened them to the short end of the stick, the larger part of the little stick, below the whorl, would be rolled on the right thigh with the right hand, the spindle being held slantwise; thus, the thread was formed on the shorter part of the stick above the whorl. The finished thread was wound on the long part below the whorl.

The hair-threads were plaited into a cord which was worn around the head hair, around the waist, or, for protection against the snapping of the bowstring, around the wrist. Palm fiber cord was twisted by hand on the thigh. The great toe was often used in string work.

[286] Actual weaving, that is to say, the interlacing of threads crossing at right angles, was unknown. The men made narrow [301] bands out of cotton threads, /489/ into which porcupine quills were plaited and which were worn like suspenders, cf. Figs. 141 /see p. 610/ and 129 /see p. 589/, as chest strings by both sexes, as well as arm bands by artfully interlacing threads between two thin rods.

461 How elegantly and neatly the men worked was particularly striking in the making of arrows. There were so many small dexterous movements which one would have expected only from the delicate hands of women. Among these I include particularly the decoration with tiny colored feathers, each of which was placed on the ground one by one and carefully arranged.

Nor can there be more chatter and laughter in a spinning room than there was here in the baitó. True, it was not very womanly when suddenly, for the sake of variety, two of the workers got up and staged a regular wrestling match which was watched with great interest by the others. They stood up, wrestled, threw each other, and resumed their work or lay down again for 517 dolce far niente. For comfortable idlers were never lacking; [832] and there was also seldom lacking, though the women otherwise stayed away, a loving couple who lay under a common red coverlet and dallied. No one paid any attention to them except a few friends troubled by mild jealousy, who at the moment were being neglected by the common lover and had to be content to sit beside the pair and chat with them.

/276 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level
of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same
737 for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. p. 117--Analyst]

/297 cont./

Division of Labor

•462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never ob-
[283] served spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the
[345] men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only
[283] two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's
[286] forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

/298/ Note I

614 779 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Čera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct ᵃKario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others dis-
[178] puted the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition
224 to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were pre-
[322] dominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also
[462] helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and
[756] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated
[231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are
[263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded
[574] or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large
[342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall,
[345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of
[184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional only the Cabocass
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.
353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
342 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to
[881] the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by

412 237 284 415 531 534

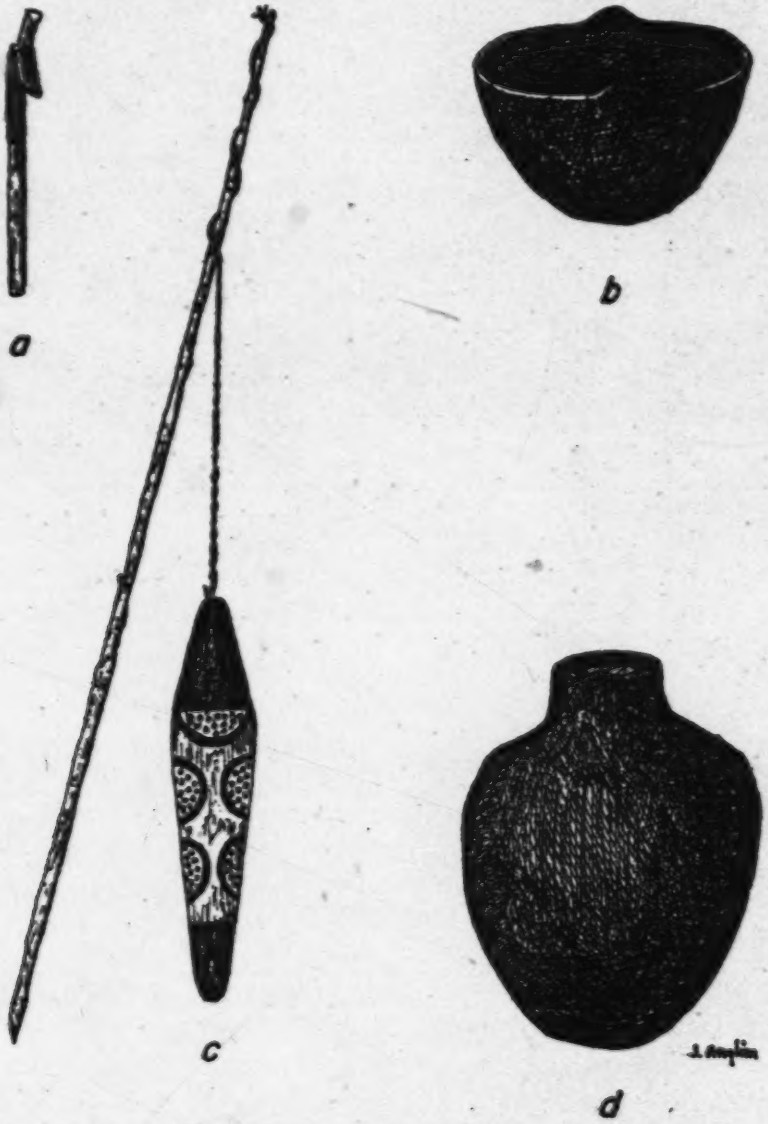

FIGURE 52.—*Bororo* manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent tooth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does the heavier and economically more valuable work has a position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier
462 or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them,
222 "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought by the women has greater importance because it is obtained with more regularity and in abundance. The women look for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the 'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/ and of the piquí, /Caryocar brasiliense/, etc."

462 The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians,
[224] hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow; in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in
462 many she also helps in the construction of the house. But,
141 considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps, be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

[171] 3. In contrast let there be indicated the following tribes described by Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, Rondonia, 3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): "Tembés -- Male stature, in general, shorter than the female. Women tall and thin; men short and fat. Mundurucús -- They are muscular. Men shorter than the

/140 cont./

462
141

women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being
462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi-
482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads
[434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

462 It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians
22 the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat.
[241] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in
[171] the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[284] [171] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 128 In the following list I demonstrate the division of labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 562 123 How much the sexual life is related to the social position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is underneath!" he exclaimed. [775] I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

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Eastern Bororo

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171

DIVISION OF LABOR

	MAN							WOMAN						
	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kainjang	Kadiká	Terena	Karajá	Tapirapé	Guayaki	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kainjang	Kadiká	Terena	Karajá	Tapirapé	Guayaki
build the house	+		+	+	+	+	+									
cut wood	+	+	+	+				+								
look for wood					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+
cut or incise the trees for the extraction of honey			+			+	+	+	+							
cut palm trees to get the fruits									+							
hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
gather wild plant food	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gather small animals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gather honey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
fish with net	+		+	+		+	+	+								
fish with bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+	+	+								
fish by poisoning the water	+				?	+	+		+				?	+	+	
cook									+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
smoke small animals and fish in the embers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
smoke large animals on the grill	+	+		+		+	+	+	+			+				
bring in water									+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the load on marches			+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the small children							+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the older children on marches							+	+	+	+	+	+				
paint the face	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
paint the body	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
tattoo																
pierce the boy's lower lip		?						+		?					+	
pierce the boy's ear lobe	+	+		?			+					?	+	+		
pierce the girl's ear lobe				?		+						?	+	+		
fabrication of the penis case							+									
fabrication of the woman's garb				?	?				+	+		?	?	+		
fabrication of the cord made of hair																+
fabrication of thick cords	+	+		+	?		+			+		+	?			
fabrication of fine cords	+	+			?								?	+	+	+
fabrication of knotted work	+									+		+	+	+	+	
plait (baskets, etc.)				+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+			+
plait the hunting bag from a palm leaf																
spin and weave or make crochet work	+								+							
fabrication of the implements for spinning and weaving					+							+		+	+	
elaboration of wood	+				+	+	+					+				
cultivation of gourds	?	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	?				?			
elaboration of gourds	+	+		+	?	+	+						?			
elaboration of bones, claws, teeth, shellfish, stones, or metals	+	+	+		+	+	+	+								
fabrication of feather ornaments	+			?	+	+	+			+	+	?	+		+	
fabrication of clay vessels			?						+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[307] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 797 533 776 The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.

[776] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
[171] pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
misfortunes.

114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Borneo SP8

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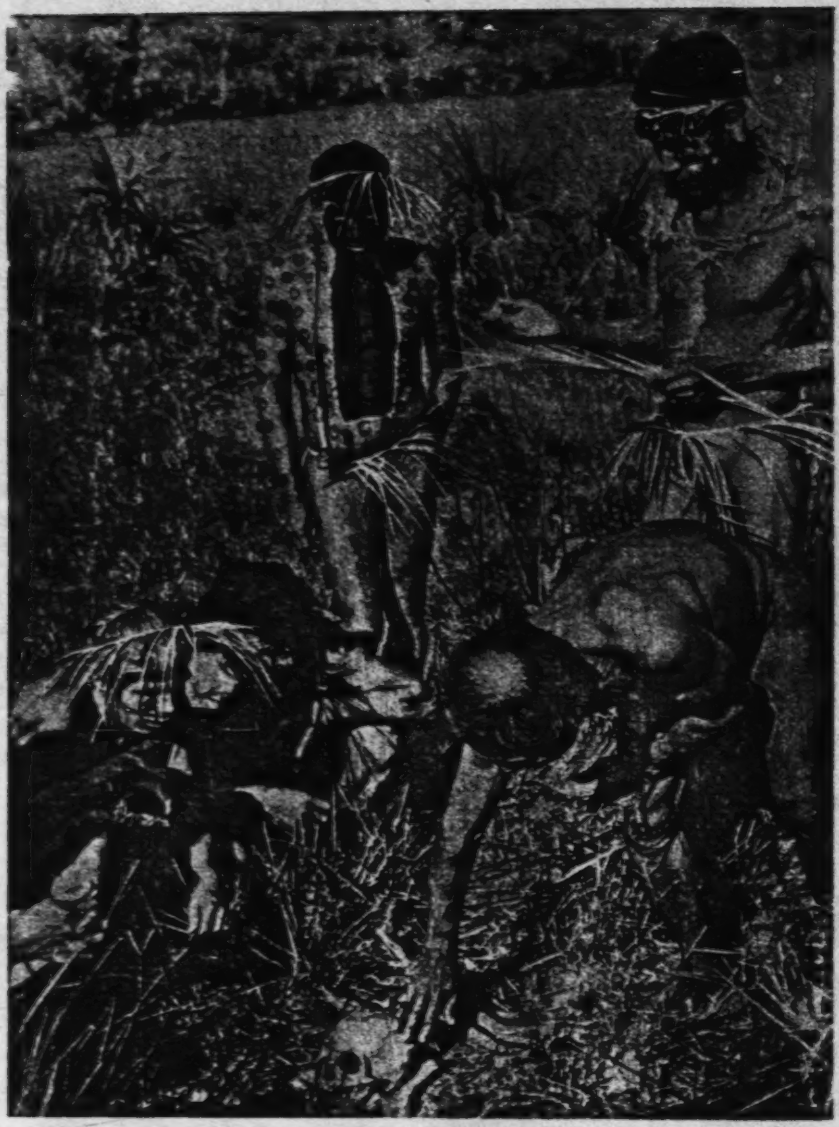

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

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524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each 224 party eating separately.

226 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are 533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the un- [532] earthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. 583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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long tongue-like leaf furnishes a silk or band of strands called 222
bokigo, which he rolls into a single strand as he sits cross-legged on [283]
the ground, and by twisting this strand with others he obtains cordingwith which to make his fishing nets, harpoon lines, etc. From the ground he digs two or three varieties of the potato family, which he boils. Corn is eaten as roasting ears or cut from the ears and boiled. They use no salt. The large ant bear is considered the 224
most valuable of all creatures. Nearly every part of its body is utilized. When discovered it is driven to the village for slaughter in order to secure its blood. After this comes the tapir, which is also greatly esteemed. When food is plenty they eat nearly all the 264
time when awake, and even rise several times in the night to take a little food. While we were in the baehytu at the Kogy ao Paro village we saw 33 men devour upwards of 25 gallons of boiled shelled corn within an hour and a half, and they had been nibbling roast ears all the morning. The two men who had accompanied us from the Ja-Dare-Mano Paro were induced to eat from every pot as they were brought in one at a time. They seem never to get full, and will eat as long as there is anything to be had. While at work making bows and arrows and ornaments, they are nibbling food, if they can obtain it. They eat the corn mush squatting and standing around the pot, using large oyster-like shells or broad leaves as spoons.

Their language seems quite free from clicks and from deep gut- 194
turals. The names given to animals are often in imitation of the sound produced by the animal. Ki, for instance, means tapir, and is a close imitation of the note of this animal; pobu means river or water; pobu camahina is great river; meri rutu, sunset; adugo, spotted tiger or ounce; and aigo, brown ounce. Báekimo is the negative; Boe by báekimo means "Indian die not"—"I will not die."

They are wonderful whistlers and seem able thus to communicate 198
whatever they otherwise would by speech.

All the fine and ornamental work is done by the men. A great 462
deal of time and labor is spent in making seemingly unimportant articles, and the time consumed in shaping and burnishing an arrow is astonishing, generally the larger part of two days. The shell [321]
ornament worn around the neck is made by the reciprocating motion [322]
of the point of a sharp instrument of flint or of iron or steel, if they can obtain it, fastened near the center of a roughly shaped shell. A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into another bit of wood. When holes have been made in bits of roughly

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342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck
353 around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
●462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

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food largely, or wholly, from uncultivated, unsubdued Nature, consuming much of it in a raw state; and instead of mastering Nature, Nature crushes him. Again, like the brutes, he scours forest and field to satisfy only for to-day the hunger of himself and his little brood, with no thought for to-morrow; and having secured an abundance of game, he eats enormously, then lies down contentedly to sleep, and rises up to play, until hunger again drives him forth in search of prey. Once more like his irrational neighbors, the object of his existence, apparently, is not to possess houses and lands and goods, but simply to have a mate, food for the moment, and to pass his days in childish amusements. When the sun is hot, he sleeps, or instinctively seeks the water that he may play in it and cool himself; when night comes, he arouses himself and sings his *bakororó* in common with all the frogs and toads, and other creatures. Lastly, like the wild animals, he is clothed only as Nature clothes him.

462 Imitating Nature, the social economy of these primitive people is, in important respects, the reverse of Christian civilization. Like irrational nature, the female is the principal, or most responsible food provider for the little family, or brood— [301] not the male. Again, like the female in Nature, and unlike Christian civilization, the female does not adorn herself, nor sing or play; while the male, on the other hand, peacock-like, decorating his person, makes himself gorgeous and struts about in a lordly manner; and besides, like the male in Nature, produces all the music. Once more, the female performs all the heavy work and the drudgery, and is the servant and slave of her mate, while the light and fancy work, including ornament making, is done by the male. Woman in all ages and lands from the dawn of time, has occupied herself exclusively in the pursuits of peace. More gentle, affectionate and domestic in her nature than the man, she has remained by the fireside collecting and preparing fruit and vegetable foods without destroying life, making pots and pans and other necessary household utensils, preparing implements of husbandry and tilling the soil, loving peace, and reproducing and nourishing

her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war- 462
like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer.

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, 222
may be seen going forth in various directions with huge bas- [482]
kets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their fore- [854]
heads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him.

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is con- 582
tracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age 584
of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken 839
for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Be- [584]
cause of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old.

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853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, 586 especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêda*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

dry season, the *arĕda* carries all the family effects, and perhaps also a child four or five years old, while her lord marches a few paces in advance of her, carrying only his bow and arrows, and perhaps also a fire-brand. The party makes but short marches, however, halting frequently to rest for an hour or two around the little fire which they always kindle, and to roast and eat a bit of meat, if they should have it, or to nibble some vegetable food.

Some of the Rio Negro savages, mentioned by Wallace, subject their females to a terrible ordeal when they approach womanhood. At the first sign of puberty, the poor, innocent maiden is placed in seclusion in the family hut where she is kept a month and allowed only a small quantity of one kind of food, and water, as if she had committed a crime. When the time of her imprisonment is about to end, all the relatives and friends of the family are assembled, each of whom brings a yard or two of the stalk of a heavy climbing plant to use as a lash. The unhappy girl is now brought into their presence, entirely naked, and each and every person strikes her five or six heavy blows across the back and breast with his lash. Usually, she falls unconscious under this awful castigation, and sometimes dies. If she recovers, the flogging is repeated four or five times at intervals of about six hours. Each guest must strike hard, for it is considered an insult to the parents of the victim not to do so. Finally, when the castigation terminates, pots of various kinds of fish and game which have been prepared, are set before the company, into which each person dips his lash and passes it to the wretched girl to lick. She is now considered a woman, and may eat anything she wishes, or marry. Boys approaching manhood are subject to a somewhat similar ordeal, but not so severe, which initiates them into man's estate and allows them to witness the playing of the mystery instruments, which correspond to the roarer among the Bororó, and also to marry.

Among these savages, marriages seldom occur between relatives or near neighbors, but the swain seeks a wife at a distant village of his tribe, or even from another tribe. Having

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to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

/487 cont. /

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

285 [765] → [142] [301] [302] ←

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-
●[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

/490 cont./

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the piki juice
514 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

415

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buritî palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden
727 frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

/276 cont./

179 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same
737 for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. P. 117--Analyst]

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 elieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuǎwa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the population. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage° was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435]

is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ûga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 847

Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

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Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

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Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[131] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

The moieties have reciprocal duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [794] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

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[p. 39-F]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Woman wear a gray perineal band,
841 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a
292 girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture
[431] [583] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São
[386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous
[237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus
[755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92,
237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice
[184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço
489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding
[481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and
[501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck
[345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage,
[301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards.
[286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

778 being made for the funeral prelude. There was deep silence, and
723 the wood bope was whispered low and mysteriously. Certain warning calls are given some hours in advance of the time for bringing the roarers into use, and, hearing these warnings, the females enter their huts, close the openings, and hide their heads. The roarers are manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush. We had difficulty in securing examples of these instruments. They were brought to us at night securely wrapped and amid the greatest secrecy, every precaution being taken to make sure that we would keep them where there would be no possibility of a female seeing them. We also had much difficulty in obtaining the base flute which is played only over the bones of their dead. A captain said to me, "That is a very bad instrument; you must not take it. If you do you will never return."

481 The Bororó are expert swimmers and are fishermen of the highest
226 order. One mode of fishing is to swim out into the river, three or four miles above the village, with a net called buke, like a great bag, its mouth secured to two parallel rods nine to twelve feet long, bound together at their ends. When one or more fish are seen, the mouth of the sack is opened by springing the rods apart, and with wonderful dexterity the fish are bagged and the mouth of the net quickly closed by allowing the rods to spring together. The fisherman then plays the game, especially if it be large; gradually rolls the net over the rods till the fish cannot move, brings it to the surface and kills it with a club, which he trails by a cord from his neck. The fish is now taken from the net, strung on a cord, and floated along with the club. Sometimes two or more fish of twelve or fifteen pounds will be taken at one catch, or maybe one weighing as much as the man himself will be bagged in this way. A Bororó will remain in the water an hour or two continuously, and return ashore with six or eight large fish. They have learned to turn their bodily strength to the greatest account while in the water.

226 Another method of fishing is with a bone harpoon, to which is secured a long cord and a short detachable bamboo staff. With this the fisherman enters the water, and, finding a large fish in the shadow of a rock, following it with great expertness if it moves, he plunges the harpoon into it even at a depth of fifteen or twenty feet, while the staff detaches itself and remains in his hand with the end of the cord secured to it. The fisherman now returns to shore and plays the fish until he lands it.

Another method, when fish are scarce, is for one gang of men to enter the water with their sack nets, three or four miles above the

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

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114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
487 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
593 While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South
[171] America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

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women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being
462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi-
482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads
[434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

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It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat.
[241] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in
[171] the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

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BORORO WOMAN ADORNED WITH FEATHERS

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BORORO METHOD OF CARRYING WITH HEAD STRAP

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war- 462
like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer.

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, 222
may be seen going forth in various directions with huge bas- [482]
kets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their fore- [854]
heads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him.

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is con- 582
tracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age 584
of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken 839
for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Be- [584]
cause of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes 586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêdo*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

dry season, the *arêda* carries all the family effects, and perhaps also a child four or five years old, while her lord marches a few paces in advance of her, carrying only his bow and arrows, and perhaps also a fire-brand. The party makes but short marches, however, halting frequently to rest for an hour or two around the little fire which they always kindle, and to roast and eat a bit of meat, if they should have it, or to nibble some vegetable food.

Some of the Rio Negro savages, mentioned by Wallace, subject their females to a terrible ordeal when they approach womanhood. At the first sign of puberty, the poor, innocent maiden is placed in seclusion in the family hut where she is kept a month and allowed only a small quantity of one kind of food, and water, as if she had committed a crime. When the time of her imprisonment is about to end, all the relatives and friends of the family are assembled, each of whom brings a yard or two of the stalk of a heavy climbing plant to use as a lash. The unhappy girl is now brought into their presence, entirely naked, and each and every person strikes her five or six heavy blows across the back and breast with his lash. Usually, she falls unconscious under this awful castigation, and sometimes dies. If she recovers, the flogging is repeated four or five times at intervals of about six hours. Each guest must strike hard, for it is considered an insult to the parents of the victim not to do so. Finally, when the castigation terminates, pots of various kinds of fish and game which have been prepared, are set before the company, into which each person dips his lash and passes it to the wretched girl to lick. She is now considered a woman, and may eat anything she wishes, or marry. Boys approaching manhood are subject to a somewhat similar ordeal, but not so severe, which initiates them into man's estate and allows them to witness the playing of the mystery instruments, which correspond to the roarer among the Bororó, and also to marry.

Among these savages, marriages seldom occur between relatives or near neighbors, but the swain seeks a wife at a distant village of his tribe, or even from another tribe. Having

/474 cont./

291 exaggerated. According to Langsdorff's description, however, the belt seems to be the main thing, since strands hung down freely and there was no band to be fastened to it. The observer himself does not believe that its purpose was concealment. There was very little of this likewise among our Bororó women, and, as far as their modesty is concerned, it remained not only partly, but entirely concealed, or more accurately, the very opposite of it was present and, quite apart from the dissoluteness of the Brazilian civilizers, was present in large measure to begin with. All things considered, I regard it as not impossible that the wide [482] belt of bark or tapir skin originally had a different purpose. The women carried home from the forest back-baskets so heavily loaded with palm nuts that they seemed almost to collapse under the load and were unable to walk, but only to trip along; moreover, the end of the back-basket rested in the small of the back on the strip of belt and the latter protected the skin here just as the bast ring protected the shoulders of the Kulisehu Indians in the transport of canoes. A piece of tapir skin, especially, must have served excellently as padding. Meanwhile, however, it had turned into a pretentious, tightly clasped armor.

304 The ear lobes were pierced in the case of both sexes, but among [852] the boys this was done by the father at the age of eight to ten years when they were beginning to practice hunting skills seriously and among the girls, as we shall see, it was done with an entirely different meaning by their future husbands.

[619] The pierced lower lip was the tribal mark of the men. I have told how our Antonio, whom a woman claimed as her stolen /475/ 301 son, was examined for this. Waehneldt says of the Bororó of the Jaurú that some of them also wear a sort of "toothpick" /Figs. 130-132 appear here/ in the nasal septum; an ornament of pieces of wood was found in the pierced lower lip on a number of them. In their everyday life our Bororó never wore anything at all in the hole of the lower lip. Only boys, cf. Fig. 128 /see p. 571/, were in the habit of using small sticks which kept the hole open; one saw bone splinters, for example, from the cayman, occasionally a nail, and sticks of resin with a little button at the end inside the mouth. Adults, for festive ornamentation, wore sticks of the

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians íka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

596 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and
855 even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family, he can move his family to another village. This movement of the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people but does not affect the structure of the new group, which will be very much like the one left behind. The man will live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will de-
591 pend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's
596 mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom occur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women, the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing. The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that her children will be looked after when she goes into the woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she received from her mother.

593 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the
461 fields to do some work together that would be difficult for a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the extraction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a
593 couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man,
484 his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

593 success from the economic point of view, but what is more
484 important seems to be the pleasure that the couple derive from being alone, away from their families, and free from continuous observation of the rules of public conduct.

593 There are advantages in having brothers and sisters:
[578] the brothers will be a support during quarrels, and the sis-
[431] ters will send their siblings gifts of food, part of what they collect in the woods, or pieces of the game their hus-
[60] bands kill. A man will receive food from his brother's wife if he does not have any closer relative. On the other hand, a man finds some disadvantages in having many brothers: the competition in asserting oneself in ceremonies is much stronger, especially if the knowledge and ability of the brothers is comparable. There will be a lot of tension and envy among ambitious brothers in competing for the honor of being called on as a performer by the yorubodare lineage
593 from the other moiety. A wife who has many brothers can
60 also be a handicap. One will have to hunt and fish not only for the wife's mother and father, but he will have to send part of the food to her brothers too. They may frequently come to ask for ornaments and artifacts, for hunting and fishing tools, all of which the husband is supposed to give to his brothers-in-law without showing any sign of dissatisfaction. He cannot even ask for recompence, mori, as he would do with anybody else, because, as the Bororo say, "he is living with his compensation" (mori tabo ruqaduye tumuqure oino kodi)—with the sister that they have given him in marriage.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes 586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêda*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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dry season, the *arida* carries all the family effects, and perhaps also a child four or five years old, while her lord marches a few paces in advance of her, carrying only his bow and arrows, and perhaps also a fire-brand. The party makes but short marches, however, halting frequently to rest for an hour or two around the little fire which they always kindle, and to roast and eat a bit of meat, if they should have it, or to nibble some vegetable food.

Some of the Rio Negro savages, mentioned by Wallace, subject their females to a terrible ordeal when they approach womanhood. At the first sign of puberty, the poor, innocent maiden is placed in seclusion in the family hut where she is kept a month and allowed only a small quantity of one kind of food, and water, as if she had committed a crime. When the time of her imprisonment is about to end, all the relatives and friends of the family are assembled, each of whom brings a yard or two of the stalk of a heavy climbing plant to use as a lash. The unhappy girl is now brought into their presence, entirely naked, and each and every person strikes her five or six heavy blows across the back and breast with his lash. Usually, she falls unconscious under this awful castigation, and sometimes dies. If she recovers, the flogging is repeated four or five times at intervals of about six hours. Each guest must strike hard, for it is considered an insult to the parents of the victim not to do so. Finally, when the castigation terminates, pots of various kinds of fish and game which have been prepared, are set before the company, into which each person dips his lash and passes it to the wretched girl to lick. She is now considered a woman, and may eat anything she wishes, or marry. Boys approaching manhood are subject to a somewhat similar ordeal, but not so severe, which initiates them into man's estate and allows them to witness the playing of the mystery instruments, which correspond to the roarer among the Bororó, and also to marry.

Among these savages, marriages seldom occur between relatives or near neighbors, but the swain seeks a wife at a distant village of his tribe, or even from another tribe. Having

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians íka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7

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[Facing P. 180-A]

[Plate XXV-A]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

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PLATE XXV

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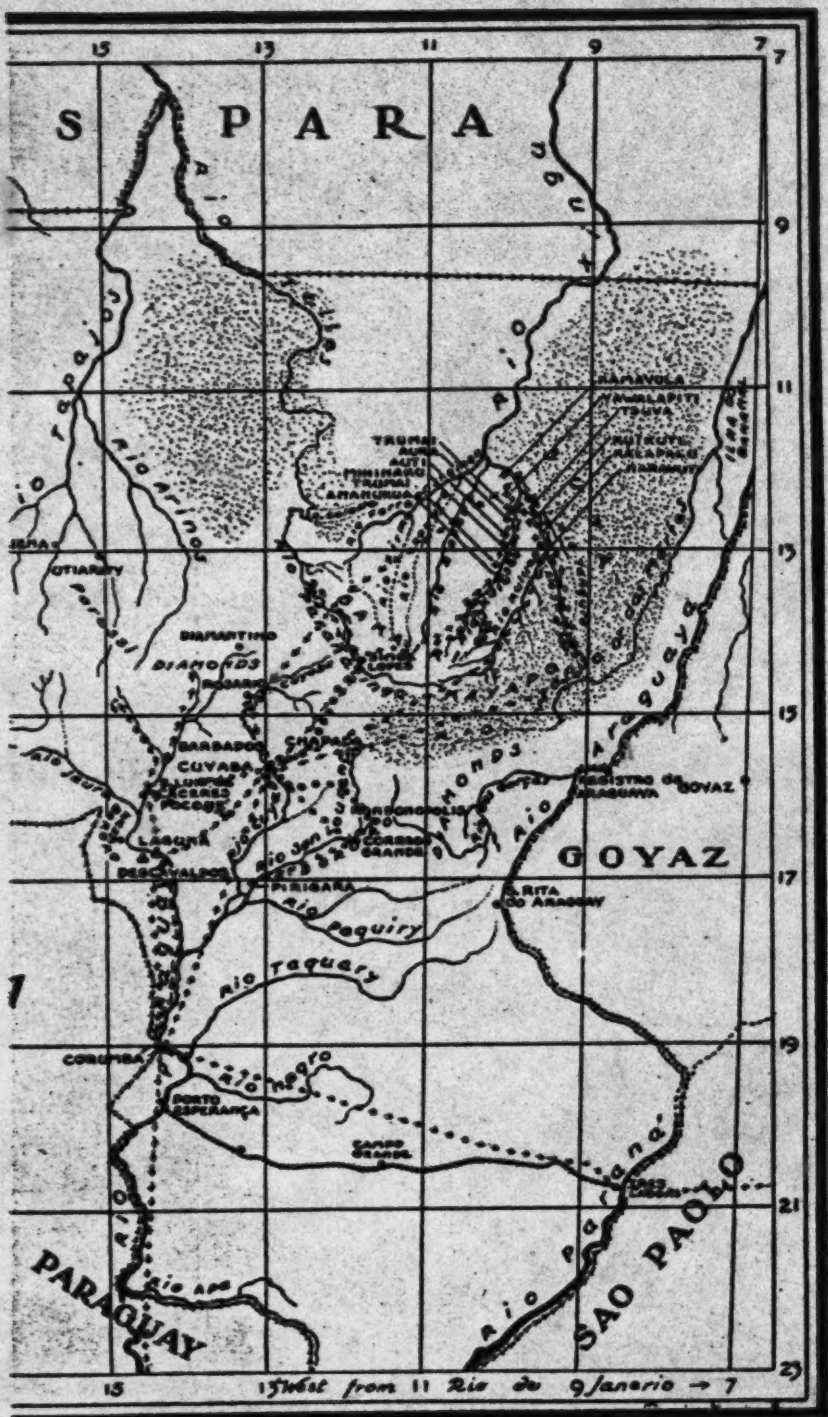

[Plate XXV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]

CHAPTER XXXVI.

000

FOLLOWING THE WILD MAN'S TRAIL.—LIFE IN A SAVAGE CLUB-HOUSE.—FLOATING DOWN THE RIO POGÚBU.

WHILE we had our headquarters near the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, we made a visit to the Kogi au Paro village of the same tribe some twenty miles distant. 122 361 103

We followed a trail used only by the savages, and over which no civilized man had ever before passed. It led largely through a forest which was so dense in many places, that the trail was like an opening through a thick hedge, or through a wall. This opening was just large enough to permit the naked wild man to pass comfortably. But we were mounted on mules, and had one mule carrying two boxes containing our cooking outfit and food. Consequently, we had to make the hole larger on all sides. Even after our muleteer, who led the way on foot, had enlarged the opening, we were compelled to practice rough riding continually to avoid being raked off our beasts, or having our limbs crushed. Besides, our passage was barred by many deep ravines, gulches, washouts and streams, the banks of which were often nearly vertical. Our mules were experts in descending the banks, for they would bunch up their feet, like mountain goats, and slide down. But, in many cases, they were unable to climb out on the other side until we had dug steps with a grubbing-hoe. There was often deep water in these places. We also encountered at nearly every step great bunches of wild pine- 122 487 [137] [133] 122 137

361 some distance before casting ourselves into the current.
[122] Missing the landing place, there was great danger of our losing, not only our effects, but our lives as well.

We found the cluster of huts situated about one mile back from the river, and in the heart of the densest and most impassable upland tangle that I have ever seen. The trees
[137] were fifty feet high and less, and almost numerous enough to form a thick forest, while below them, the whole country was overgrown by a terrible jungle of bushes, briars and coarse grass. A small, circular space, like a gigantic nest, had been cleared in the center of this forbidding thicket, in which fifteen or twenty palm-branch huts clustered in the usual disorder.
[487] This wild man's lair was approached by a serpentine path just wide enough to allow men to pass in single file. The village was hidden away in this manner in order that its position might not be known to enemies, or that it might be very difficult to assault.

122 We were conducted at once to the great hut, where we
345 were entertained while in the village, and in one corner of which we suspended our hammocks and made ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. But we found this a hot, stuffy, ill-smelling *hotel*, and in addition, the mosquitoes were very numerous and industrious.

622 As soon as we were settled, we asked to see the chief man of the village, who appeared. He was six feet tall, well proportioned, intelligent and dignified, and the finest appearing Bororó I had seen. He seemed to have more real authority, too, than any Bororó captain I had met. The Bororó have
622 no tribal chief. Each village governs itself, independently,
624 having a few elderly men who are captains, in a way, by reason of seniority, in whom the chief authority is vested. But their powers, and the obedience rendered them, seem to be variable and uncertain. A strong character may arise from time to time, and by favoring circumstances, reach a position where he may command the entire obedience of his village. But ordinarily, the chief men do not appear to possess much real authority, individually. Of course, when they go

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the [824] colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in [251] carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

•487 * In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [149] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

841 Women wear a gray perineal band,
242 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture [431] [383] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São [386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous [237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus [755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92,
237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice [184] of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

483 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço
489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding [481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and [501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck [345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, [301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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[286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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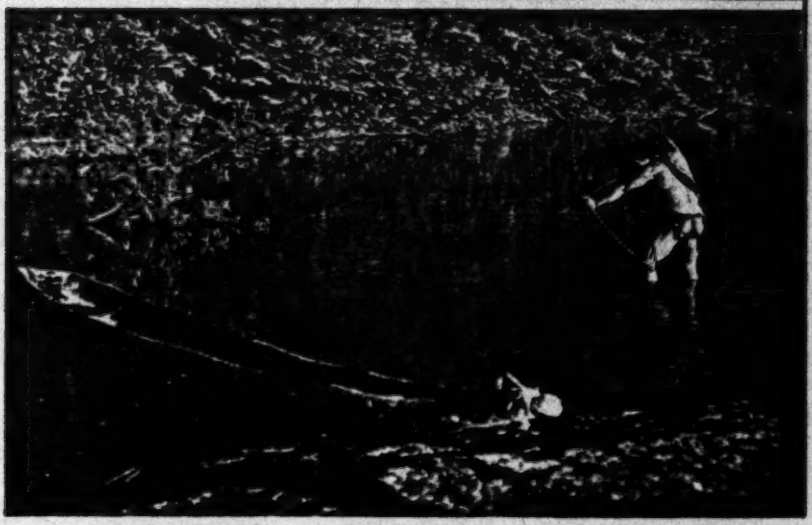

PLATE 31.—Bororo archery. Top: Arrow taken. At village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) Bottom: São Lourenço, Bororo shooting fish. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432 - D]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
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FIGURE 1. AIR VIEW OF THE UPPER PARAGUAYAN VALLEY

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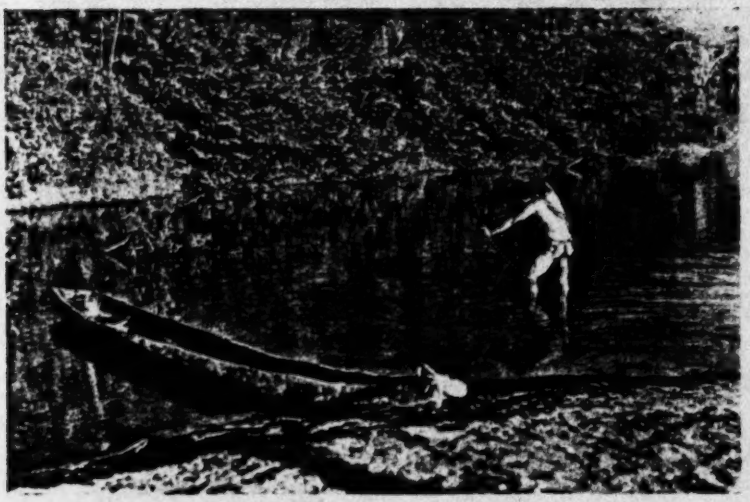

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS SHOOTING FISH

[P. 102]

[Plate IV]

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

when holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At [304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

582 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches 226
of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men.

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon- [41]
pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes [227]
near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them.

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the [103]
river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie [136]
called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the [511]
natives are contented and grow fleshy.

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They [501]
have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them.

One of the most striking traits of character of these chil- 151
dren of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) 825
is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

151 tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the
825 insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing
[524] them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men
[825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the saüba ants.

Early in the day, all the men of the village went up the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or
[501] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high,
[824] brought the material down the river on rude floats made of
616 bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Shcraidi* and the *Ta Nagarêda*.

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommeled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 But primitive men must do things decently and in order
616 as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
14. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
15. Ębwāguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębege^{w}ō
16. Ębwāguddu bo'pokeje^{w}ō čębege^{w}ō
17. Ębwāguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaāge
18. Ębwāguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čābōge^{w}ō (cābōge^{w}ō half)
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čābōge^{w}ō baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čābōge^{w}ō
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ębwāguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

/276 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level
of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden
737 products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. p. 117--Analyst]

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
661 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[439] Tuŭawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[237] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches 226
of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men.

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon- [141]
pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes [227]
near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them.

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the [103]
river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie [136]
called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the [511]
natives are contented and grow fleshy.

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They [501]
have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them.

One of the most striking traits of character of these chil- 151
dren of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) 825
is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita-

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
264 families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
• 512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated
[516] on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucũ, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuǰawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuǰawa, the

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
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INTRODUCTION

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[161] to Cuiabâ, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
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[79] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

/135 cont./

added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

Brazil.

Nagarêda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now 526
steps quickly over to the *Sheraidi* group, grasps a man by the 616
wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheraidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarêda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm.

The signal to begin the race being given, each team in- 526
stantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw [361]
down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the [345]
contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, [352]
who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows.

The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals— 533
if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. [512]
They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall [345]
nearly every evening just after nightfall.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

/458 cont./

765 obligation has been fulfilled; everybody leaves the ranchão and wanders about outside, talking, laughing, as on most evenings.
512 In the huts one can still hear maize being pounded, here and there a little fire flares up, illuminating a picturesque group, there is singing, noisemaking, the boys romp, couples appear and disappear -- in short, country fair in front of the village, but with extraordinarily many booths in which wild rabbits eat and worship the stars.

000 On the day after Good Friday in Brazil comes the so-called Hallelujah Saturday. At twelve noon the general mourning ceases and changes to gay abandon, there is shooting and popping everywhere, Judas, the traitor, who hangs on a tree, is treated roughly and destroyed.

In the colony the beginning of the Hallelujah is announced for eight o'clock in the morning because a cow and a pig must be slaughtered. The river rose, fish were not caught for Good Friday because of the full stream, /459/ and the meat transport has come to an end. The good Eliseo excuses himself to us in all seriousness when under these circumstances he must announce the end of the Passion earlier; we reassure him by pointing out the difference in time with Jerusalem.

Judas has been hung on a young tree one and a half meters above the ground; white fatigue uniform, fine tight boots, paper face, the cheeks painted with urucú red, mustache and hair made of the hair of Indian women, stuffed with sawdust. "Kababábá?" "What is that?" ask the astonished Bororó. Judas is holding a wooden sword in his right sleeve, out of one pocket appears the neck of a beer bottle, a piece of paper stuck in the coat is the testament of the betrayer. At eight o'clock, however, the soldiers line up spick and span in white linen suits; European eyes would be somewhat surprised by the naked feet. Eliseo is wearing a red sash. The cook sticks a powder cartridge into the body of Judas -- a bang, smoke seeps out and Judas slowly begins to burn. The trumpeter blows a fanfare during which three salvos explode, and in the pauses a penetrating howl of lament from a hut is coupled with the musical accompaniment. The

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical 757 413 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage 765 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the 304 result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one. 512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable [224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the 302 men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally, 757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after 237 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children 30 were always doéte /sick/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply [164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

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584 Colbacchini (o.c., pp. 55 and 56) writes about the Bororo: "In general and in the majority of cases it is the woman who precedes the man in the marriage proposal. The young woman who feels led to esteem a young man and who wishes to be joined to him consults in particular the mother, if she is still alive, or the older sister. If such a proposal is well received by the mother, the latter will then take an active part in satisfying the daughter's wishes. She will then try to find out, among her friends and the lad's relatives, whether the daughter would be readily accepted as a wife. In the affirmative case, the mother and the daughter prepare some dishes which they judge or know will be to the taste of the young man, and the mother of the pretendant, or in her absence the older sister, knowing that the lad /130/ is home, goes at noon to look for him, taking the prepared delicacies, in a wicker basket, in order at the same time to make to him the proposal and official request. Upon entering the house, she will address the young man, who will be sitting near the fire working on the arrows; and she will say to him: -- A wogae i roino -- (I came looking for you) -- and she will make him the proposal. If the young man wishes to accept it, he will say nothing, but will stretch out his hand to receive the gift sent, which he will place at his side. And with this gesture the request is granted. The agreement concluded, jubilant with joy, she will immediately take the [591] good news to her daughter. Both the mother and the relatives of the bride then set about preparing the house, because it is [513] the custom that the man goes to live in the wife's house. They will prepare the fire, the straw mat for sleeping, the receptacle 584 for water; afterwards they will cook something and wait. At nightfall, the lad will retire to the bride's house and, without 585 saying anything, will enter and place himself beside the one who from this moment on is his wife. The mother or the sister will go to the house of the bridegroom to get what belongs

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

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[p. 39-F]

/452 cont./

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
291 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
●514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunting or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat, drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a white one just as she does when she is menstruating.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 361
club where visitors are received and entertained. The barkytu of
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 346
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 442
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 592
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 764
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

582 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

/490 cont./

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice
574 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

415

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

/490 cont./

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
515 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the orna-
mental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not
[515] bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
612 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[516] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact
[302] of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tušawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tušawa, the

Plate VIII

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Kejara Bororo SP8

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PLATE II.—Bororo festival at village of Kejara. Top: Dance of the "Marikiko." Below: Presentation of the "Marikiko." (Courtesy Canada Life-Stream.)

[P. 432-E]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Borero SP8

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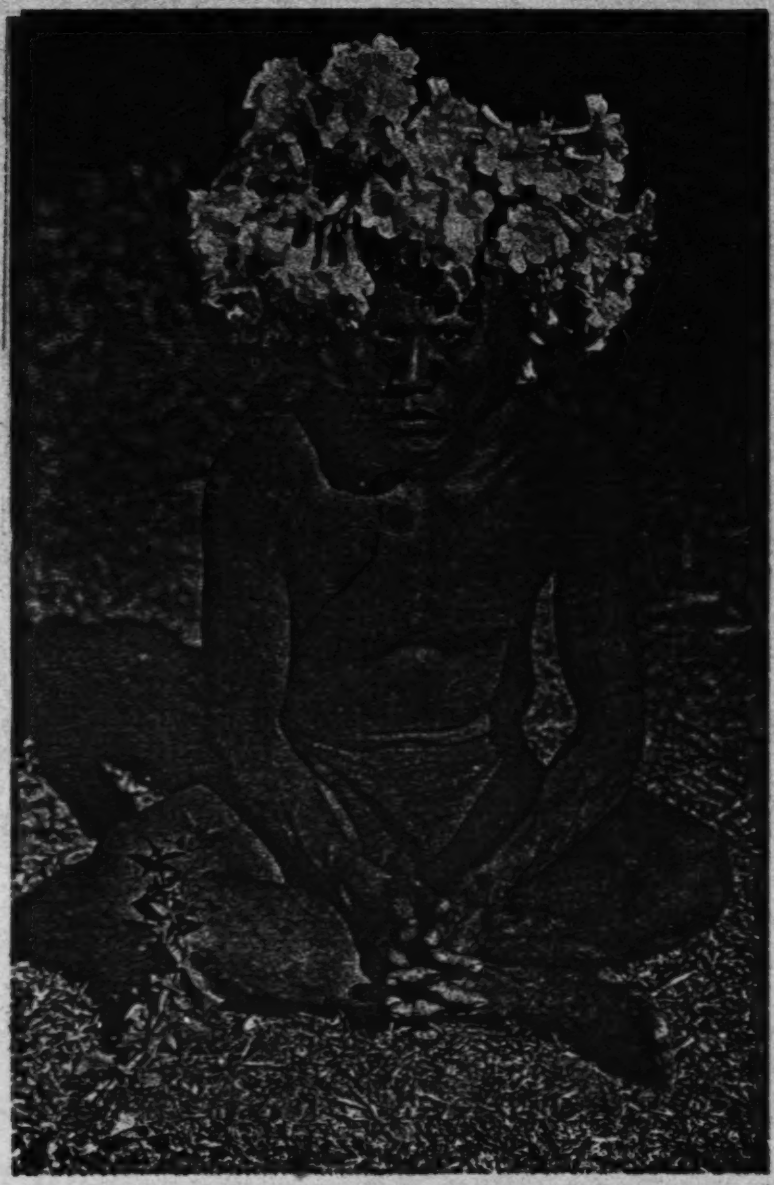

PLATE 31.—Bororo man. São Lourenço. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-*K]

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Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

[p. 38]

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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPB Bororo SPB

Ornate bow, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

[p. 42-A]

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Decorated bamboo signal on temporary dance and house demonstration of Bororo. Traditional pole is a game similar to a bowl, dabbed with clay to represent a mythical bird, symbolizing the rainbow and the rainbow. This action ends the dance with water. The action ends the body. Traditional pole is a game similar

[p. 44-C]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

BLACK DESIGNS are painted on inside of jaguar skin, *above*, which is worn by shaman, *below*, in ritual dance to appease spirit of the ceremonial kill.

[ARE p 43-C]

[p. 43-B]

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6:Kozdik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Boroto SP8

MULTICOLORED feathers, held on with resin, completely cover skull, which is surmounted by feather crown. Still on its mat, skull is put on jaguar skin.

[p.47-C]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

[facing p. 50]

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BORORO HOUSE, BRAZIL

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INTERIOR OF BORORÓ HOUSE, BRAZIL

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [857]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and dis- [516]
tortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by
353 the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
● 516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

their tribe, and always responding *parduku?*—I do not know, who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony is not performed for a female child. 551 553

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives. 855 [861] [597]

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand. 198 516

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four; therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands." 802

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mêdo* at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around. [262]

8: Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909 SP8 Bororo SP8

122

Camping in the Matto Grosso Wilds.

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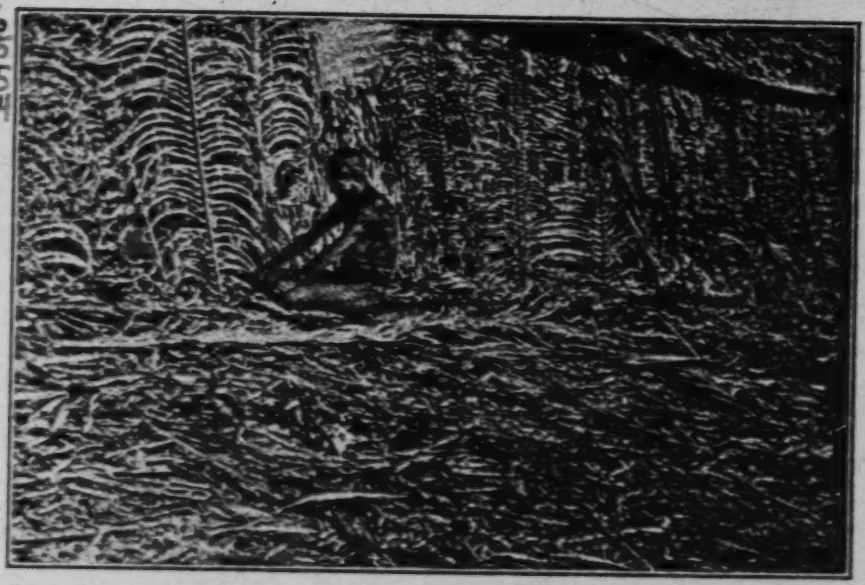

Bororó Funeral Ceremonies. The mother of the deceased, her hair jerked out and her body slashed from head to foot, is chanting just outside the great hut.

Facing 398]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

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each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [857]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and dis- [516]
tortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

/454 cont./ Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his
578 tent-mate who was also taking part had her breast scratched, forced the
[627] great chief /455/ Moguyokuri in; with tremendous calm the latter stepped into the noisy crowd and suddenly it was quiet. There was not a sound; his mighty arm shoved aside the three most dangerous women at once. Maria had definitely lost; she did not say a word and stood scowling, arms crossed, her bosom heaving violently, while a friend on her side smoothed her tousled hair. More disgruntled ones tried to unleash the storm once again, but the laughter of Corona won out;

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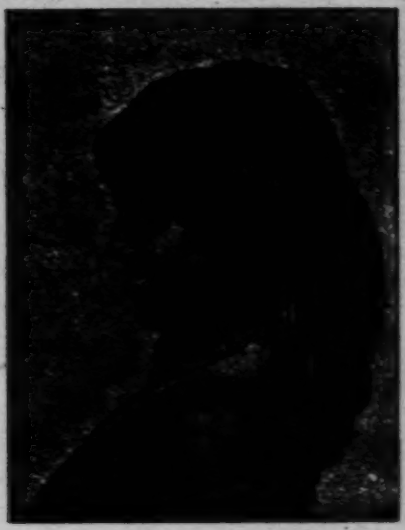

Fig. 127. Bororó woman.

578 they dispersed, and the shrill old woman, at a triumphant trot, was led off by three women.

●517 Shaking our heads, we turned our steps homeward toward our shack, but there, too, we were driven back by an infernal noise. The soldiers were dancing and singing in the moonlight with their mulattoes and Indian women; they were making music with harmonica, with fork and plate -- carnival everywhere!

[526] I went back to the men's house; two men were practicing wrestling. They grasped each other under the arms, bending far forward, and remained in this position for a long time, until one of them suddenly tried one leg, or rather his heel, to press in the knee-hollow of the other one and knock him over, but he was lifted up and lost.

/455 cont./

517 him over, but he was lifted up and lost. Small fires were burning
[352] alongside the house. The men were lying in a row, one beside the other, their heads resting on chunks of wood, to sleep out there; they were chatting and biting stalks of sugar cane with their teeth, tossing the remains in an arc behind them. They were very much amused when I squatted down beside the fire and wrote down their words. At small fires to one side women were sleeping with their husbands; children were still running around gaily late in the night and romping across the plaza.

648 /456/ Meat distribution. 26 March. An efficient administration would find an excellent means of getting the Indians accustomed to order by the manner of its food distribution. But no one thinks of fair equality, either in rations or in other things. Everything is arbitrary. The crude scene at the distribution of the tapíra, the ox, about two of which are slaughtered weekly and which represent a cheap food in the Mato Grosso, defies all description. The Brazilians could hardly make things easier for themselves. The pieces of meat and chopped bones are piled up in layers on top of one another in a great heap on a skin in front of the house; the Indians, men and women and older children, some of them armed with baskets, stand waiting to one side, one of the cadets gives the signal, and the whole crowd pounces on the meat and bones like a pack of wolves. It was such a disgusting sight that I lost my sense of humor, although a circle of onlookers regarded the spectacle with a certain enjoyment. Espe-
[732] cially the idiot Dyapokuri, a cretin type, attracted general attention; with animal savagery the imbecile, the deputy of the men's house, seized three huge pieces and, with grunts of triumph, dragged them away with shining eyes while the spittle ran down his hanging lower jaw. If this were nothing but a crude occasional joke, but no, it is the regular, local procedure. The
[756] Indian is thereby reduced to conditions which in his hunting life
[626] he overcame ages ago; for it is one of the chief purposes of the institution of the barí or medicine men (as we shall see) to prevent discord in the distribution of booty, a problem which the latter, it is true, solve by securing the best pieces for themselves.

/488 cont./

283 flock or a few hairs placed together and had fastened them to the short end of the stick, the larger part of the little stick, below the whorl, would be rolled on the right thigh with the right hand, the spindle being held slantwise; thus, the thread was formed on the shorter part of the stick above the whorl. The finished thread was wound on the long part below the whorl.

The hair-threads were plaited into a cord which was worn around the head hair, around the waist, or, for protection against the snapping of the bowstring, around the wrist. Palm fiber cord was twisted by hand on the thigh. The great toe was often used in string work.

[286] Actual weaving, that is to say, the interlacing of threads crossing at right angles, was unknown. The men made narrow [301] bands out of cotton threads, /489/ into which porcupine quills were plaited and which were worn like suspenders, cf. Figs. 141 /see p. 610/ and 129 /see p. 589/, as chest strings by both sexes, as well as arm bands by artfully interlacing threads between two thin rods.

461 How elegantly and neatly the men worked was particularly striking in the making of arrows. There were so many small dexterous movements which one would have expected only from the delicate hands of women. Among these I include particularly the decoration with tiny colored feathers, each of which was placed on the ground one by one and carefully arranged.

Nor can there be more chatter and laughter in a spinning room than there was here in the baitó. True, it was not very womanly when suddenly, for the sake of variety, two of the workers got up and staged a regular wrestling match which was watched with great interest by the others. They stood up, wrestled, threw each other, and resumed their work or lay down again for ●517 dolce far niente. For comfortable idlers were never lacking; [832] and there was also seldom lacking, though the women otherwise stayed away, a loving couple who lay under a common red coverlet and dallied. No one paid any attention to them except a few friends troubled by mild jealousy, who at the moment were being neglected by the common lover and had to be content to sit beside the pair and chat with them.

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
521 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing
152 this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me: "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not
593 going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

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each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, [123] and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming [152] and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

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They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various [123] tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276] for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trading, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain [431]

Use of Kin Terms in Joking

*601 ● 522 One of the most frequent ways of joking among the Bororo is to use kin terms for unrelated persons, pretending that they are related. Most of the time in doing so the speaker implies that between him and the addressee there exists the kind of social relationship that is usually connoted by the [607] relevant kinship term. For example, inodowu, one's sister's husband, is not supposed to refuse any request of his brothers'in-law. Therefore, sometimes a Bororo asking for an object will say, "inodowu, give me that ...." The other, most of the times will answer, "I am not your sister's husband (akodowu). You do not have either an older sister (atuye), nor a younger one (aviye) that I could marry." But if the man who made the request is a powerful man things can go differently. There is a story about a strong man who went from one village to another calling everybody on his way inodowu. However, nobody objected to being called in this way because nobody dared—they were much too afraid of him.

At some other times the Bororo use kinship terms in an ironical or mocking sense. Parents will call a man flirting with their daughter ivagedu ("son-in-law"). A woman will address her brother's sweetheart as irago ("daughter-in-law"), and a man will address his sister's suitor as inodowu ("brother-in-law"). The women, speaking among themselves, will refer to the most successful lover of the village as chedoredu —our husband.

*601 To a man who is making love to a woman in mourning his
522 companions will say: "Stay away from her, she is our "little
[765] mother," our "poor-little mother.". After the hunt, it is a
[224] duty of the "ceremonial father" to carry the game to his wife ("the mother") who has to cook it for the "meal of the spirits." If, for some reason, the "father" did not join the hunt, this will provoke many jokes and comments from the other hunters. They will say, "Our father did not come, but we have here another 'our father' who will carry the meat," alluding to the sexual relations between this other man and "the mother." If the woman had many affairs in the past, which is quite usual among the Bororo, each man in his turn will deny being the most qualified "father" pointing to somebody else as the one who should carry the meat.

Conclusion

*601 When one arrives in the field he is immediately con-
114 fronted both with a complicated set of relations and with different systems crosscutting each other. At this point all ideas about an ordered conceptual universe appear to be nonsense. It seemed to me that the Bororo were also confused, but ignored the contradictions and pretended that things were clear and simple. I tried to construct full genealogies but
551 did not succeed. For one the Bororo avoid uttering the names of dead people, and if persuaded to produce them, another difficulty arises. Everyone at birth receives several names and during his life he acquires many new ones. A good hunter about forty-five years old had fifty different names. Some

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand
593 against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
[835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
[522] tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
[578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
593 affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
[539] uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

613 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only
626 man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted
178 to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (♀) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was
[52] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 Another possibility open to a man without descendants
64 (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

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of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 524

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

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village, form a chain across the stream and make a great commotion and drive the fish downstream to a point near the village where another gang with sack nets awaits to bag the game. Sometimes they fish at dead of night, but as a rule they rarely leave the village after dark except in war. 226

Late one cloudy afternoon we had the pleasure of seeing the Bororó play Mano, the name of the small banana-like plant used in this game. It seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of ants. Indeed, the imitating of nature occupies a large part of the Bororó life. Early in the day they went up the river and cut many of these plants, which grow three or four feet high, floated them down on rude bamboo rafts, carried them to a point about 600 yards from the village, and placed them in two piles, one for each of the two parties into which every village is divided—the Xeríede and the Ta Nagarêde. Each group prepared its material by cutting off the tops of the mano, leaving a spongy stem about eighteen inches long, and when all was ready each made its pile into a huge wheel. This was done by two men for each wheel standing face to face, about five and a half feet apart, with two long, strong, parallel cords between them, reaching from the ground up over their shoulders, for binding the material into a wheel. The mano was then piled in between each pair of Indians acting as posts, and when the weight pressed too heavily upon them, they were supported by other Indians leaning against them, back to back. When the mano was all in place the cords were drawn over the top and tightened. The wheels were next laid flat on the ground and a string of men pulled with all their strength on each of the four ends of the cord for each wheel, while others pounded the spongy mass so close that it could not burst. Each wheel was again set upright to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village. But the Bororó must do things decently and in order, so a Ta Nagarêda man, with much ceremony steps quickly over to the Xeríede, takes a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel and stops in front of it, meaning by this that his wheel is delivered to its party, and the same ceremony is repeated by the other side. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces others of his own party just as he himself was introduced, until all surround their own wheels. At a given signal each group seizes its wheel, throws it up on its shoulders, and runs pell mell in a race to the village. Each squad of these human shts tries to keep its wheel upright as it sags this way and that, or finally rolls over on the carriers, to be quickly straightened up, and rushed along again, each crowd endeavoring to 524

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each 224 party eating separately.

226 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are 533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the unearthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, [532] and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. 583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

B /279 cont./
285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a
B little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In
[239] other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the
[136] large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the
[412] natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct inter-
B
* [171] pretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the Auetó a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

Y I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal; then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

BO Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with
285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
● 524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

/280 cont./

BO 285 524 532 nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

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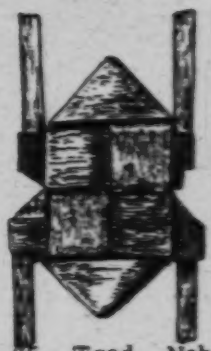

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The straw figures of the Bakaírí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

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Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

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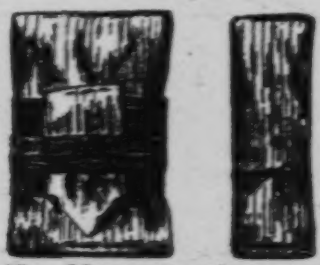

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaírí village on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

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Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/495 cont./

526 suddenly become very serious; the problem is to trip up the other one and thus bring him down. One of them opens the attack by trying to get his heel into the hollow of the knee of the other one and to bend it, but the latter places his tensely straightened leg so far back that the former cannot exert any pressure. Soon the attempts follow one another extremely rapidly on both sides until one falls. He may always take revenge. A small, agile, but ugly and one-eyed man whom we called the clown, but who was called Camões by his Cuyaban baptismal name, was excellent at this sort of entertainment in the ranchão, in that he threw three or four of his tallest fellow-tribesmen, one after the other. /496/ His stronger rivals, and surpassing him in size, used to point him out proudly, but at the same moment had his heel in the hollow of their knees and crashed to the ground.

[411] Shooting with the bow on the open plaza was often practiced. The photographs of Plate 28 /see p. 600/ and Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ were taken in connection with this.

Very popular among old and young was the burika, an invention of the soldiers: a horizontal beam, with short ropes at both ends, which turned in the center on a post; cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/ where a crowd /Fig. 143 appears here/ of boys is having fun with the game. While one would sit astride on either end and others would run along hanging onto the ropes, the beam was swung around in faster and faster rotation by someone who remained a few moments longer at the post, until the riders were usually hurled to the ground.

• 524 In Figure 143 /see p. 621/ two kinds of toys are combined: papá, the ball plaited out of maize straw with an arara feather, and tagóra, a whip with a black urubu feather at the end of the string. The boys would swing the feather whip and enjoy the mild excitement of seeing the feather stand upright for a moment upon the ground if the handle of the whip was moved downward with a flick of the wrist. I once saw two boys make a bee and a butterfly flutter on a string.

534 765 Musical instruments: whizzer sticks. Only the large rattle gourds up to 20 centimeters long and a small blow-gourd, poári,

/496 cont./

534 were to be found in ordinary use. The poari served as a signal horn
965 in hunting; it was a gourd of the shape and size of a large apple,
[202] had a round cutout below, and a finger-long, thin little tube set on top, into which a tongue was cut at the side. With small bundles of the hair of the deceased hanging on them, the poaris were to be acquired from the Bororó only with difficulty. The only flute or trumpet that we saw is shown in Fig. 144; it was 1.21 meters long and was blown at the ceremony for the dead and when the bone-baskets were carried back to the house. A drum which was used at the same ceremony in the ranchão did not give the impression /497/ of originality; it was a wooden mortar with a piece of oxhide stretched over it; a couple of sticks of seriba palm wood served as drumsticks.

Of greater interest are the whizzer sticks, both on account of the air of mystery connected with them, and on account of the

[524] Fig. 143. Maize ball and feather whip. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

painting, for they represent the only painted implement. I have reported on page 381 how the whizzer sticks are used. Whereas they are used on the Kulisehu only for the jolly masquerades or as a toy, they are put to use on the S. Lourenço only in connection with the

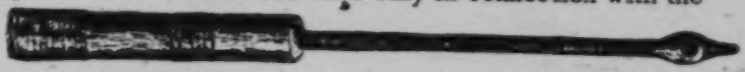

Fig. 144. Death flute. Bororó. (1/11 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

practices of the ceremony for the dead, first of all when the belongings of the dead person are burned and, in a pantomimic dance, it is made clear to the dead, who themselves appear, that nothing

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764
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[Since there are many similarities between the marid'do funeral dance described by Lévi-Strauss (1: Lévi-Strauss, pp. 22-24) and the mano race described by Cook (8:Cook, pp. 282-283), the researcher would be well advised to compare the two descriptions.]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 524

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

palm, leaving a deep well in which the sap collects by upward seepage. She covers the opening with leaves, and by the next day the well is full. A number of women then suck the sap into reeds, which they use as pipettes. When a reed is full, they close the top quickly with a thumb and transfer the sap to large pots. It is then taken back to the village and left in the shade for a day to ferment. 273 222 [415]

FOR a change of pace from the ritual dances of the funerary ceremony, the Bororo engage in an unusual kind of relay race. Two teams of young men—each team representing one of the two moieties of the society—oppose each other. Men of the two groups cut stems of buriti palms, trim them to a uniform length, and tie them into two huge circular bundles resembling cart wheels. Each one is about three feet in diameter and may weigh more than one hundred pounds. With a "cart wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man from each team begins running toward the village. When he tires under his heavy burden, the bundle is taken over 526 [764] [616]

[p.45-D]

[text continues on p.46-B]

by a teammate, who, as he in turn tires, is relieved by a fresh teammate, and so on. The race is so exhausting that no rituals are held the next day. 526 [764]

When the rituals are again resumed, they continue with undiminished variety and vitality until the repertory of dances is completed. Then, early one morning, about a month after the initial burial, the skeleton of the deceased, now nearly free of flesh, is disinterred. A few men take the bones to a nearby swamp, wash them without ceremony, and carefully remove all the remaining flesh. 765 [535]

After being washed, the skull is set by a small fire to dry. When thoroughly dry, it is put into a basket with the other bones and carried back to the village, escorted by a procession to the accompaniment of cane flutes and gourd trumpets. [534]

As the procession approaches the village, it is met by the nearest female [602]

[p. 46-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

of their shirts and trousers, plunged into the water and swam rapidly with the current. Soon, they saw the mule's ears appear above the water as it was drowning, and succeeded in reaching it; and finally, with much labor, in rescuing it from the water. But the burden it carried was left in the water. The two naked Bororó who were accompanying us, now became very useful to us. They are as much in their native element in the water as on the land. Diving, they explored the bed of the stream for some distance, searching for the lost baggage, but succeeded in finding one bag only of what had been sugar. It was now a sack of molasses.

Having, with much difficulty, gotten all our effects across the angry little stream, we pushed on two miles further to the nearest opening in the woods, where we camped for the night and tried to convert our bag of syrup into sugar again, and save this much from the wreck, for the loss was a serious one to us since we could not replace it. We got one of the Bororó to carry the bag of molasses on his bare back. This pleased him hugely, and he grinned from ear to ear as he trudged along scraping off with his finger and licking the sweetness that oozed through the bag. He was besmeared with treacle from head to foot when we reached our camping place.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

a Bororó whose arm had been crushed between the jaws of a jaguar in a battle of this kind. 224

The great ant-bear is a much-prized game with the Bororó. Finding one, they do not kill it at once, but drive it to the village. This is easily done since the brute always runs straight away from its pursuers at a slow pace; hence it can be driven in any direction by the hunter appearing on one flank or the other. The savages make use of every part of its body—blood, flesh, skin, hair, bones and entrails.

The Bororó are marvelous fishermen. Their principal method for catching fish is with a huge sack-like net which is made with large meshes and of the same kind of cordage as the bow strings. The mouth of the sack is secured to two parallel rods ten or twelve feet in length, which are bound together at the extremities; and the sack is opened by springing the rods apart. Equipped with these sack-nets, a group of the primitive anglers plunge into the river a few miles above the village and descend with the great, muddy current, swimming and diving, and exploring the depths of the river; and by the exercise of astonishing skill, succeed in bagging fish that weigh ten or fifteen, or even one hundred pounds. When the fish is once inside the sack, the mouth is allowed to spring shut, and the sack is then gradually rolled up by revolving the poles; and finally, when the fish is in such close quarters that it is helpless, and has been brought to the surface of the water, the fisherman seizes the small club which he has been trailing from the back of his neck, and pommels it until it is dead. The sack is now unrolled and the fish removed, strung on a cord and trailed behind with the club; then the almost amphibious man proceeds once more to explore the depth of the river for more fish. The whole operation of catching and disposing of the fish is performed in deep water; and when the savage angler finally lands at the village, he may drag after him half a dozen or more ten or fifteen-pound fish. Sometimes, four or five large fish are caught at one scoop. When the fisherman bags a fish nearly as large as himself, he is forced to call a companion to assist him. 226 [286] [526]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

226 526 147 These men display amazing strength in the water. They have almost lived in the water from babyhood, and have learned the secret of just how to bring into play nearly every ounce of their great strength. An ordinary swimmer wastes the greater part of his strength in the water because he has not acquired the secret of how to apply it. A Bororó will roll over on his back, seize an object with both hands, and pull almost like a tug-boat.

226 When fish become scarce, part of the men of the village, taking their sack-nets, form a cordon across the river, then bellowing, screaming and diving, treading the water and making a great commotion, drive the scattered fish down the river, much as cowboys round up cattle; while the remaining men, with their sack-nets, form a line across the river two or three miles below to complete the round-up. Thus they corner and bag the fish.

[411] [229] Another method of fishing employed by the Bororó, is with a harpoon. The point, including the one or two barbs, is of bone, and detaches from the staff, which is eighteen inches in length. Fifty or one hundred yards of strong line is wound around the point part and one end secured to the detachable staff. Armed with this weapon, the fisherman dives very quietly to the bottom of the river at a spot which he knows to be the lurking place of a *jahú*, for instance, a fish that grows as large as a man. Espying one as it rests in the shadow of some rock, he approaches it with great stealth, lying, perhaps, motionless in the water and allowing the current to float him gently within reach of his prey. Then, suddenly, he plunges the harpoon into it, and retaining the staff in his hand, he rises quickly to the surface, lands, plays his game, and finally brings it ashore. This method of fishing is practiced when the water becomes less charged with earth.

[411] [229] Still another method of catching fish is with the bow and the large harpoon arrow with the line attached. Thus armed, the fisherman awaits his game at some shallow place, or where the fish pass near the surface of the water; or at a spot where they approach the edge of the river to feed upon certain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

151 tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the
825 insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing
[524] them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men
[825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the saüba ants.

Early in the day, all the men of the village went up the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or
[501] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high,
[524] brought the material down the river on rude floats made of
616 bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Shcraidi* and the *Ta Nagarêda*.

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommeled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 But primitive men must do things decently and in order
616 as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

Brazil.

Nagarêda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now steps quickly over to the *Sheraidi* group, grasps a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheraidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarêda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm. 526 616

The signal to begin the race being given, each team instantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows. 526 [361] [345] [352]

The Bororô imitate Nature also in their musical festivals—if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. They sing what they call the *bakororô* in the savage town hall nearly every evening just after nightfall. 533 [512] [345]

Bororo SP8
2: Steinen--552 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Plate XXV

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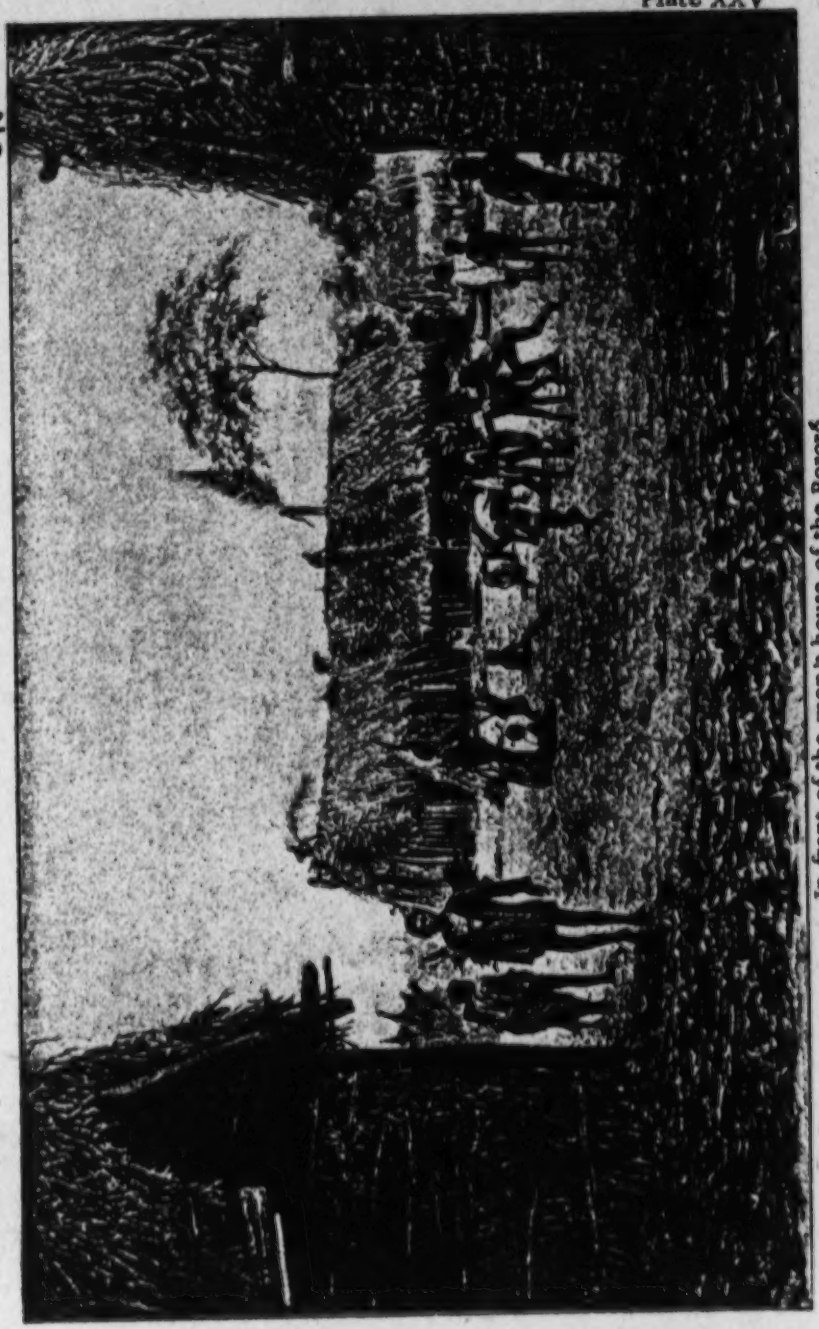

In front of the men's house of the Bororó.

/454 cont./ Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his
578 tent-mate who was also taking part had her breast scratched, forced the
[629] great chief /455/ Moguyokuri in; with tremendous calm the latter stepped into the noisy crowd and suddenly it was quiet. There was not a sound; his mighty arm shoved aside the three most dangerous women at once. Maria had definitely lost; she did not say a word and stood scowling, arms crossed, her bosom heaving violently, while a friend on her side smoothed her tousled hair. More disgruntled ones tried to unleash the storm once again, but the laughter of Corona won out;

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301
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Fig. 127. Bororó woman.

578 they dispersed, and the shrill old woman, at a triumphant trot, was led off by three women.

517 Shaking our heads, we turned our steps homeward toward our shack, but there, too, we were driven back by an infernal noise. The soldiers were dancing and singing in the moonlight with their mulattoes and Indian women; they were making music with harmonica, with fork and plate -- carnival everywhere!

[526] I went back to the men's house; two men were practicing wrestling. They grasped each other under the arms, bending far forward, and remained in this position for a long time, until one of them suddenly tried one leg, or rather his heel, to press in the knee-hollow of the other one and knock him over, but he was lifted up and lost.

/495 cont./

535 198 their ancestors, was a bit clumsy and accompanied by songs in a language different from the present one. The most melancholy and
535 sorrowful dance was dedicated to the memory of their dead; in it they portrayed the latter as present, conversed with them, and bestowed all kinds of endearments on them."

On page 567 I have described the dance for courage in battle against the hostile Kayapó /Cayapo/, in which we had to take part. Details about the dance and song at the ceremony for the dead will be given in the specific report about the burial of Coqueiro's wife, and I shall also describe there the dance of the evening before, during which the belongings of the dead woman were burned.

We saw an amusing dance, on 8 April, the "pare" dance. Four young men in the paríko finery appeared behind the ranchão, led by Domingo who was swinging a rattle gourd in each hand. They rhythmically made small jumps with both feet and danced this way in a circle, in sudden alternation turning to face now inward, now outward. Then came three young girls; each danced timidly behind one of the youths, holding on to his hips. The onlookers were enjoying themselves, but their merriment increased considerably when now a fourth, more dashing person with bark belt and bast band, who was easily recognizable as a man in spite of a headcloth concealing the face, leaped into the circle. He was wearing strings of beads around his neck and carried a small mat in his hand, with which he fanned rhythmically toward the ground. The entertainment lasted about a quarter of an hour; the women, the sham one in the lead, stepped out, the men danced around once more in an accelerated tempo and went bathing.

●526 Wrestling bouts, peaceful ones, took place according to the following rules. A person who wants to challenge another seizes him by his right wrist. The two stand opposite each other, and each one places his hands together under the shoulders or in the small of the back of the other one; in this embrace the two stand with almost horizontal torsos, their feet are as far apart as possible, and the one looks at the back of the other. Smiling, they remain this way for a while, perfectly quiet, but then they

/495 cont./

526 suddenly become very serious; the problem is to trip up the other one and thus bring him down. One of them opens the attack by trying to get his heel into the hollow of the knee of the other one and to bend it, but the latter places his tensely straightened leg so far back that the former cannot exert any pressure. Soon the attempts follow one another extremely rapidly on both sides until one falls. He may always take revenge. A small, agile, but ugly and one-eyed man whom we called the clown, but who was called Camões by his Cuyaban baptismal name, was excellent at this sort of entertainment in the ranchão, in that he threw three or four of his tallest fellow-tribesmen, one after the other. /496/ His stronger rivals, and surpassing him in size, used to point him out proudly, but at the same moment had his heel in the hollow of their knees and crashed to the ground.

[411] Shooting with the bow on the open plaza was often practiced. The photographs of Plate 28 /see p. 600/ and Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ were taken in connection with this.

Very popular among old and young was the burika, an invention of the soldiers: a horizontal beam, with short ropes at both ends, which turned in the center on a post; cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/ where a crowd /Fig. 143 appears here/ of boys is having fun with the game. While one would sit astride on either end and others would run along hanging onto the ropes, the beam was swung around in faster and faster rotation by someone who remained a few moments longer at the post, until the riders were usually hurled to the ground.

524 In Figure 143 /see p. 621/ two kinds of toys are combined: papá, the ball plaited out of maize straw with an arara feather, and tagóra, a whip with a black urubu feather at the end of the string. The boys would swing the feather whip and enjoy the mild excitement of seeing the feather stand upright for a moment upon the ground if the handle of the whip was moved downward with a flick of the wrist. I once saw two boys make a bee and a butterfly flutter on a string.

534 765 Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Only the large rattle gourds up to 20 centimeters long and a small blow-gourd, poári,

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

129 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

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cont./

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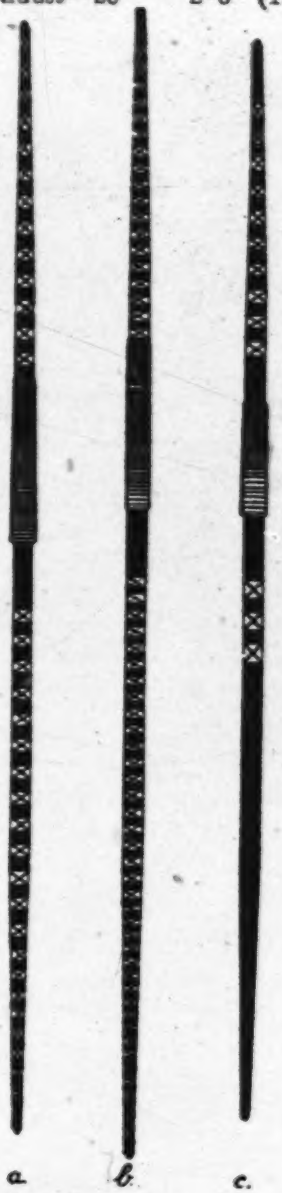

Fig. 16.—Bows for big hunting.

a: Ki clan (21/12)
b: Apibore clan (38/18)
c: Bãdejeba clan (3/10)

/288 cont./

411 the ceremonial bow. As in the preceding type, /289/ the
● 531 central part is of bare wood, save for the protective rolling. All
237 the rest of the bow is covered with ornamentation which varies with different specimens: sheaths of glued on feathers, rings of feathers or fur, mosaics of feathers of different colors, etc.... All along the wood long feathers or throat feathers of the arara, in pairs or singly, are attached. Finally, some specimens show a bunch of varicolored feathers at the top end.

411 The origin of the bow can be deduced from the three follow-
531 ing elements: 1) nature and color of the casing of the wood;
237 2) number, distribution, nature, and color of the feathers adhering
614 to the wood; 3) nature of the feathers or insignia placed in the bunch at the top; thus, some bows of the Bakoro clan have, in the middle of the feathers at the end, a small wooden lath covered with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, this technique being its privilege.

Figure 17 /see p. 29/ gives four "formulas" for ceremonial bows:

a. Not identified; 1.52 meters long. Wood covered with small red /rouge/ feathers glued on with resin; on the sides two crests of white /blanc/ down broken in the middle.

br: blue and red arara feathers
vr: green and red arara feathers
bj: blue and yellow arara feathers
bn: throat feathers in alternate white and black bands
j: yellow toucan feathers.

b. Āróre clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with red feathers glued on. All the hanging feathers are attached in pairs. Top bunch of small red and yellow parrot feathers, with five long emblematic feathers.

b: blue — r: red
br, bj, bn: as above.

c. Āróre (čębegeʷõ) clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with alternate rings of black, yellow /jaune/, and red feathers glued on.

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Ewãguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:

harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;

"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;

bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;

ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

[616] 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the
[531] Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
531 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. ªKario Bokodori — C. Ewãguddu (?) — D. Apibóre kujagoreõ — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore — H. Bãdejeba (Bakoro) — I. Āróre — J. Kõge Čera — K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Āróre.

[237] Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

[Text Continues on p. 30]

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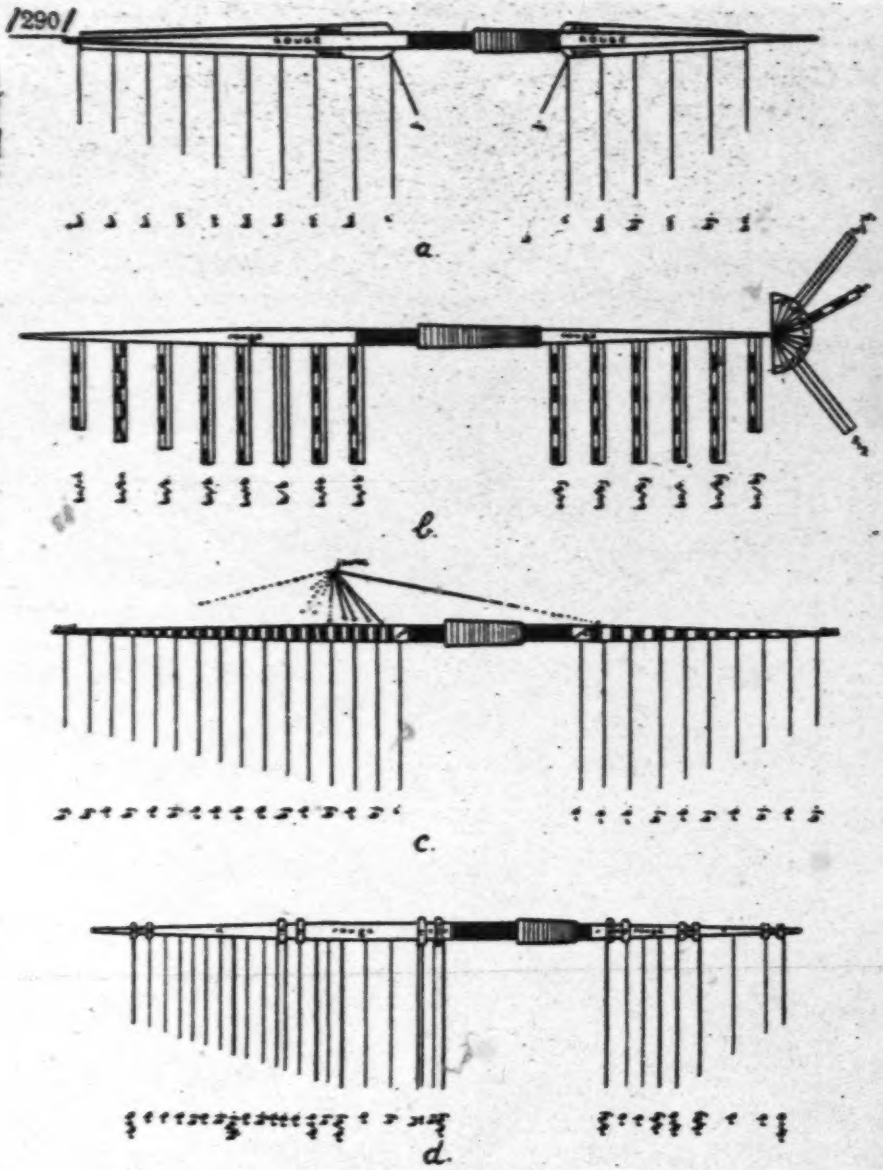

Fig. 17. Ceremonial bows.

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
●531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

[239] B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Ārōre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-y. -b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the
000 loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

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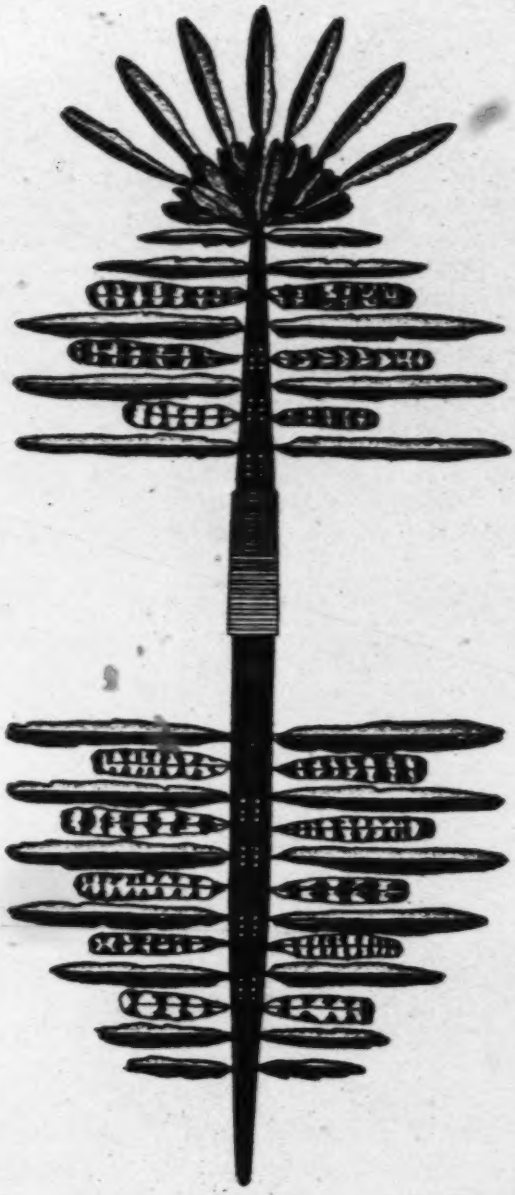

Fig. 18. —Ceremonial bow /in color in original/.

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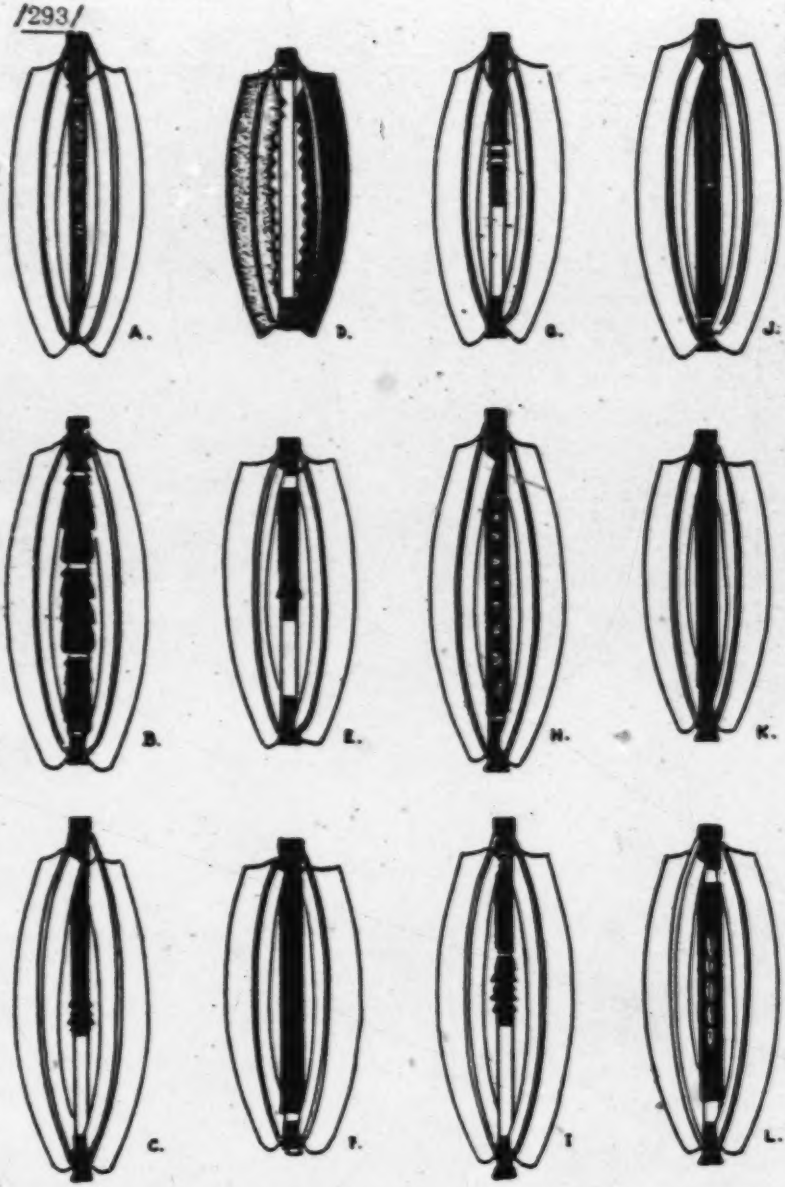

Fig. 19. —Arrows with emblems /in color in original/.

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial

292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kõge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreõ
G. Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjwo
H. Paiwe čoreõ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ewãguddu) Baiaddadaᵘ
J. Āróre čẹbegeᵘõ
K. Āróre
L. Ki
M. Ewãguddu čãbõgeᵘõ
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Apibore
Q. Ewãguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucũ seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bãdejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
301 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[439] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

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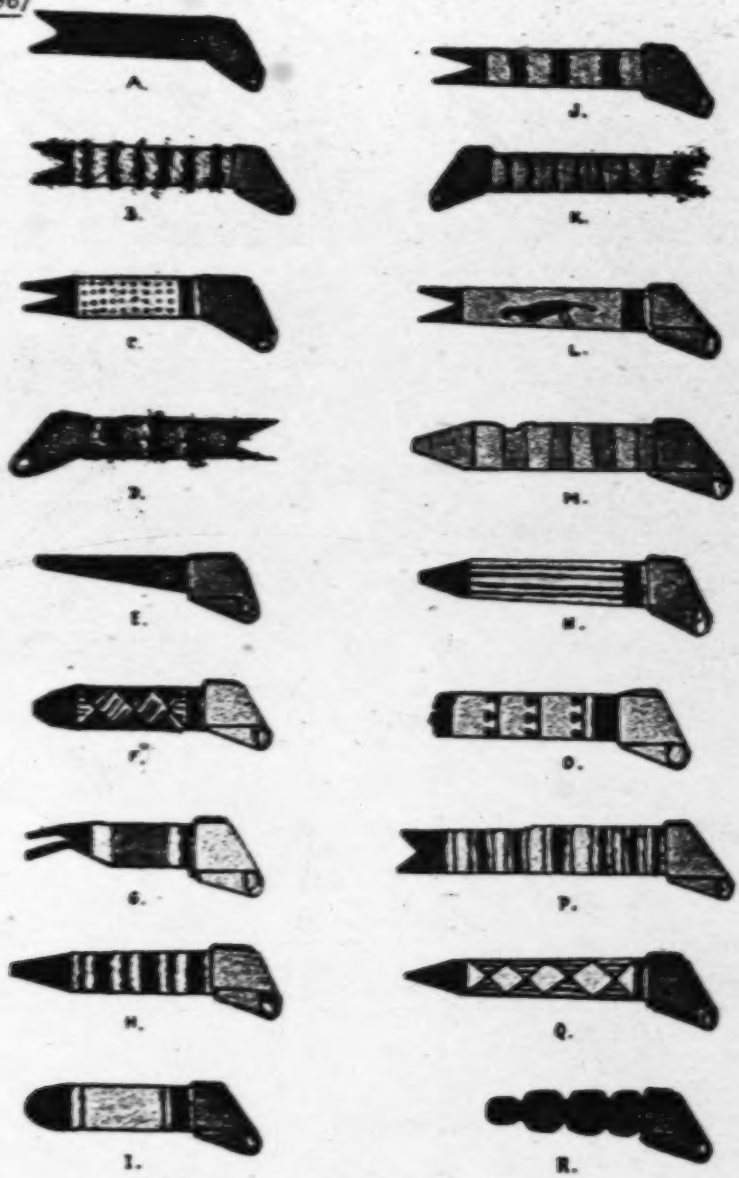

Fig. 20.—Penis bands /in color in original/.

Plate VII

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

Plate X

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C

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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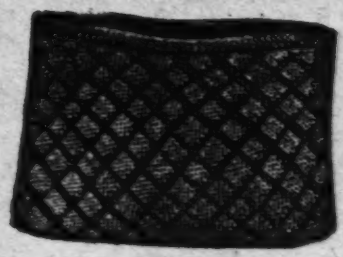

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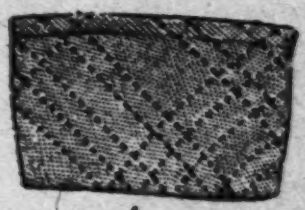

b

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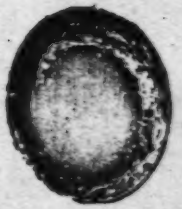

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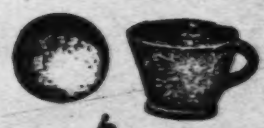

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FIGURE 51.—Bororo textiles and pottery. *a*, *b*, Bags with weave and designs the same as mats; *c*, *d*, water jars (1/7 to 1/11 natural size); *e*, ladle (1/6 natural size); *f*, plate (1/6 natural size); *g*, bowl (1/6 to 1/17 natural size); *h*, cup (1/6 natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots.
323 The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by
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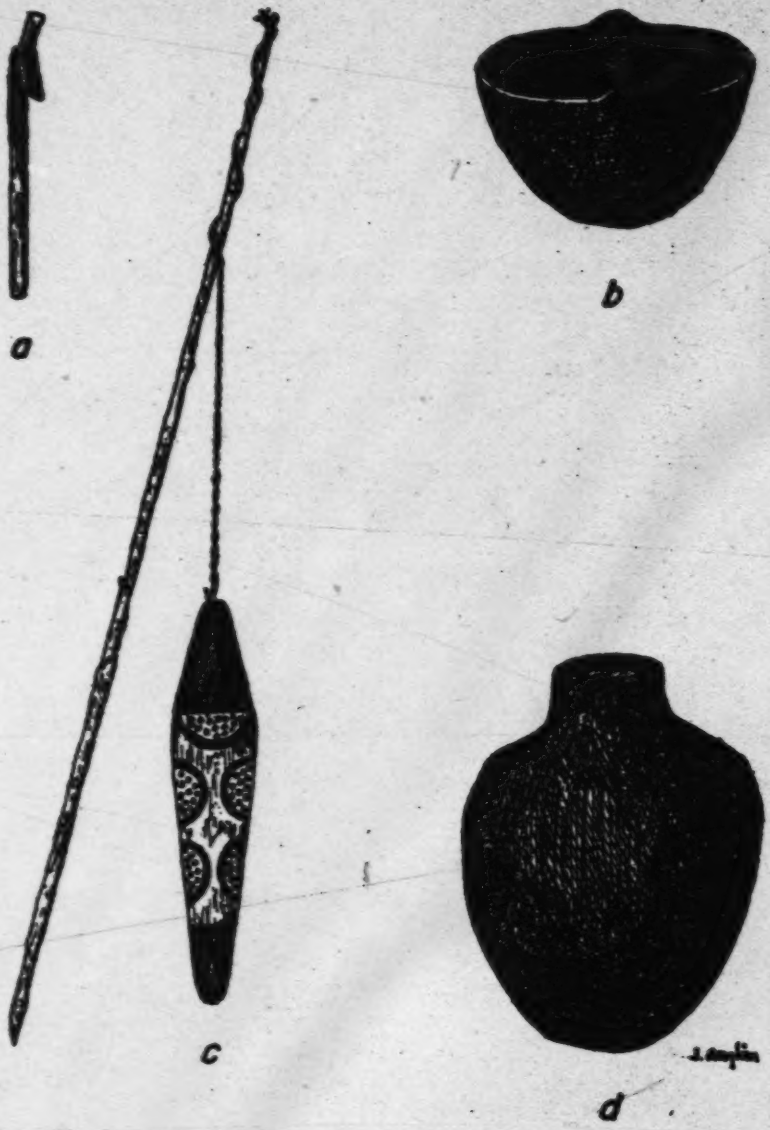

FIGURE 32.—*Bororo* manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent teeth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-roarer (figs. 52, *o*; 55) and to attend rites from which

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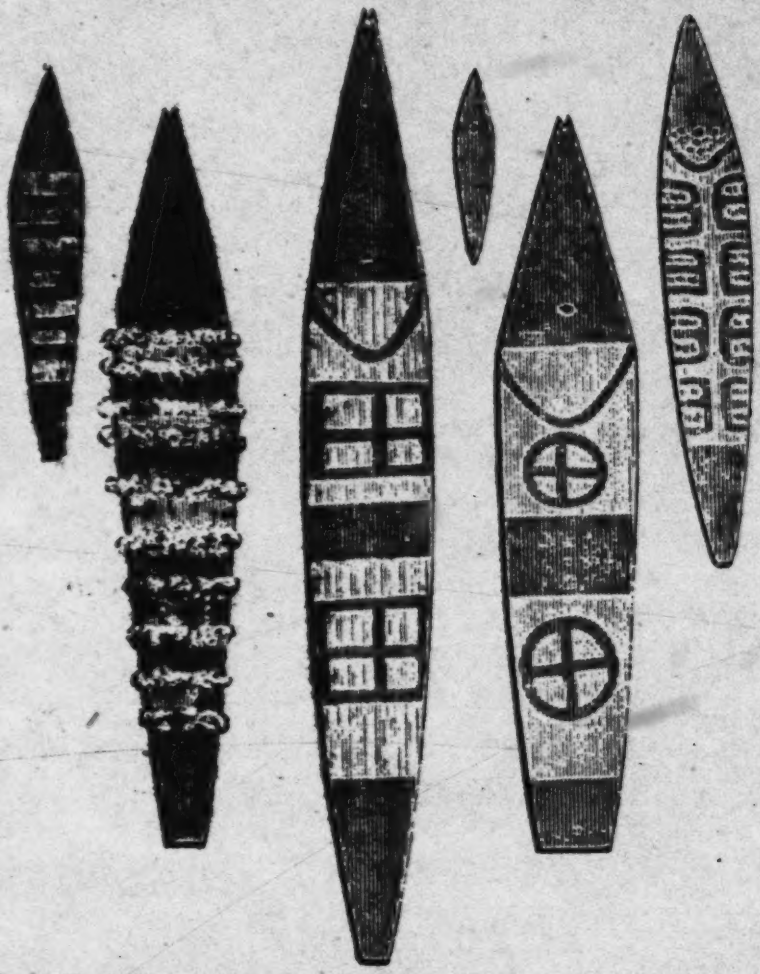

FIGURE 55.—Bull-roarers with various clan designs. (Approximately ⅓ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him.

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[616]
[827]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 524

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

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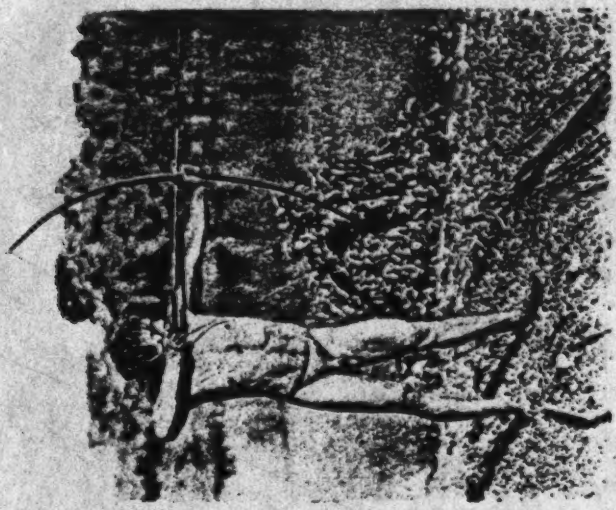

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS DRAWING THE BOW

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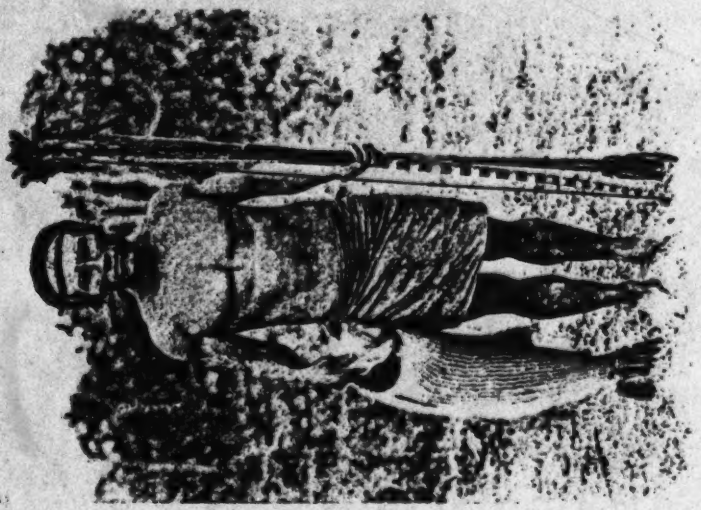

FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS WITH FIRE HE SHOT

[P.105] [Plate V]

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoulders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar' dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side. His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

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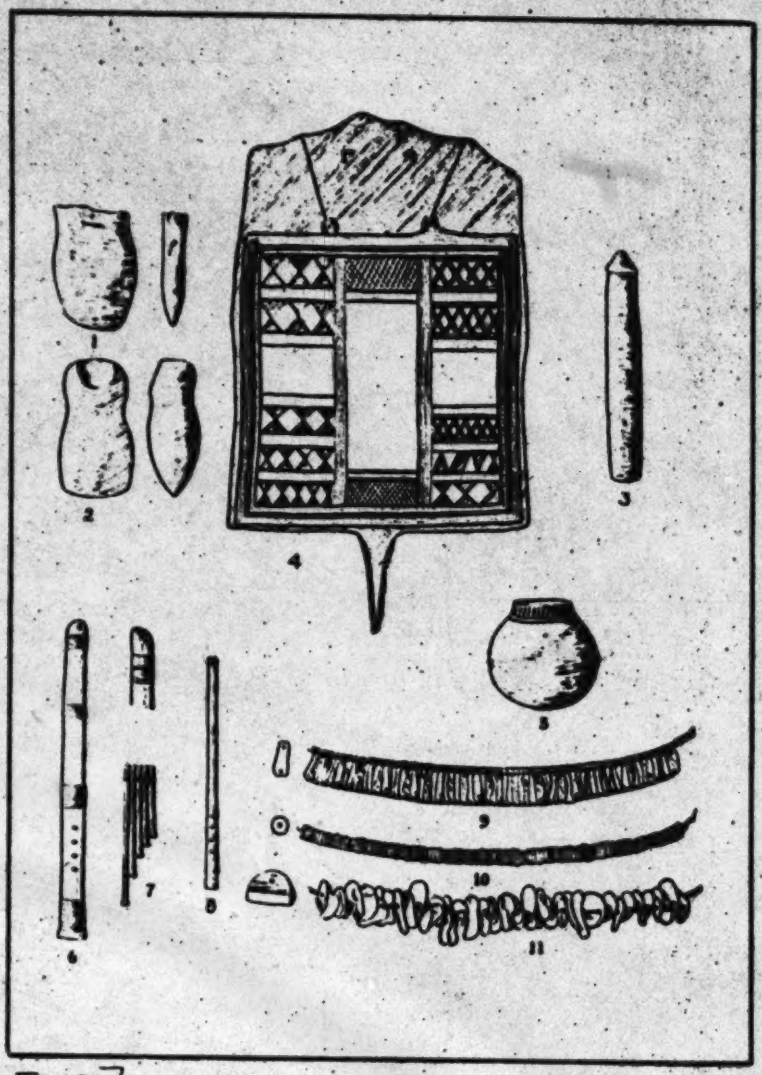


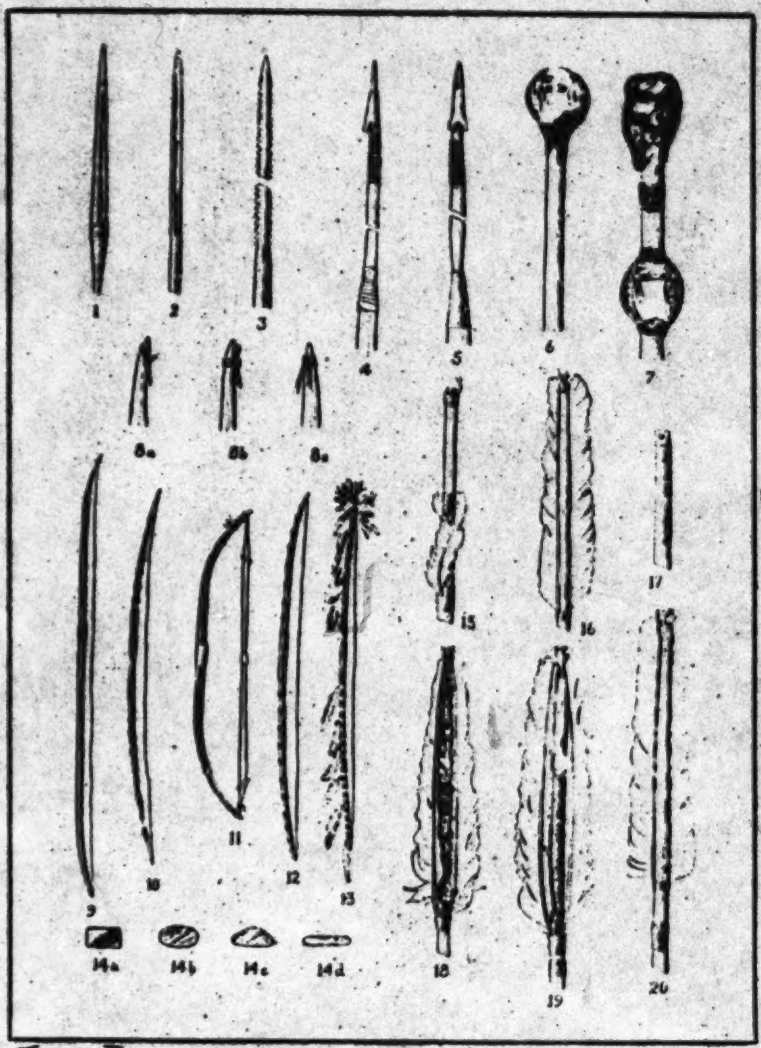
[P. 174]

[for captions, see cat. 116, p. 82—Analyst]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

PLATE XXII



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B
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[411]

W
[284]
[411]

[P. 177]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp 88-89]

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[538] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[196] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [411] [531] [766]

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

765 535 825 782

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

relative of the deceased, who shoulders the basket and carries it to the men's house. As she sits outside the house, holding the basket in her lap, the other female kin of the deceased once more gash their arms and breasts, and allow their blood to run onto the basket. The men once again shake their gourd rattles and sing the songs and lamentations they intoned at the time of death.

765 [602] [3014] [152] [533]

MEANWHILE, several men begin to decorate the skull, which is placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it.

765 531

The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[p. 46-C]
[text continues on p. 48-A]

6: Kodak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

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Chief Meri in full war regalia. Note the feather headdress, Mixed clan plaited on the arm, Cicatrix scars in form of a spiral on the chest.

[p.47-A]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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During decorating, women gash their skin and allow blood to drip on skull.

Notice cuts on arm of woman at right, whose hair is cropped as mourning sign.

[p. 47-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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MULTICOLORED feathers, held on with resin, completely cover skull, which is surmounted by feather crown. Still on its mat, skull is put on jaguar skin.

[p. 47-C]

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placed in the special basket that is to be their final repository. Then the skull, still resting on its little mat, is placed in the basket on top of the other bones. The edges of the basket are sewed together with a wooden needle and fiber cord, and until its final burial a few days later, it is hung in the house of the deceased's relatives.

[283]

[p. 48-A]

/192 cont./

T 291 among themselves, and the chief reason, I presume, in view of the calamity, was the only too explicable neglect of their outward appearance. We also noticed that it was older persons in particular who lacked the string, just as the older ones are the most careless concerning the tonsure. Among older men who wore the string, it rested directly on the scrotum, and the contours of the penis had completely disappeared, so that one saw only a little tied-up bag. And it was scarcely different when they wore no string.

BO 291 171 This consequence of continual mistreatment was no less evident in the case of the cuff or straw collar, which none of the Kulisehu tribes wore, but which I should like to mention here. We saw this device, which is not unknown elsewhere in Brazil, among the Yuruna, the inhabitants of the middle and lower course, who were unacquainted with the upper tribes, and in a larger size among the Bororó of the southern Mato Grosso. A long strip of rather brittle yellow palm-straw is rolled and folded, as the illustration /Fig. 17; see p. 184/ shows, so that a funnel-shaped cuff, tapering to a point at the bottom, is formed; the BO [531] left, projecting end of the strip in the illustration may be ignored, since it was only on festive occasions that the cuff bore such a flag painted with red designs. Its effect is exactly like that of the string: the praeputium is drawn through it in such a way that the /193/ lower, narrow end of the funnel tightly ties off just a tip; see the frontispiece /see p. i/ and Plate 27 /see p. 588/. Here, too, the rest of the penis usually disappears in the scrotum, but the advantage of the rigid cuff over the string is that it does not cut in so sharply. The cuff is an improvement and an embellishment in comparison with the string. I presume that the hip cord was worn first and some of them used pieces of it for the binding, while others were content to clamp the skin. The former went on to the milder and more coquettish cuff, but retained the old and in any case still useful or ornamental hip cord, just as the Bororó wear it besides the cuff, while the cuff-wearing Yuruna have developed it into a wide beaded belt. Actually, Waehneldt reports (1863) of the Bororó living in the source region

/476 cont./

757 has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-
237 strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like
301 a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front
[302] edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face,
[302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed
765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeletonized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamentation of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú
531 /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any
237 implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on
136 the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize
302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was
[237] mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing
[386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing, but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs 237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [53] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

2: Steinen--605 F,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Bororo SP8

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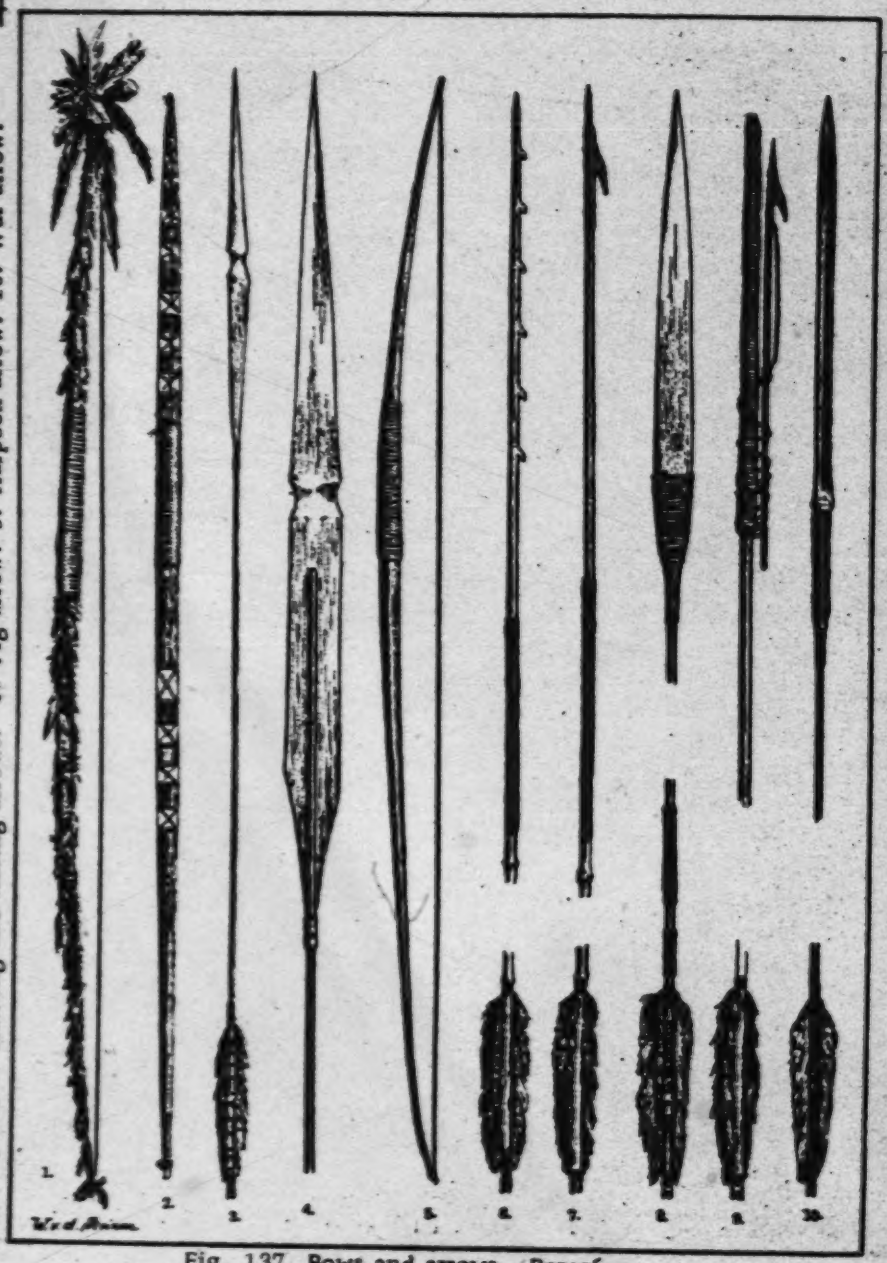

1. Bow of the chief, 2. of the jaguar hunter. 3. Jaguar arrow. 4. Bamboo point of 3. 5. Ordinary bow. 6 and 7. Hunting and fishing arrows. 8. Pig arrow. 9. Harpoon arrow. 10. War arrow.

Fig. 137. Bows and arrows. Bororó.

/497 cont. /

told that they must die /498/ if they see them; moreover, the flutes were handed over to him only under certain conditions.

Of course, if one reads that the same words that were said to me by the Bororó, "the women who see the whizzer stick must die," are said to a traveler by the Australians, if the same whizzer stick played a role among the most diverse peoples of the Old World and the New World in mysteries from which women were excluded, one at first feels strangely moved. Yet it is indeed hard to understand why, for this reason, contacts of a direct or indirect type, but not otherwise demonstrated by anything, should be assumed between the most heterogeneous elements; for one should not regard the device, a board swung in the air on a string, as such a great achievement of human ingenuity that it could have been thought up only once in the history of the world, and one should likewise not find the fear of sickness and death, the attempt to explain these phenomena, the ideas about existence after death, the interpretation of dreams, etc. so peculiar in their correspondences that a people could take over its "medicine" from another. On this path, since the same can be proved for a long list of inventions and customs, one arrives at an ethnographic paradise of mankind -- a path that is probably cut off as far as the whizzer stick is concerned by the lucid article on "the

Fig. 145.
Whizzer stick. Bororó.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[534]
[531]

bullroarer" in Andrew Lang's Custom and Myth (London, 1885). The most diverse tribes, Lang explains, have their mysteries, they needed a signal for summoning the right persons and warning the wrong ones; through their concealing the instrument

/499 cont./

534 The shape of the whizzer sticks is longish oval, their length 40-42 centimeters. At the string end there is a notch and a short distance from it in the center line of the board a hole so that the string stretched between the hole and the notch has a firm hold; cf. Fig. 145 /see p. 623/.

534 531 Art of drawing. At first here I can continue with the whizzer sticks. On Plate 19 /see p. 268/ we see one drawn with pencil. Just as the corners, which have turned out rather pointed, are filled in with black in the picture, so are the ends of the whizzer sticks painted black; in between, the surface is painted with urucú red and on this red background the design is painted black. For motifs the designs have the two nearest at hand. On the whizzer stick in Figure 145, which was brought by the bari in connection with the death rites for Coqueiro's wife, there are painted semicircles with dots: the cranium with small feathers glued on it in its ornamentation for the bone-basket. On others there appeared articles of the woman's costume, either the bark belt in a wide, black cross-stripe or the bast band in triangles, cf. Fig. 129 /see p. 589/, with the hip cord. The latter motif is on the whizzer stick drawn on Plate 19. On either side is drawn a hip cord with three bast bands. Thus we have there the triangle familiar to us [171] from the uluri of the Kulisehu in the bast band as well, the corresponding imitation of which we should have liked to have obtained from the Trumaí. On one specimen of the whizzer stick, which also shows mother-of-pearl eyes and, in between, a semicircle without dots, there are painted, not only three bark belts as three cross-bands, but also, in the midst of each one, a small circle with a square to the right and left of it. /500/ The meaning is not clear; probably the squares represent the bone-baskets and the circle the skull.

302 The girls in the ranchão had their faces painted with the pictures of the bark belt and the bast band, as well as a part of the whizzer sticks: the same cross-stripe over the forehead and temple, including the eyes and leaving the upper part of the forehead free, and the same triangles on the cheeks, one on either side. This painting, however, page 594, was done with the more cheerful urucú red. One day the men permitted

/500 cont./

One day The men permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
● 531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[956] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[614] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

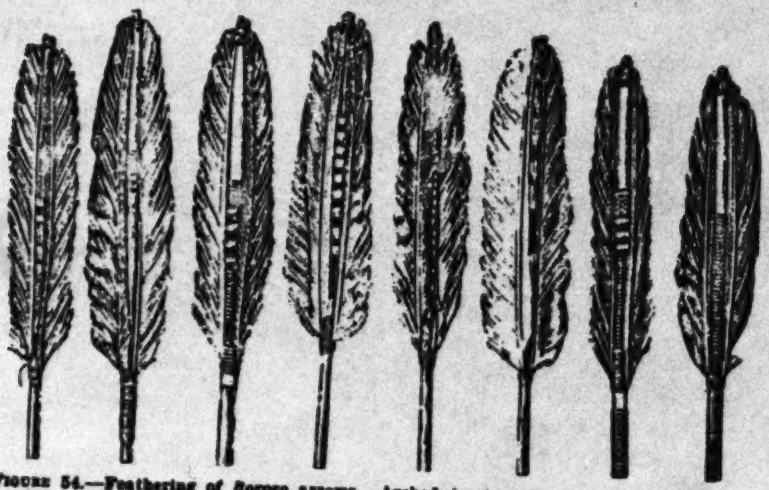

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅓ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 524

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[776] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

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Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

[p. 38]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SPS Bororo SPS

524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each 224 party eating separately.

226 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are 533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the un- [532] earthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. 583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

437 signs than by words. "*Caiba?*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Boé*, sick; *Boé*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of [281] the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day, [532] some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for [126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with super-000 stitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the 533
notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, 825
growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its 151
bakororó, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures.

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting 533
expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages [224]
intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* [514]
is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune.

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the 532
savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space 224
of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, 825
especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals.

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these prim- 000
itive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state.

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

B /243 cont./
*171 one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the
20 vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself
532 that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory
[124] sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me.
To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imitated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since the man does not understand our language, how can we in this case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

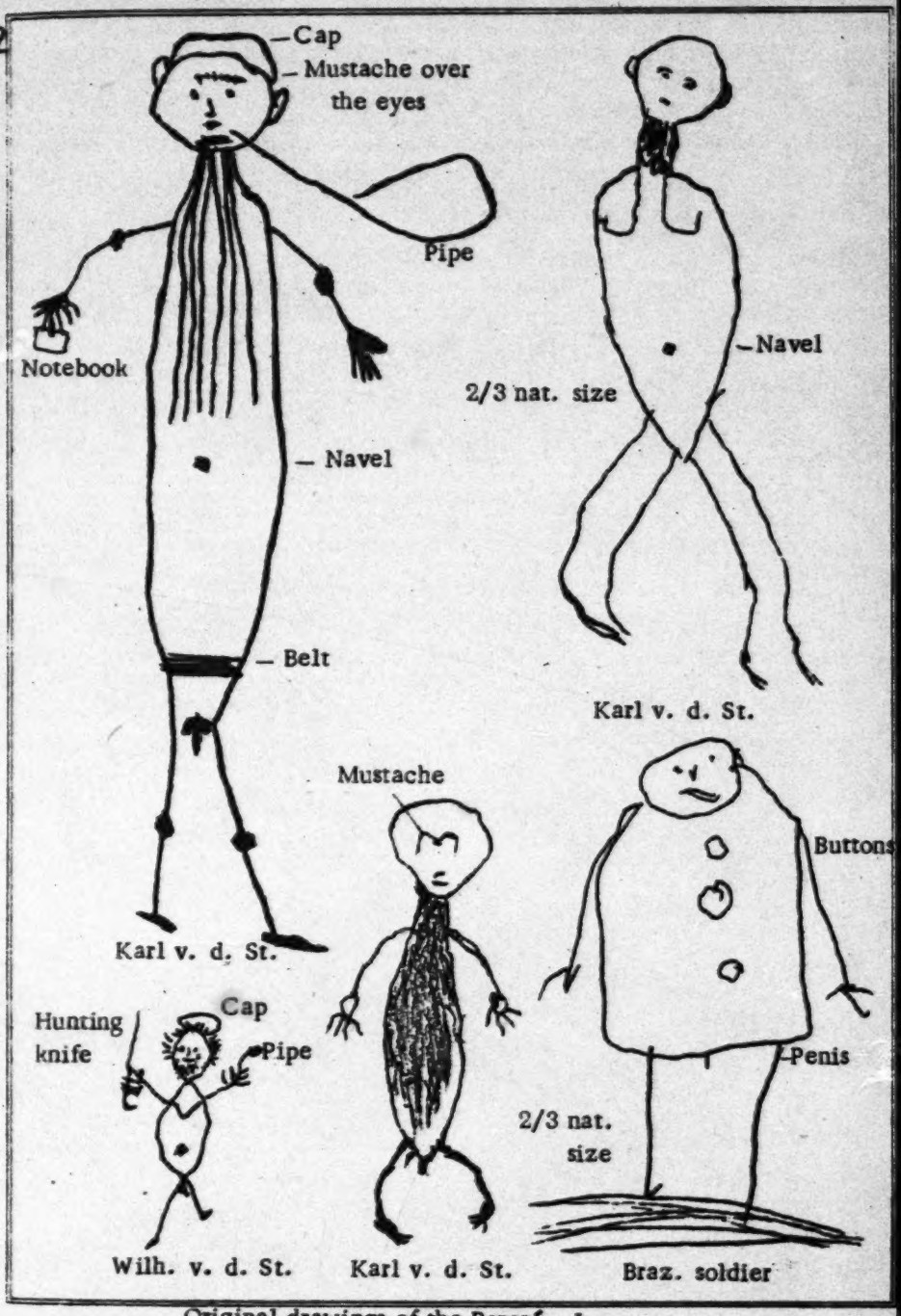
It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the behavior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language, easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
B that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may per-
[531] haps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
BO natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom
171 I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory
●532 way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for draw-
BO ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They
[224] were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing, but had already advanced to sedentary farming.

B /248 cont./
*171 circular area. My companions, two Bakaïrí, immediately sat
212 down to rest. I do not know whether a weary wanderer before us
532 who stopped there on his way home from the river so neatly drew the two animals purely for diversion, or because he had just dealt with rays and pakûs, and, frankly, I find it quite immaterial whether the one or the other was the case.

Even more inexplicable as to its exact meaning was the circular figure drawn in the sand, which is shown in Figure 36 and which was found under a beautiful tree approximately half a kilometer from the Mehinakú village. It was called aturuá
B and was four and a half meters in diameter. When we left the
[533] village accompanied by several men, they made a round inside the circle on either side up to very near the network and sang ka ā ā...; there were also numerous traces of former rounds. Since the men wanted to turn back at this point and spoke of the women, there was probably some reference to the arrival or departure of guests here on the edge of the forest or a quarter of an hour from home. The network of the drawing was turned toward the village. The two curves occur similarly as tattoo patterns and on the outside on the bottom of the large pots of the Mehinakú (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/). I had copied the figure in my journal a few days before my cousin saw it; there, in place of the small central circle with the two supports, two circles are represented touching each other, the lower one being slightly larger and going over into the network; one might imagine head and body.

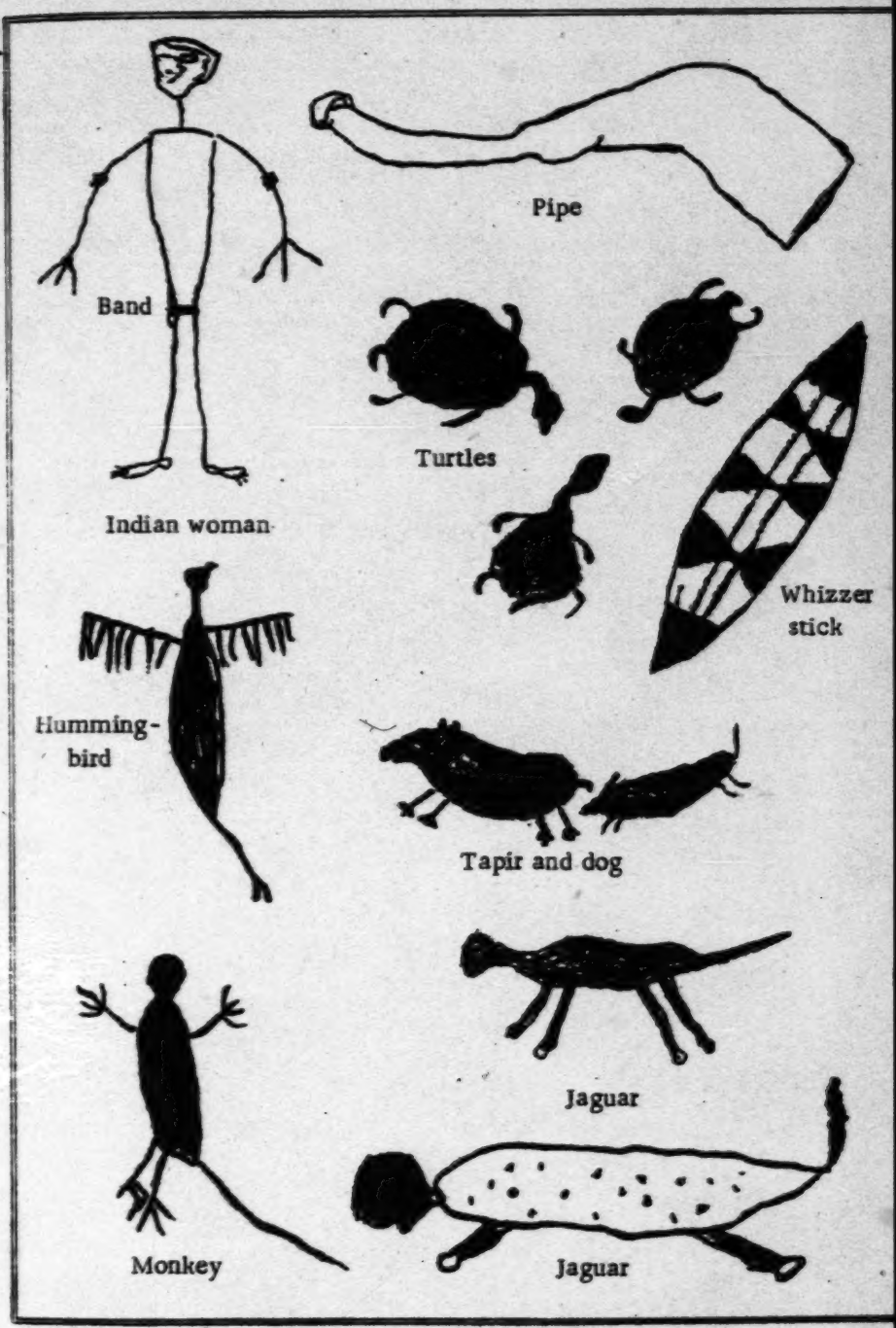
BO
171 The Bororó, whom I am including here, contributed not only
532 purely explanatory, but even semi-artistic pictures in the sand, which we /Plates XVI-XIX appear here/ /249/ had no opportunity to see on the Schingú. In the evening in the moonlight they took special pleasure in drawing hunting animals and hunting scenes in the sand for us. I say "scenes," for their amateurishness did not by any means shrink from a difficult composition. Nor were they content to draw in outlines; with their hands they shoveled the surface sand out of the outline of the animal being represented and filled this depression, shaped, for example, like a jaguar or a tapir, with grayish-white ashes; thus they made the body with its

[Text Continues on P. 269]



Original drawings of the Bororó. I.
Nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

532



Original drawings of the Bororó. II.
Nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

BO /249 cont./
171 extremities look like a shimmering whitish painting. The eye and
532 the spotted markings of the skin were indicated with dark sand. Since the figures were at least life-sized, they gave a surprisingly lifelike impression in the evening twilight; it looked as though huge, shimmering and glistening skins were spread out on the ground.

B Pencil drawings. Even in 1884 we let the Suyá draw with
*171 pencil in our notebooks. They themselves were amused by it;
532 they were not awkward, and only at first did they superfluously
BO hold the pencil point into the flame, being accustomed, for their
171 part, to drawing with resin-saturated sticks. They drew rhombus-
532 shaped designs, similar to those on their gourd bowls, which at that time I dismissed with the label "geometric figures." This time
B we had them draw a series of persons and objects which turned out
BO to be extremely instructive. On the four plates, 16-19 /see pp.
[126] 265-268/, these artistic productions, which could still be considerably improved, have been reproduced with painful accuracy; there are portraits of the members of the expedition, especially of me, and furthermore two jaguars and a woman's triangle with the accompanying topography done by Kulisehu Indians, as well as a soldier, a woman, a pipe, a whizzer stick, two jaguars, a tapir pursued by a dog, a monkey, a hummingbird, and three turtles by the Bororó. The animal pictures of the Bororó, like the sand drawings covered with ashes, are filled with black inside the outline and show that these artists already had higher aspirations, although in their sparse ornamentation they did not achieve more than is shown by the whizzer stick.

000 At first the pencil drawings vividly remind one of the pictures in the copybook of little Moritz. In fact, in the interesting little book by Corrado Ricci, l'arte dei bambini /The Art of Children/, Bologna, 1887, which reports on studies of many children's drawings, there are many correspondences, and more than the author himself assumes when he considers the drawings of primitive peoples. Children describe a human being, instead of reproducing him artistically, "just as they would describe him with words." In their first attempts they are satisfied with the most

B /250 cont./
*171 On plate I from the Kulisehu,[1] four members of the expedition
532 are standing side by side, a picture from the third Bakaïrí village. In it I am recognizable as the tallest and the one with the longest beard; the second one, my cousin, is characterized by his jaunty little cap, the third is Ehrenreich with a shorter full beard and next to me in body size; the fourth, quite small and delicate, is Lieutenant Perrot to whom a lower rank was imputed because he did not take part in the investigations. Here, as well as with most of the drawings, I performed the test of showing them afterwards to other Indians with the question, who might that be? They identified the persons correctly, hopefully not because of the
BO resemblance, but according to the outstanding characteristics.
171 Actually the turtles and the tapir of the Bororó (Bororó II) are
532 quite satisfactory, even for our requirements, whereas the pursuing dog was probably recognizable only because he was the four-legged animal running behind the tapir, which could not be a second tapir because of the tail and the absence of a trunk. Inference per exclusionem must often help out.

B /251/ The two likenesses of me done by a Nahuquá (Kulisehu
*171 II) are interesting.[2] Strangely enough, the man first drew a hori-
532 zontal line containing the unbroken shoulder line and the upper arms, put a sort of semicircle on this, two diagonal crossed lines underneath, and handed this worthless picture back to me as finished. I protested, pointing out to him that I was provided with eyes, ears, etc., in the normal fashion, and demanded an entirely new, revised edition, which he, looking me over attentively, then made. He now went to the other extreme and drew, not only more than he saw, but more than he could have seen.

BO In similar contrast are the two upper pictures on the Bororó
171 plate I, drawn by two different people: on the right I was born
532 without arms and feet; on the left I appear most lovingly depicted and equipped. Here, besides all my limbs, including -- as likewise in the case of the Indian woman on Bororó II -- knobby joints, I have: cap, pipe, notebook, belt, and shoes. In the same manner, the jolly little fellow below that, my cousin, was

[1] [See p. 265 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 266 -- Analyst]

/251 cont./

BO 171 532 given cap, pipe, and the fine hunting knife. Children, to whom smoking as such seems strange, would have thick smoke coming out of the pipe, but the Indians are interested only in the apparatus. In the corner on the right, the Brazilian soldier was given a uniform with three buttons, that is to say, only the coat, from which emerge the usual lines for arms without sleeves. The armless figure above it is the only one where an attempt was made to do justice to our trousers, even at the expense of the feet.

B *171 ●532 831 The chief attribute of the men, especially in the externally more meagerly equipped portraits on Kulisehu I and II, is the one conferred on them by nature. Here we have the child's standpoint altogether, namely, that it does not matter to the sketcher whether he sees with his eyes what he feels duty-bound to indicate because he knows it is there. For the Indian who goes unclothed, this is the characteristic feature and so he shows it; he even adds it where he expressly draws the clothing, cf. the soldier. Thus, the navel is also often taken into consideration. Indeed, the Nahuquá from whom I demanded completeness (Kulisehu II) did not want to forget even the anus.

B *171 532 BO 171 532 The spatial arrangement is not quite a secondary to the Indians as it is to the youngest children, but strange things are done with it. The fact that the pipe (Bororô I) is put next to the mouth does not mean anything when in the same picture one sees the mustache above the eyes. I would have declared it to be a pair of joined eyebrows, what Goethe calls Rāzel, but I was emphatically informed that the line represents the mustache. The same is true of the small central figure below it. And the Bakaírí do the same thing with the unfamiliar mustache. On the Kulisehu plate II, lower left, we see the mustache below the cap, which is carelessly cut off from the roundness of the head by a cross line, and the chin beard, separated from it by a large nose, /252/ is kept entirely inside the face. This head is precisely my map of Africa, with the lakes imperturbably put north or south of the Congo and the Nile sources; out of all proportion, the dreadful line of the neck looks like my Isthmus of Suez, and the

/252 cont./

B *171 532 BO 171 532 enormous ear flaps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakairí, cf. Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II), by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only for the grossest topography; the beard is indeed connected with the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard, that it belongs elsewhere.

B BO [302]

What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest. The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposites attract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries. If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In the case of animals, the outlines are important; not one of those drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/; in the latter case they are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized. The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

/252 cont./

B *171 532 BO 171 532

a huge arched back and the long tail, the extremities form a wavy line; the picture was always recognized by others without difficulty as a jaguar. When for all the Bororó animals the faces are simply filled in black, one might attribute this to the drawing style of the sketchers and point out that the rest of the body is treated in the same way, but even the Bakaïrí on the Kulisehu plate I scribbles over the face of his jaguar. The Indian woman, Bororó II, who, of all the figures, shows the best proportions, has a completely scribbled /253/ head. Above the fine beard covering the torso of the center figure at the bottom, Bororo I, eyes, nose, and ears have been forgotten, the legs are stunted into beetle pincers. In none of the five Bakaïrí portraits has the mouth been drawn; none lacks the nose, which the Bakaïrí pierces. On the other hand, for the Bororó, who pierces the lower lip, it cannot happen that he would omit the mouth, whereas he forgot the nose twice.

BO [304]

The profile position, so popular in the art of children, is absent in the Indian drawings of human beings and invariable in the case of four-legged animals. The former is to be regretted, since there can be no comparison with the cases where children give the profile two eyes and then, when they remember that the nose comes between the eyes, sometimes two noses as well, and furthermore where they attach double arms on the exposed side, since two must, of course, be shown, and so forth. It is to be hoped that these efforts of a childlike mind would by this time be impossible for the Indians. Nevertheless, among the sand drawings, we have to show an example that corresponds exactly to childlike art. The matrincham (Fig. 34 /see p. 263/) has two eyes next to the gill arch; the pakú (Fig. 35 /see p. 263/) in profile is likewise drawn with two eyes. That these are profile positions is shown in the case of the matrincham by the indication of the side line, the gill arch (exactly as in the case of the wooden fish), the fin position, and, finally, as also in the case of the pakú, the tail position. In the case of the ray, the two eyes are justified, since the Indian naturally avoids the problem of drawing it from the side.

B *171 532

B /253 cont./

*171 532 80 171 532 On the Kulisehu plate II there is a drawing of an arm tattooing which we observed in Cuyabá on a man of the Tupí tribe of the Apiaká /Apiaca/ living on the upper Tapajoz /Tapajós/, and which I add here parenthetically. Here the two legs are on the same side, exactly as in the case of children's drawings of "riders on horseback." The legs of the horse are placed one behind the other, exactly like those of the jaguar, Bororó II. The animal's long ears are handsome.

Why are all human beings drawn en face, all four-footed animals in profile? The reason can only be that in the case of the former the outline was given indifferently as self-evident, and the characterization of the details, to be distributed on two sides or to be judged better in their full extent from the front, was decisive; in the case of the latter, the outline more easily characterized in profile. The monkey on Bororó II, with legs and tail in profile, shows the arms symmetrically, but might have been conceived with the upper part of the body turned forward. The jaguar with the spotted fur was drawn by a man who was obviously aware of the fact that the animal has only two legs on one side: he omitted the legs on the right side.

The proportions are deficient. The pipe and notebook of the principal figure on Bororó were actually in the reverse size-proportions. The artist was in no way disturbed by the fact that the relationship between the torso and the extremities was like that of a lizard propped upright. The disproportion of /254/ the Nahuquá portrait on the Kulisehu plate II is also charming. Whereas the neck often resembles a pole, here, as in the case of Perrot, Kulisehu I, the shoulder line runs across the mouth region. It is five times as wide as the width of the hips, which, in the first version next to it, shrinks to a point. The legs always come out worst of all. In the most extreme deformity, Kulisehu II, bottom left, they are absent, to judge from the position of the sexualia, and the toes are attached to the torso. If only this one portrait was presented, one might explain the long lines on the sides as legs originating at shoulder height, but, strangely enough, in all the Kulisehu portraits, the torso is not closed off at the

/254 cont./

B 171 532 B0 171 532

bottom, indeed not even the head in my portrait and Wilhelm's, Kulisehu I! Only the Nahuquá treats the body as a triangle, at least in his first version. The lateral contours of the torso veer out at an angle without converging -- in the case of Wilhelm, Kulisehu I, almost horizontally -- and after extending a short distance, without knee, without foot, are finished off on either side with a little line, and these three-toed chicken legs are then human legs, my legs. "You resemble the spirit you comprehend, not me!" /Translator's note: this is a quotation from Faust./ Besides being short, the legs are usually also unequal, even where the torso is closed off, cf. jolly Wilhelm, Bororó I.

000 The number of fingers and toes deserves special attention. If one of us who is a hunter should sketch a stag's head, he will be careful to provide it with antlers of a particular shape, whatever he happens to have in his mind's eye. Another person, however, will pay scarcely any attention to whether there are more or fewer prongs, not even if he is superficially copying an original before him; he will be content if he has put on the head a number of prongs in a very questionable arrangement of branches. The only thing is, it will not satisfy his idea of stag antlers to draw two forks, he will put down at least three prongs each. Similarly, if I make a schematic drawing of a little fir tree, my minimum will be three pairs of symmetrical diagonal lines on a vertical line, the whole finished off at the bottom with a horizontal line; two pairs would indeed make a little tree, but not a little fir tree. Thus, even without counting, I will supply a minimum of components, in accordance with my inner perception. Our children, who are drilled early in the five of the fingers, will take it into account even in drawings which otherwise contain the grossest sins, and even before they think of reproducing the hand, they will correctly draw five fingers. In the case of the drawings of primitive peoples, we encounter an uncertainty about the number of fingers, and especially three fingers, with such regularity that we must recognize a law here, as in the case of the stag antlers and the fir tree. They undoubtedly did not count 1, 2, 3, and the only thing that can be at the basis of it is that

/254 cont./

000 they feel impelled to put in more than two lines, in order to define their vague inner conception at least to the extent that a bifurcation does not result.

B /255/ If we consider the five Bakaïrí portraits, we have, if
*171 we put the number of fingers in the numerator and the number of
532 toes in the denominator, the following relationships: $\frac{3\ 3}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{5\ 3}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{5\ 5}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{3\ 3}{3\ 3}$ (Kulisehu I) and $\frac{4\ 5}{3\ 4}$ (Kulisehu II). I had them show me on my hand which fingers they had drawn; they took hold of my thumb, little finger, and middle finger and pointed to the corresponding lines in such a way that the little finger was the one in the center of the three which, in my portrait, happened to be the longest in the group of four. Ehrenreich is provided with two five-fingered arms, Wilhelm at least with one such arm. The lower extremities have three toes, with the exception of my portrait, Kulisehu II, where four are present on one side. On the same plate, the Nahuquá, after his first effort had been criticized, drew the correct number of fingers in the second, not from memory, to be sure, but with careful contemplation of the insulted original.

BO Among the Bororó we find on plate I, aside from the arm-
171 less portrait of me, Wilhelm with five fingers on each arm, the
● 532 soldier with three on each arm, and similarly on plate II the Indian woman with three fingers. As for the rest, there is great progress to be seen here. Not only elbows and knee-joints appear in the form of thick knots, but also hands and feet. In the classic picture showing me with pipe and notebook, touching care has been devoted to the left thumb, which has been joined to the hand in a thick mass; on the right hand we note, to our surprise, seven fingers, but find a perfect explanation in the fact that the two extra fingers must grasp the little book; the legs are standing on shoes, as are Wilhelm's below. The soldier has been planted in the ground, with two lines for legs. The center figure next to him has most peculiar hands and feet, but at least it has some; they are extraordinarily reminiscent of the blood-sucking ticks. One also notes here a tendency to give the

/255 cont./

BO 171 532 extremities a second dimension. The feet of the Indian woman, Bororô II, an amusing contrast to the absent hands, are drawn in excellent outline and in good horizontal position; one might take them for shoes if three toes, not unlike short hairs, were not planted in them.

Of the animal pictures, only among the Bororô do the tapir and monkey have jointed feet. The jaguar legs end in round knobs -- cat paws. The tail is always featured; only in the case of the spotted jaguar may one reasonably wonder about the bushy stump. In the case of the flying hummingbird, whose legs are missing and indeed may be missing, we see a long and divided tail, such as more commonly occurs for this species.

B *171 532 Bark drawings. Rather seldom, except among the Nahuquá, where they were numerous, were human figures found carved in trees, that is to say, incised in outline or with the surface peeled out of the bark, along the forest path leading from the river to the village. They were, as far as /256/ /Figs. 37 and 38 appear here/ I remember, exclusively men in 1887; in 1884, however, we found a male figure above a female one in front of the first Batovy village of the Bakaïrí and a female figure in front of the second one, "with roguish utilization of a depression present in the bark." In the accompanying bark figure of the Bakaïrí /see p. 279/, a great advance has been made by means of the surface cutting in comparison with the line drawings. Where the fingers were clearly worked out, they corresponded exactly to the three of the pencil drawings; the toes, on the other hand, were never treated more accurately. The legs ran down shapelessly, like stockings. We were particularly struck by the tree figures along the forest path of the Nahuquá; they had formations resembling donkey ears, but somewhat longer, on either side of the head, B which represented ear feathers. There was also one or another [534] animal figure. If I add to this the fact that there were human figures carved on the huge hollow drum-tree lying in front of the festival hut of the third Bakaïrí village, there follows the noteworthy fact that the use of the human figure in the art of drawing was present only on trees. The pencil drawings were done at my request.

B /279 cont./
285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a
B little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In
[237] other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the
[136] large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the
[412] natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct inter-
B pretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the
* [171] Auetö a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

Y I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal; then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

BO Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with
285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
● 532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

BO 285 524 532

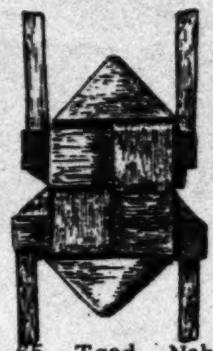
/280 cont./

nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

B 285 532 535

B 524 202

The straw figures of the Bakaírí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival



Y 285 524 532

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 524

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaírí village

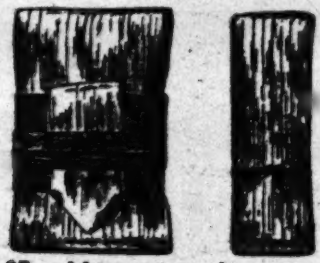


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Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/500 cont./ One day The men Permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the population. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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463
301

1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[516] [302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more
[533] and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuǰawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuǰawa, the

/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green
palm. Each rung is made of a
bundle of two (big marid'do) or three
(small marid'do) sections. Gradually
during the construction, the ladder
is rolled up on itself until it forms,
in the largest example, a disk 1.50
meters in diameter. The two sides
[283] are then decorated with green palm,
held in place by a net of cords made
of women's hair. The top of the
disk is decorated for a length of about
50 cm. with applications of down.
The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewâguddudoge corerŏ marid'do; the
small one, Ewâguddudoge kujagorerŏ
marid'do. But it is not necessarily
natives of this clan who have made
them. Some time before the festival
the two marid'do are solemnly taken
out of the men's house and taken to
the middle of the bororo, where they
are placed parallel, about two meters
apart, and on the axis separating the
phratries. The dance of the marid'do
lasts two days; each protagonist tries to
lift one of the disks at arm's end and
to hold it as long as possible while
running and jumping in the plaza.
Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony
(Pl. VIII, C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X,
B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:
535
533

ʷure ʷure	foot, foot
kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
čegu'ę	we others
čę	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
čęgiga	we joyous

764 of the Ewãguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bãdejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewãguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage°, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina 574
to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had 735
been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. 342
The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleep- 352
ing either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no 512
further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make 323
pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no indus- 287
try whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were 411
several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language 177
being almost forgotten even by the older people. 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, 574
they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one
for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the 533
men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompani- 535
ment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Sev- [273]
eral times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoulders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar' dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side. His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[538] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
424 and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[196] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

188 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs—under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
[622] the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
[554] connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
[611] eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
[613] the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
[538] songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
[533] rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
[788]
[552] Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
[121] missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.
768
616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother,
[602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the
[593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily
[764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 A different set of terms, which are considered more po-
533 etic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:
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195

*601	ikimanomo	is substituted for		iyedaga
533	ikimado	"	"	" imarugo
765	itare	"	"	" iyogwa and itoredu
195	itaredo	"	"	" imuga and itoreduje
	imana aredu	"	"	" ituye
	inokori	"	"	" iviye imedu
	inokorodo	"	"	" iviye aredu
	ikiwainogo	"	"	" ivagedu
	ikiwainogorodo	"	"	" irago

iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore (all in plural) are substituted for any or all dead relatives as a group.

We see again, as was the case in the preceding paragraph, that husband and father and wife and mother are classified together. The terms ivuri and imana remain unchanged when used in songs or crying, while there is confusion on how itonaregedu should be called. Some informants (women) say that they should be called in the same way younger siblings are (inokori or inokorodo), but others (also women) maintain that they should be called as older siblings are (ivuri, imana, imana aredu). Both of these assertions are denied by male informants who maintain that one's children should be classified under the general terms used for any dead person (iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore.)

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[773] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[172] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
[553] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished an- [533] cestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

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[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names--the names of the clans--and clanic names--personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

[553] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
[302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
[301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
[536] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
[534] child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
[302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
[301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
[237] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him
[533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
[301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
[302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
[533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
[304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] [2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [539] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [301] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere- [723] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[824] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
796 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
553 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

616 beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane
823 belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

534 Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for [562] rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. ika
533 534 is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is [825] also significant. ika is elongated and narrow, often with [831] one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some women the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka--
660 the curves of a narrow waist. ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"--one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)--personifications of Bope--are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
775 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
776 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
616 Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the vil-
[361] lages published by the Salesian missionaries before the <u>Enciclopedia Bororo</u> show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the <u>ika</u>: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
534 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
834 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
822

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 [797] [533] [776] The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

the oily seeds of a shrub. As death neara, the assemblage begins to chant softly. Then, one by one they approach the dying person and pay him their last respects by briefly placing a hand on his forehead. 763 [386] [533]

As soon as breathing has stopped, the body is quickly covered with a sleeping mat, for the corpse must not be seen again by the women or chil- 764

[p. 40-D]

relative of the deceased, who shoulders the basket and carries it to the men's house. As she sits outside the house, holding the basket in her lap, the other female kin of the deceased once more gash their arms and breasts, and allow their blood to run onto the basket. The men once again shake their gourd rattles and sing the songs and lamentations they intoned at the time of death. 765 [602] [3014] [152] [533]

MEANWHILE, several men begin to decorate the skull, which is placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it. 765 531

The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[p. 46-C]
[text continues on p. 48-A]

place to the accompaniment of the bull-roarers' whir. 765 [523]

At the swamp, where the final interment of the bones takes place, a deep pit is dug, and the basket is lowered into it. There is no further ritual. Only a long bamboo pole decorated with feathers is left to mark the last resting place of the bones, on the proper dis- [461]

[p. 49-A]

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524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the ap-
[352] plause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each
224 party eating separately.

226 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are
533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the un-
[532] earthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them.
583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

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133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet 609 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing [291] nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the [302] time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while 533 here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

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evening anthem, which will be described in future pages. We 533
were at our camp at the time, a quarter of a mile distant from the savage chorus. It was indeed wild music, and an appropriate production of the wild ones and the wilderness. It was hard to believe that this fusillade of uncouth, alarming sounds issued from human throats. This savage music resembled, somewhat, the remarkable and uncanny sounds produced by coyotes when heard at night from a distance.

Doubtless these nude, unclean savages would appear ex- 114
tremely repulsive and unhuman to most civilized people, yet I could but regard them as simple, overgrown, neglected children; and finding myself again among such rude, needy beings, I experienced a pleasure and satisfaction which I cannot describe, and inwardly thanked God, Who, in His gracious providence, had led me again to their haunts after a long detention among a more advanced race. Could I be among them once more, my cup of joy would be full.

Two naked Bororó accompanied us as helpers during the [123]
remainder of our journey to one of the chief villages of the tribe. The world about us became more and more wild, rugged and inhospitable as we advanced, and the difficulties and dangers of travel increased. Moreover, the myriads of the insect 136
world seemed to resent our encroachment into their domains, and fell upon us with ever-increasing numbers and ferocity; while the elements, too, appeared to join forces with the rest of Nature, for storms occurred, not only daily, but several times [132]
during twenty-four hours. One night, we found ourselves encamped upon the "private grounds" of a colony of destructive foraging ants, which set to work promptly to cut us to pieces; and when we halted at noon for breakfast, some days, we were set upon by hordes of a stupid, sluggish, stingless bee, called "father of honey" by the Brazilians, but known to science as the *Melipona fasculata*, of which there are more than fifty varieties in Brazil. They were attracted to us by the perspiration of ourselves and our beasts, and also by the odor of our food. They did not attack us in a single swarm, but came to us individually and gradually, until quart

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Nagarêda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now 526
steps quickly over to the *Sheraidi* group, grasps a man by the 616
wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheraidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarêda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm.

The signal to begin the race being given, each team in- 526
stantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw [361]
down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the [345]
contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, [352]
who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows.

The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals— 533
if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. [512]
They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall [345]
nearly every evening just after nightfall.

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533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
825 evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
534 charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets
103 of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
114 at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the *bakororô* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sænger-fest.*

535 Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

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like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the 533
notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, 825
growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its 151
bakororó, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures.

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting 533
expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages [224]
intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* [574]
is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune.

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the 532
savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space 224
of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, 825
especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals.

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these prim- 000
itive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state.

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

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skin deep, but now and then they accidentally cut deep and bleed profusely. The reader will have observed that the males do not cut themselves, nor pluck out their hair. They are careful not to injure themselves. It is only the nearest female relative of the deceased that has her hair jerked out.

Witnessing these hideous, uncanny and revolting scenes of savagery, in the sickening atmosphere and dismal gloom of the great hut, and listening to the pandemoniacal uproar or medley of infernal noises, one could well imagine that he had somehow been cast into the dungeons of the damned, and was hearing their shrieks, and wails, and moans of unspeakable anguish and despair. While this hideous drama, that only savage tragedians are capable of interpreting, was being enacted, and pandemonium was singing and playing its hellish hymns, and saying its mass, in this cavernous place; outside, a tropical sun was silently inundating the earth with its glorious effulgence, and all Nature, arrayed more beautifully than Solomon in all his glory, sang for joy.

The first part of this horrid nightmare within the great hut with the body present, continues night and day without intermission, until the first sunset after death; then, as the king of light sinks slowly and majestically behind the western wilderness, and the shadows of night begin to gather, symbolical of the closing forever of life's bright, happy day, and the ushering in of the black, sad, hopeless night of the invisible world, the savage choir, chorus and orchestra become hushed; and the enwrapped remains are borne solemnly to the public playground just outside the great hut, placed on top of the ground and covered by a little mound of earth. Here the body lies for a week or more in order that the flesh may decay and separate from the bones. Each evening during this time, at the *meri de códu*—the setting of the sun—as the prince of day resigns the earth to the rule of night, the sorrowing family and sympathizing friends, gather around the sacred mound, and with their faces turned toward the dying light, murmur a low, mournful chant, pleading the virtues of the lost one, and perhaps also recommending him to the good offices of the "supreme power"

[765] —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are be-
[533] lieved to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who,
[175] being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings. During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of
[533] the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday
[534] and holding a picnic in the woods. Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one
[175] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de-
[292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up
[535] and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

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765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *bopi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from [237] the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

At the *méri rútu*—the birth of the sun—the following morning, the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus [533] [785] and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; [302] and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with [226] the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

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to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

/457 cont./

000 After the roll call the men took off their caps and hats and sang, or rather bawled, with one clear voice predominating:
O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, vós sois a advogada dos peccadores, criais todos cheia de graça com a vossa feliz grandeza, vos soís dos céos princeza, do Espíritu Santo esposa.
Maria mãi de graça, mãi de misericordia, rogai Jesus por nos, recebai (!) nos na hora de morte! Senhor Deus pequei (?), Senhor, misericordia. Por vossa mãi, Maria Santissima, misericordia!*

* Satirical verse: "O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, pagai o nosso soldo, deixai da cacoada! (pay us our wages and never mind the rotten jokes).

177 As in the "pronto" calls, Indians who happened to be passing by lustily joined in the singing; inside the house Caldas was practicing on the violin. At the end all of them, including the guard and the cadet with the sugar cane, knelt down. The Bororó did not pay any particular attention to the procedure, which had
●[533] long since been familiar to them. But about an hour later a dozen boys appeared before our door and sang -- the music was correct, the words, except for the beginning, unintelligible and not understood -- "O, Santa Maria, mãi de graxa," ** as they put their arms

** "Mother of fat" (pronounced grascha).

around one another, giggling, and lined up in a row leaning crookedly against one another.

648 Toward nine o'clock Moguyokrui had appeared before the
273 cadets and demanded alcohol. For a change the chief "identifying himself completely with the civilization of his tribe" wore a woman's red petticoat and a white linen jacket; he insisted that the key to the supply room be fetched and he actually got his bottle; he achieved his purpose no less when, on occasion, he would rouse the gentlemen in the middle of the night.

Row with Arateba. He is once again totally drunk and demands more; this time, however, the famous key is refused. He alarms the whole colony with his yelling and scolding; he hastens to

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
[276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on
●[533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.
[756] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink-
[534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/493 cont./

533 Dance and play. On the basis of the preceding, the aróe song,
[756] opening every communal hunting and fishing expedition, loses all its strangeness. The bari, who solemnly divides up the booty at the end, also takes care of the solemn preliminaries for the under-
[772] taking. We shall not yet go into the underlying view of the relationship between animal and human being, without which these ceremonies could scarcely have been invented except by charlatans, but with which they are probably justified in their origin.

The hunting song is the same as the one sung at the ceremony for the dead! It makes a very dignified and, at night, if one likes, horrible impression. At the ceremony for the dead, men and women sing together, the women, to be sure, standing to one side and in the background and often stopping, while the men do not permit themselves a pause. During the nocturnal preparations for the hunt, one heard only the deep booming voices of the men's
[115] chorus. I owe the notes on the next page /see p. 618/ to the cadet Caldas. He made a distinction between a first song by the men alone and a second one by the men and women. The text which he wrote down for the first one is unfortunately useless. It is about the gull, schibáyu, which also occurs in the second, and, in spite of several repetitions, it is nothing but a mere listing of names. This latter – aróe is the text of the second song and, in a long sequence, is also what is usually sung -- not much poorer in variety in the text than in the music, which, though I have no technical knowledge, seems to me to achieve the ultimate in "monotony." The following "verses" were translated by Clemente and are given in the proper sequence: bakororó aróe, okóge aróe, schibáyu aróe, kurugúge aróe botoroé aróe imayaré aróe dyuretóto aróe kayatóto aróe manotóto aróe. The words listed are: water (a specific kind? otherwise póbe), dourado fish, gull, falcon, another predatory bird that eats fish, "its breast," water snake sukurí, mortar, swamp grass. The scene, therefore, is on the water; more I cannot say; whether the dead person experiences all kinds of things in the vicinity of his skeleton-basket buried there, whether the rival animals that catch fish are desired in the mortar, which would seem more /494/ credible -- I was unable to discover. Alternating with this song, "jaguar," "capibara," "paríko" (feather

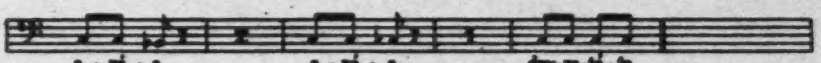
/494 cont./

●533 diadem) – ehé would be sung; again, however, this did not occur at the ceremony for the dead, but only in connection with hunting.

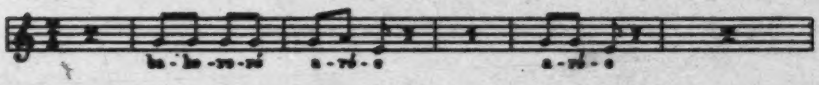
First song, by the Men.

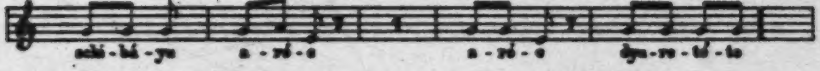
533
539 Second Song, by the Men and Women.

Men



Women





535 Rohde speaks of a "fararu dance," for which one is adorned with
[534] feather crowns, bells, and other ornaments. A dance leader, the gourd rattle in each hand, bells made out of deer hoofs on his feet, is in the center of a circle which the men form and which the women surround with a larger circle. They dance rhythmically, leap and rattle for a long time; finally the leading dancer roars hau! and makes a wild final leap which the entire company imitates. Waehneldt saw dances with imitations of animals and calls the howling-monkey dance, with an imitation of all the sounds and movements, particularly extravagant. "In the jaguar-skin dance men and women take part; the latter are never able to see the skin of the jaguar which one man is wearing on his back, who, however, tries to show it to them with his movements at every step." The fear of the women is the point /495/ of the dance.
[198] "The dance, which consisted of their imitating (?) the customs of

/505 cont./

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton. In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained,
[533] during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[302] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by
[301] the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/506 cont./

765 [768] bast bands, bark belts, a red coverlet, many maize ears, gourds, shells; bows and bunches of arrows were broken up, and every-
[535] thing thrown together in a heap. Soon the scene took on a semblance of order; the men formed a circle around the fire and moved slowly round and round, leaping up with both feet. The green one was seized and held down by the two loam creatures, whom we at first scarcely recognized as good old Moguyokuri and the chief bari (the archer on Plate 28). The gourds rattled, the whizzer sticks buzzed, the fire now blazed up. The green
[535] one was released, and he and a second man behind him in the
[768] parîko, /507/ dancing all around and always stepping to the side, first to the right, then to the left, threw the things into the
[755] flames. Meanwhile -- and that, it seemed to me, was the strangest thing in the entire performance -- the two old dead persons cured a sick woman who had suddenly arrived, I know not how. They blew upon her and probably gave her the comforting assurance that she would not be fetched away so very soon. Several ran to the nearby river and threw knives and axes into it. Coqueiro tended the fire, dance and song ceased, the feather ornaments were placed beside the fire, and the green one added his garlands, the baris squatted in a row, one behind the other, and
[622] were doused with water. Immediately thereafter great commotion: the dog of a soldier had bitten a child; Moguyokuri, still covered with loam, angrily accosts the owner, who, for his own safety, betakes himself to prison; this satisfies the chief, and with his hand he closes the mouth of the scolding mother, who now goes off silently, but grinning happily and sticking her tongue out.

[533] The following night uninterrupted arôe singing on the part of the Indians; no one stayed in the huts or in the ranchão; men, women, and children were outside. Uninterrupted music-making, dancing, laughing and bad singing among the soldiers. Magnificent moonlight. The first solemn hour of the Easter festival revealed marvelous contrasts between the groups for the resurrection.

/508 cont./

765 windows, were put on. It looked quite charming and dainty, what the crude hunters had worked out there. Now a special act was performed, the "consecration" of the skull and new basket. A sort of chapel or sanctuary was built in that five bows were planted in a semicircle, mats leaned against them, and coverlets hung on them and over them. In this niche /509/ was placed the decorated basket, three whizzer sticks as yet unpainted were leaned against it, and the skull laid on a mat filled with a loose heap of feathers; the most active of the baris sat down in the entrance, which was blocked by his body and the drummer standing behind him -- now without his drum. To encourage them, two pots of water, loam-yellow river water, and three
[533] cigars had been put in the niche. Starting slowly, in a deep voice, the two began their song, and the bari swung a rattle in each hand. The others sat around happily, played little pranks, begged for tobacco, and merely hummed along in the final measure. Gradually, however, the singing became more animated, high women's voices joined in energetically, and at the niche the two leaders of the singing worked with all their might, until, after three-quarters of an hour, they were utterly exhausted. They bent down in the niche in order to drink, but their whole bodies shook as in fever, so that the water jug had to be held; they wiped off the perspiration and were able to stammer only a few inarticulate sounds, to which the chorus responded in
[276] unison with several restrained grunts of approval. Trembling, they smoked their cigars.

[535] The coverlets were removed; six men, Coqueiro now among them, swung the rattles, sang, and danced, always with eyes closed, wholly absorbed in themselves. We, too, danced and rattled for a while, to the delight of the Indians. Only one or another would occasionally pause for a while, smoke his cigar meanwhile with great haste, and wipe off the sweat that poured in streams from the bodies of the six. Numerous women sang along, passing the time with delousing, or fanned the dancers rhythmically to cool them, standing behind them; a large number of men lay stretched out along the wall and rested. There was a general pause only once, and the singing was supplanted by the merry jingle of the harmonica coming

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died,
775 and once every year the ghost returns and enters the body of the person who did the burying and
[782] dances in the *arducto*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina is the *arducto*, which is given every year at the
775 beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by
[782] the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakóre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arducto*; and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male
292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear
796 long mantles made from buritĩ leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear
775 macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakóre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buritĩ bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buritĩ leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kóto*) and
534 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in
● 533 length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *arducto* are those men who have lost relatives since the *arducto* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.

[p. 109 (B)]

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills,
[239] decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Ārōre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -r. -b. -r. -B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and $po^{a}ri$), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarer,
[173] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Āróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on p. 36]

/297 cont./

614 designate the Āróre ̌čębegeʷõ (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Arême, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

534
562

1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive.

[764]

The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." After interminable

[126]

negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

Plate X

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A

B

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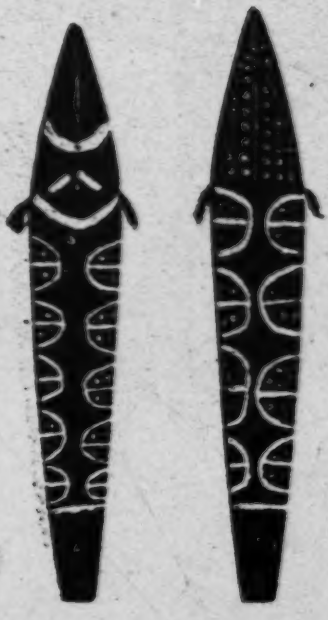
C



D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterised by

412 237 284 415 531 534

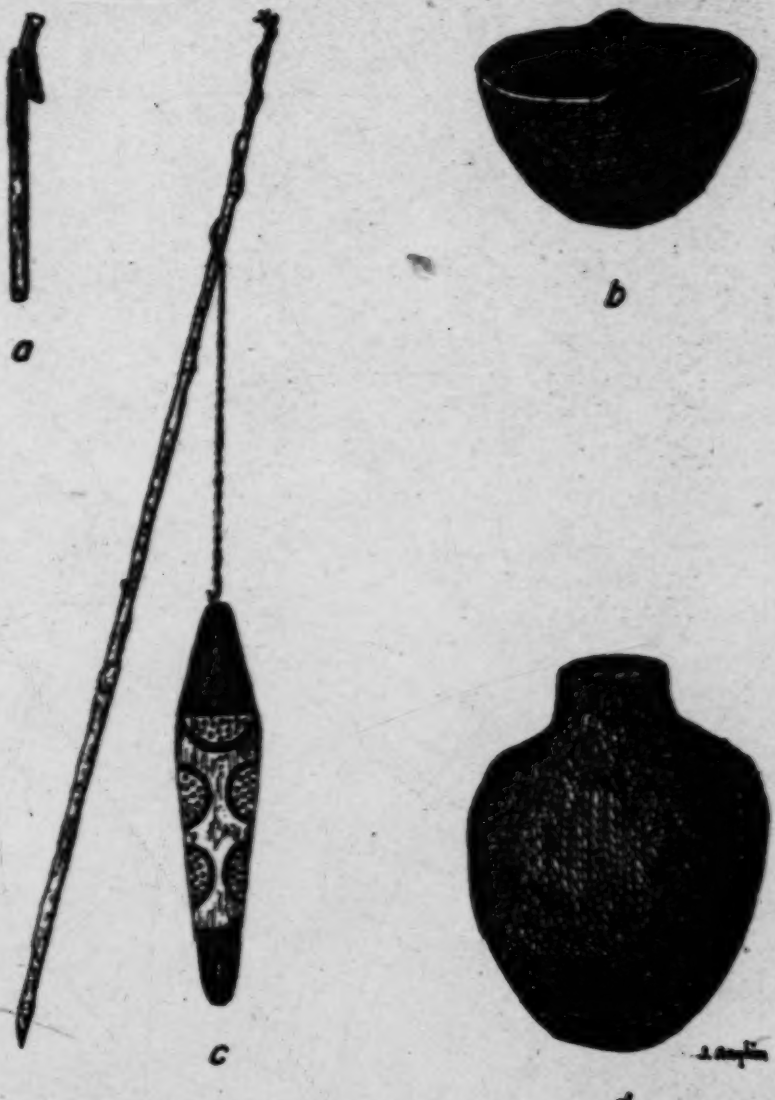

FIGURE 52.—*Bororo* manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent tooth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-roarer (figs. 52, *o*; 55) and to attend rites from which 881

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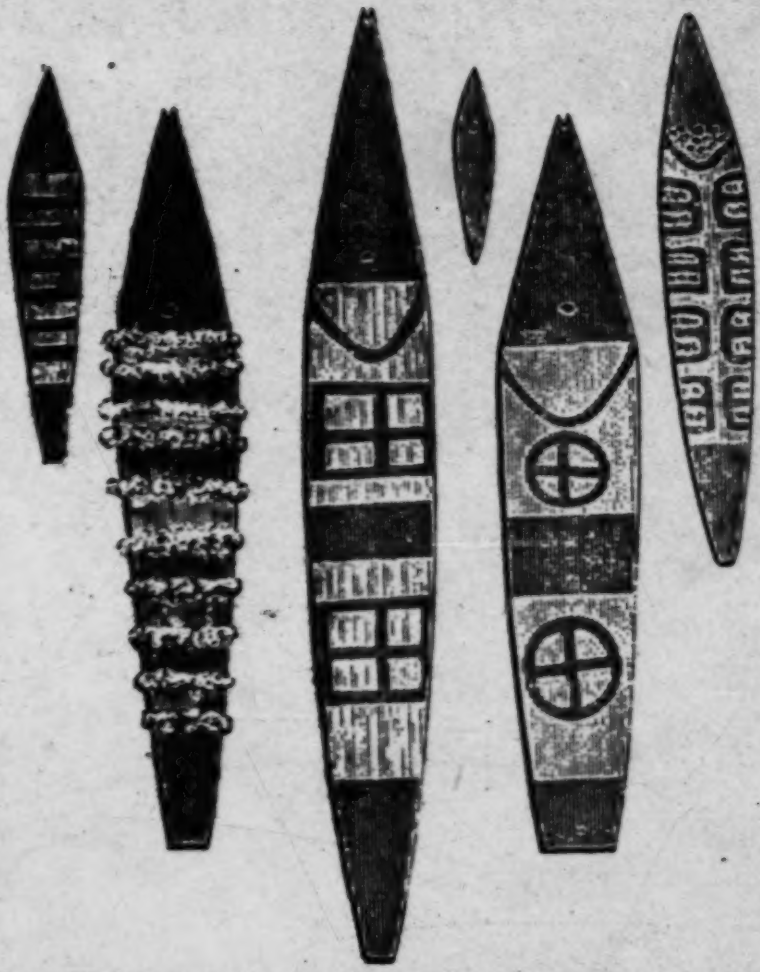

FIGURE 56.—Bull-roarers with various clan designs. (Approximately ⅓ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him. 881 [616] [827]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 576 534

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 273 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots [756] or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baere (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 756 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and [754] confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most [262] important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

[553] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
[302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
[301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
[535] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
[534] child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
[302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
[301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
[231] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him
[533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
[301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
[302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
[533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
[304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

---

[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] [2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

616 beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane
823 belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

534 Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. Ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for
[542] rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed
533 to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. Ika
534 is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is
[825] also significant. Ika is elongated and narrow, often with
[831] one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka—
600 the curves of a narrow waist. Ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

- imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
- uku ika (a musical instrument)
- pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
- baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
- okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)
- biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
- enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

- imo irogodu (body painting)
- imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
- imo pariko (a headdress)

773 Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

616 imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

571 imo irogodu (body painting)

[292] Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

[302] Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

[534] Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore. [769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it [115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

841 787 [764] denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into [787] the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the [772] meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; [533] it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially [302] the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child [237] is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. [593] She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of [152] them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is [534] also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the [775] arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo [304] can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are [593] done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given [614] to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. [787] After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams [533] were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to [764] put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
[534] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[162] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[834] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
[561] tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
[825] penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
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796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the head-waters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII,
[562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
796 intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the
[534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular
[761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

6:Kozak C-5 (ca.1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles.

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The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over.

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When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition.

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To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows.

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Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community.

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[p. 41-A]

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

WOODEN FLUTES, ornamented with bird down and feathers, figure prominently in the ceremonies, as do whistles, and rattles and trumpets made from gourds.

p. 43-A

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6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

by a teammate, who, as he in turn tires, is relieved by a fresh teammate, and so on. The race is so exhausting that no rituals are held the next day. 526 [764]

When the rituals are again resumed, they continue with undiminished variety and vitality until the repertory of dances is completed. Then, early one morning, about a month after the initial burial, the skeleton of the deceased, now nearly free of flesh, is disinterred. A few men take the bones to a nearby swamp, wash them without ceremony, and carefully remove all the remaining flesh. 765 [535]

After being washed, the skull is set by a small fire to dry. When thoroughly dry, it is put into a basket with the other bones and carried back to the village, escorted by a procession to the accompaniment of cane flutes and gourd trumpets. [534]

As the procession approaches the village, it is met by the nearest female [602]

[p. 46-B]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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On the day after the bones have been decorated, some of the men go into the forest to carve and decorate a number of bull-roarers. These are flat, fish-shaped pieces of wood, 3 to 4 feet long and 5 to 8 inches wide, which are whirled in the air by means of a long cord. As the piece of wood rotates it causes the cord to twist, and

[p. 48-B]

the combined action produces a strange, moaning whir. The rest of that day and all of the following night the bull-roarers are whirled, and their noise is believed to represent the voice of the evil spirit *Bope*. (No woman may see the bull-roarers, for the sight, it is believed, would kill her.) The bones are carried to their final resting

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[p. 48-C]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 361
club where visitors are received and entertained. The baehytu of 346
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather
sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out
most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an
opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always
damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the
same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and
strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end,
though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch
tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these
huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and
are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 442
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads,
arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food.
When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old
and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village
moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 572
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women
much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground
is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted
or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the
smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by
binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three
or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 764
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an oppor-
tunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

764 (534) slightly in unison with each note, and shaking huge calabash rattles. This was accompanied by the wailing chant of a chorus of women standing just behind the quartette and waving fans to keep away the flies. The snort of two huge flutes, the barking of the calabash trumpets, the lament of the savage mother, her body besmeared with her own blood, kneeling by the corpse of her child, the hairs jerked from her head, half a dozen at a time, by a female crouched behind her, the lamentations of the father, with his hair clipped, as he kneeled on the other side of the body and recited the virtues of the deceased loved one, and the low mournful chant of female relatives or friends as they slashed their legs and arms, or even their entire bodies, with sharpened shells—this was the drama that unfolded itself one beautiful summer morning as we crept into the baehytu of the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village. The little daughter of a chief had been summoned from her earthly bae to wander with the bope (evil spirits), and the funeral ceremonies were in progress.

When a Bororó dies, his body is wrapped in the palm-leaf rug which has served as his bed and is carried to the baehytu, where the spectacle described above makes night and day hideous until the first sunset after death; then as the sun goes down the chorus becomes hushed, and the bundle of remains, with a nine-foot pole passing through the roll, is carried to the public play-ground just outside the baehytu, and about ten inches of earth heaped over it. 766 Here it rests a week that the flesh may separate from the bones, and each evening at sunset the sorrowing family and friends gather around the little mound, their faces toward the fading light, and murmur a low chant, pleading the virtues of the departed one. Every evening, also, water is thrown on the little mound to hasten decay. The day before the remains are to be resurrected is again a gala time. A bamboo whistle brilliantly decorated with feathers is blown at intervals to summon the bope, while within the baehytu the man who invites the bope to resurrect the body is decorated and fêted. He wears a skirt of palm leaves hanging loosely from a belt, over his shoulders a cloak of the same material descending below the waist, and over his head is a veil of slender palm leaves to prevent his recognition, and his name must not be spoken. On his head, to represent the setting sun, is a pariko, an ornament of brilliant feathers of the makaw and parrot. Thus arrayed, he dances up and down sideways like a crab, while a companion and a rear guard execute similar movements. After a time, accompanied by all the males, they leave the baehytu for the play-ground just beyond the village, all dancing as they go. Here the soul-representa-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
[825] evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
[534] charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets
[103] of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
[114] at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the *bakororó* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sangerfest.*

[535] Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance.

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

764 quartette and chorus, the men usually sitting cross-legged on palm-leaf mats on the ground, and the women standing. The male members of these outer groups are the orchestra, or band, composed of four or more pieces, in the manipulation of which the primitive musicians relieve one another from time to time. These instruments are of two kinds only, and of native manufacture. One kind is a sort of bass flute forty inches long and three inches thick in the outer half. It is made by splitting and hollowing a sapling, then binding the halves together into a rough tube by winding them from end to end with long strips of bark. The upper half of the instrument is but an inch or so in diameter. The second instrument is a sort of trumpet, made by gouging large openings in each end of several oblong calabash shells, five inches in diameter, and gumming them together, end to end, with beeswax. But one note can be produced with each instrument. The flute emits a snorting, snoring sound, the trumpet a barking, roaring, groaning, diapason note.

764 534

764 785 On one side of the corpse—which, at the rites I witnessed, was that of a child seven years old—crouched the bereaved father and brothers, who moaned, muttered and lamented continually in low tones. On the opposite side, kneeled the mother, sitting on her heels, her body completely besmeared with blood from having been slashed from head to foot with sharp-edged shells, while behind her crouched another female who, having first rubbed ashes into her scalp, slowly jerked out her hair, consuming five or six hours in the operation. At the same time, the poor, tortured creature wailed and moaned, and uttered lamentations, and jibbered and muttered, reciting the virtues of her beloved child. Meanwhile, female relatives [302] and friends of the stricken family, placing, each in turn, a foot upon the corpse, slashed their legs and arms scores of times, and sometimes their entire bodies, with jagged-edged shells—reminding one of the priests of Baal—and daubed their bodies from head to foot with a black substance, made chiefly from the genipapa fruit, all the while moaning, muttering and chanting. They do not intend to cut themselves more than

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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[165] —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are be-
[533] lieved to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who,
[175] being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings. During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of
[533] the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday
[534] and holding a picnic in the woods. Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one
[175] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de-
[292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up
[535] and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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Brazil.

776 [821] [756] [795] The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them, is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

789 534 Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons, or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarer*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

534 562 788 No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

warning calls are given frequently for some hours in advance 534
of the time when the instruments are to be brought into 562
use. Hearing these warnings the females enter their huts, 788
close the openings and hide their heads. The *roarers* are always manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush, and at openings in the forest.

Many other tribes have mystery instruments and practice 534
demon music. Wallace, describing those of some Rio Negro 562
tribes, says that their instruments are pipes, or tubes, like 171
great bassoons or trumpets, and produce sounds somewhat like trombones or clarinets. One kind is made of bamboo or palm-stems, hollowed out, while others are made of bark, twisted spirally and have mouthpieces of leaves. Each instrument produces but one note, but several pairs are played at the same time, each pair being of the same size and emitting the same note. A simple tune is played, revealing unusual taste for savages; and though the music sounds strange and wild, it is somewhat pleasing. The musicians wave the instruments about in a peculiar manner, vertically and sidewise, while playing them, and accompany these movements with corresponding contortions of the body. These instruments are considered a great mystery. No female of the tribe must ever look upon them under pain of death. From the first moment this mystery music is heard, not a female, young or old, is to be seen for all have hidden themselves away in the woods. If a female should see one of these instruments, either accidentally or by design, she would be put to death, usually by poisoning; and a father will not hesitate to become the executioner of his own daughter, or a husband of his wife. Even where there is only a suspicion that the instrument has been seen by forbidden eyes, no mercy is shown.

I experienced difficulty in getting possession of two or 126
three of the *roarers* for my collection. The Bororó were very 534
reluctant to let me have them, fearing that their women might 562
catch sight of them in some way. But they finally brought them to our hut, one at a time, under cover of darkness, after having borrowed blankets from us in which to roll them, and

Brazil.

126 534 562 delivered them to me with a solemn, mysterious air. Even after the instruments were in our possession, these superstitious people manifested great solicitude in having us hide them away in the bottom of a box, and placing the box itself in an inaccessible place.

126 534 797 We also had difficulty in securing the big bass flutes used at the funeral *bakwerd*. They were not kept hidden from any member of the tribe, yet the savages were loathe to part with them for some superstitious reasons. When I asked a captain to get me a pair, he looked solemn and mysterious, and said by words and signs: "The captain" (myself) "must not take this instrument away with him. It is a very bad instrument; whoever carries it away will never more return." In saying that it was "bad," he meant that it was "bad medicine," that it would bring "bad luck" to the possessor. Perhaps the old pagan was not far wrong after all, for contrary to my expectations, and to my great disappointment, I have not yet been able to return to their villages.

Bororo SP8
Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

/327 cont./

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Y
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two whizzer sticks are 34 and 36 centimeters long; they have the shape of fish, which is suitable for the purpose, since part of the three-meter long rope is wound around the construction at the tail end. We had just as little difficulty obtaining the whizzer sticks as we did concerning the masks. The Nahuquá showed us how they were used on the village plaza in all candor, like any implement and without driving away the women. This is very interesting, since the whizzer stick, which in our civilized countries today is merely a child's toy, had or still has great significance in the religious mysteries among the most diverse peoples of the world. We shall come across it again among the Bororó, and, to be sure, with a mysterious meaning which is absent on the Kulisehu, and shall therefore discuss it more fully there.

BO
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The Nahuquá and the Mehinakú have the same word for the whizzer stick, the former calling it matápu, the latter matáhu. Among the Auetó, Kamayurá, and /328/ Trumaí we did not see the implement.

Fig. 121. Whizzer stick. Mehinakú. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 122. Whizzer sticks (fish form). Nahuquá. (1/4-1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
[276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on
[533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.
[956] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink-
[534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/481 cont./

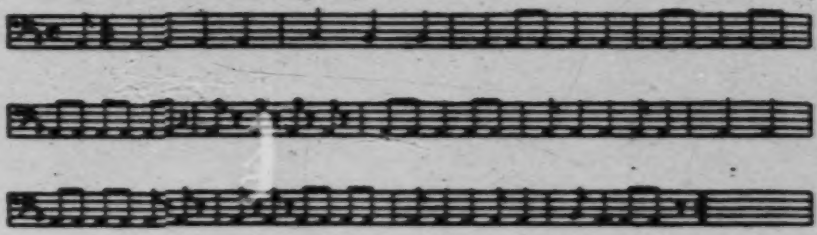
105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/494 cont./

533 diadem) – ehé would be sung; again, however, this did not occur at the ceremony for the dead, but only in connection with hunting.

First song, by the Men.



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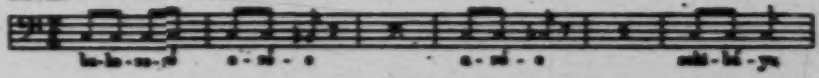
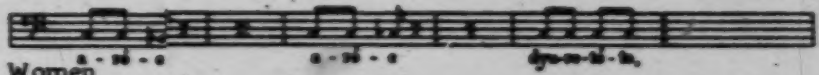
539 Second Song, by the Men and Women.

Men





Women

535 Rohde speaks of a "fararu dance," for which one is adorned with
●[534] feather crowns, bells, and other ornaments. A dance leader, the gourd rattle in each hand, bells made out of deer hoofs on his feet, is in the center of a circle which the men form and which the women surround with a larger circle. They dance rhythmically, leap and rattle for a long time; finally the leading dancer roars hau! and makes a wild final leap which the entire company imitates. Waehneldt saw dances with imitations of animals and calls the howling-monkey dance, with an imitation of all the sounds and movements, particularly extravagant. "In the jaguar-skin dance men and women take part; the latter are never able to see the skin of the jaguar which one man is wearing on his back, who, however, tries to show it to them with his movements at every step." The fear of the women is the point /495/ of the dance.
[198] "The dance, which consisted of their imitating (?) the customs of

/495 cont./

526 suddenly become very serious; the problem is to trip up the other one and thus bring him down. One of them opens the attack by trying to get his heel into the hollow of the knee of the other one and to bend it, but the latter places his tensely straightened leg so far back that the former cannot exert any pressure. Soon the attempts follow one another extremely rapidly on both sides until one falls. He may always take revenge. A small, agile, but ugly and one-eyed man whom we called the clown, but who was called Camões by his Cuyaban baptismal name, was excellent at this sort of entertainment in the ranchão, in that he threw three or four of his tallest fellow-tribesmen, one after the other. /496/ His stronger rivals, and surpassing him in size, used to point him out proudly, but at the same moment had his heel in the hollow of their knees and crashed to the ground.

[411] Shooting with the bow on the open plaza was often practiced. The photographs of Plate 28 /see p. 600/ and Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ were taken in connection with this.

Very popular among old and young was the burika, an invention of the soldiers: a horizontal beam, with short ropes at both ends, which turned in the center on a post; cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/ where a crowd /Fig. 143 appears here/ of boys is having fun with the game. While one would sit astride on either end and others would run along hanging onto the ropes, the beam was swung around in faster and faster rotation by someone who remained a few moments longer at the post, until the riders were usually hurled to the ground.

524 In Figure 143 /see p. 621/ two kinds of toys are combined: papá, the ball plaited out of maize straw with an arara feather, and tagóra, a whip with a black urubu feather at the end of the string. The boys would swing the feather whip and enjoy the mild excitement of seeing the feather stand upright for a moment upon the ground if the handle of the whip was moved downward with a flick of the wrist. I once saw two boys make a bee and a butterfly flutter on a string.

534 765 Musical instruments: whizzer sticks. Only the large rattle gourds up to 20 centimeters long and a small blow-gourd, poári,

/496 cont./

534 965 were to be found in ordinary use. The poari served as a signal horn in hunting; it was a gourd of the shape and size of a large apple, [202] had a round cutout below, and a finger-long, thin little tube set on top, into which a tongue was cut at the side. With small bundles of the hair of the deceased hanging on them, the poaris were to be acquired from the Bororó only with difficulty. The only flute or trumpet that we saw is shown in Fig. 144; it was 1.21 meters long and was blown at the ceremony for the dead and when the bone-baskets were carried back to the house. A drum which was used at the same ceremony in the ranchão did not give the impression /497/ of originality; it was a wooden mortar with a piece of oxhide stretched over it; a couple of sticks of seriba palm wood served as drumsticks.

Of greater interest are the whizzer sticks, both on account of the air of mystery connected with them, and on account of the

[524] Fig. 143. Maize ball and feather whip. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

painting, for they represent the only painted implement. I have reported on page 381 how the whizzer sticks are used. Whereas they are used on the Kulisehu only for the jolly masquerades or as a toy, they are put to use on the S. Lourenço only in connection with the

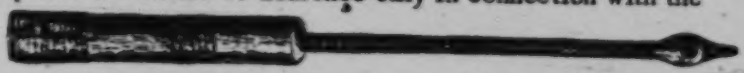


Fig. 144. Death flute. Bororó. (1/11 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

practices of the ceremony for the dead, first of all when the belongings of the dead person are burned and, in a pantomimic dance, it is made clear to the dead, who themselves appear, that nothing

/497 cont./

534 765 belonging to their new associate is being withheld, that in the future they therefore have nothing more to seek in the village, and then later when the bone-basket is disposed of and the deceased leaves the village. The underlying idea of all the ceremonies is the fear that the deceased will return to take away the 534 765 living. In the ceremonies undertaken to ward off this possibility, the weaker sex is apprehensively excluded. During this time the 562 women run into the forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by the whizzer stick, whose booming noise has a warning or uncanny character by nature. If they were present, they would risk the danger of dying. Up to this point everything 534 562 is logical and natural. Now, however, something more than is necessary happens; in connection with these practices there has 784 developed a danger for the women at even the mere sight of the whizzer stick. They would die if they saw it.

000 Certainly a reinforcement of an exaggerated nature, but not at all incomprehensible. One finds similar exaggerations among our women in their fear of firearms; a lady whom I know held her ears when I showed her a revolver with an open, empty barrel and, in a state of excitement which refused to see and hear anything, begged that it be taken away because -- quoted strictly historically -- "it happens often enough that those things [828] go off even if they are not loaded." When the whizzer stick is heard among the Bororó on the two occasions mentioned, it corresponds to the loaded revolver; there is danger for both men and women, but the apprehension for the latter is greater because in general in the view of the Indian it is part of a woman's nature that she always weeps, "trembles," when animals, enemies, indeed, even waterfalls threaten, and that she is always in need of protection. Now if even the sight of the whizzer stick is dangerous for the woman, this is still partly the fear of the unloaded revolver, partly also a thoughtless form acquired by her as the result of the practice of generations, which is employed with anxious eagerness without examination. In exactly the same way Wallace observed in the Amazonas region that the women flee when the flutes of the jurupari-demon dance are heard, and he was

/497 cont. /

told that they must die /498/ if they see them; moreover, the flutes were handed over to him only under certain conditions.

Of course, if one reads that the same words that were said to me by the Bororó, "the women who see the whizzer stick must die," are said to a traveler by the Australians, if the same whizzer stick played a role among the most diverse peoples of the Old World and the New World in mysteries from which women were excluded, one at first feels strangely moved. Yet it is indeed hard to understand why, for this reason, contacts of a direct or indirect type, but not otherwise demonstrated by anything, should be assumed between the most heterogeneous elements; for one should not regard the device, a board swung in the air on a string, as such a great achievement of human ingenuity that it could have been thought up only once in the history of the world, and one should likewise not find the fear of sickness and death, the attempt to explain these phenomena, the ideas about existence after death, the interpretation of dreams, etc. so peculiar in their correspondences that a people could take over its "medicine" from another. On this path, since the same can be proved for a long list of inventions and customs, one arrives at an ethnographic paradise of mankind -- a path that is probably cut off as far as the whizzer stick is concerned by the lucid article on "the

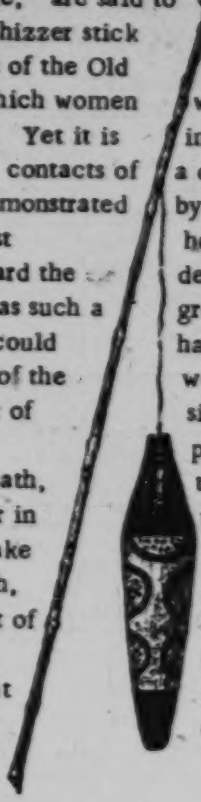


Fig. 145.
Whizzer stick. Bororó.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

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bullroarer" in Andrew Lang's Custom and Myth (London, 1885). The most diverse tribes, Lang explains, have their mysteries, they needed a signal for summoning the right persons and warning the wrong ones; through their concealing the instrument

/498 cont./

000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
784 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
784 founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.

/499 cont./

534 The shape of the whizzer sticks is longish oval, their length 40-42 centimeters. At the string end there is a notch and a short distance from it in the center line of the board a hole so that the string stretched between the hole and the notch has a firm hold; cf. Fig. 145 /see p. 623/.

534 531 Art of drawing. At first here I can continue with the whizzer sticks. On Plate 19 /see p. 268/ we see one drawn with pencil. Just as the corners, which have turned out rather pointed, are filled in with black in the picture, so are the ends of the whizzer sticks painted black; in between, the surface is painted with urucú red and on this red background the design is painted black. For motifs the designs have the two nearest at hand. On the whizzer stick in Figure 145, which was brought by the bari in connection with the death rites for Coqueiro's wife, there are painted semicircles with dots: the cranium with small feathers glued on it in its ornamentation for the bone-basket. On others there appeared articles of the woman's costume, either the bark belt in a wide, black cross-stripe or the bast band in triangles, cf. Fig. 129 /see p. 589/, with the hip cord. The latter motif is on the whizzer stick drawn on Plate 19. On either side is drawn a hip cord with three bast bands. Thus we have there the triangle familiar to us [171] from the uluri of the Kulisehu in the bast band as well, the corresponding imitation of which we should have liked to have obtained from the Trumaí. On one specimen of the whizzer stick, which also shows mother-of-pearl eyes and, in between, a semicircle without dots, there are painted, not only three bark belts as three cross-bands, but also, in the midst of each one, a small circle with a square to the right and left of it. /500/ The meaning is not clear; probably the squares represent the bone-baskets and the circle the skull.

302 The girls in the ranchão had their faces painted with the pictures of the bark belt and the bast band, as well as a part of the whizzer sticks: the same cross-stripe over the forehead and temple, including the eyes and leaving the upper part of the forehead free, and the same triangles on the cheeks, one on either side. This painting, however, page 594, was done with the more cheerful urucú red. One day the men permitted

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Bororo SP8

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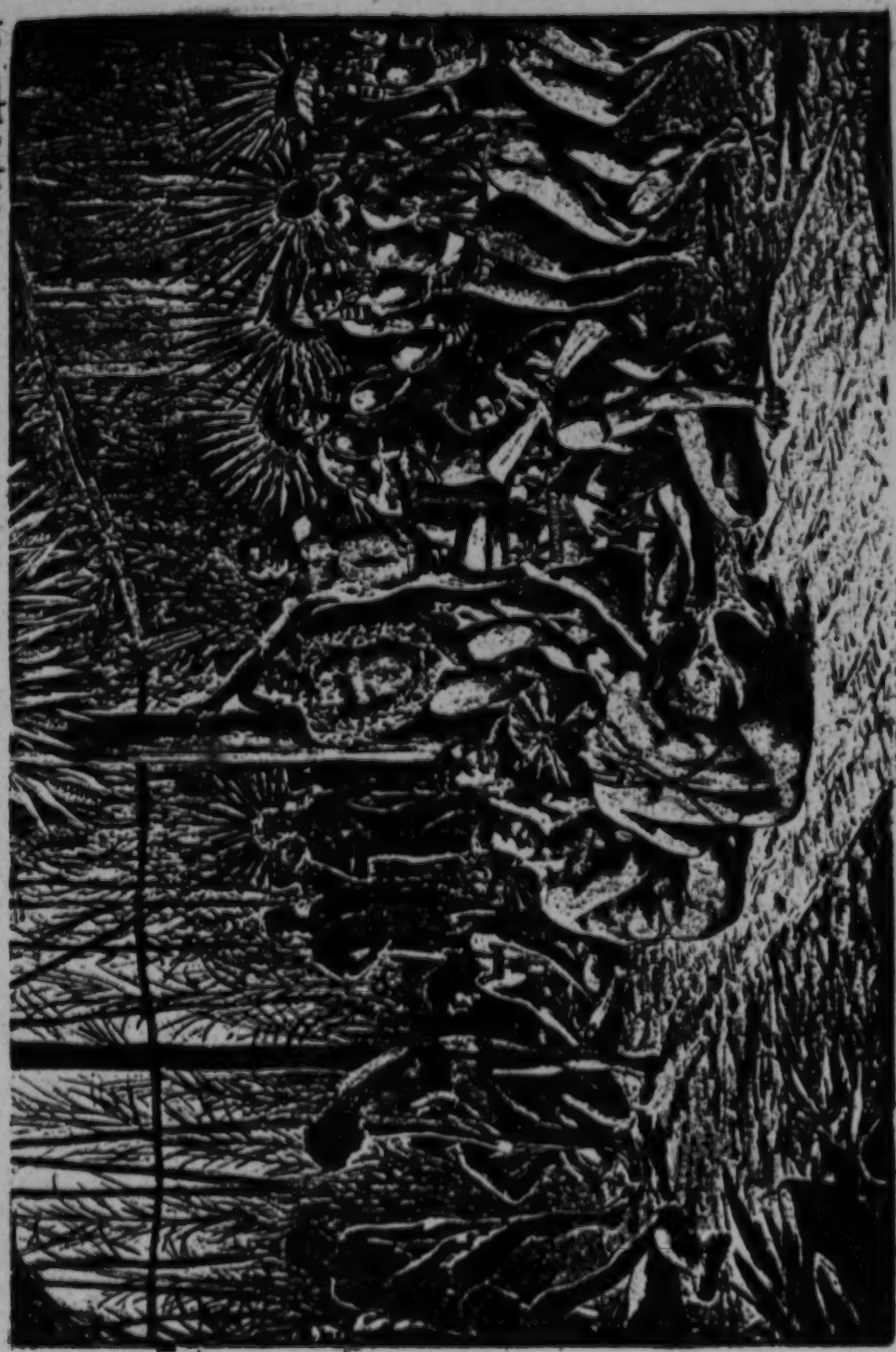

Bororo cedim-filed.

/506 cont./

765 brush-like and fastened them on the most attractively adorned young man, at the shoulders, where he had black tar spots, on his arms, knees, ankles. This Bororó in the green foliage adornment represented the dead in its present state, buried under a covering of green leaves. Four men stepped up with a basket-bag, brought out clothes of Coqueiro's wife, and hung them on the green one who stood there groaning and rocking with his knees -- a picture of misery, according to our concepts a "poor soul," looking strange in the "overloaded" costume of blue arara feathers, green garlands, and five colored cotton skirts. The others, too, hung skirts on themselves, one man a jaguar [534] skin; they gave the green one a small gourd flute with little [535] white feathers pasted on it and performed a dance. A man with two rattle-gourds led the dance, behind him danced the green one, and behind this one the other four, all six sang in chorus and danced, stepping to the right and stepping to the left, first to the ranchão, then turned back, and, dancing, stamped out a circle on the ground. Suddenly they veered off and, in disorder, ran toward the forest where they disappeared.

With the little gourd flute the late deceased called two dead persons who had lain in the earth for a long time. They were supposed to be present when the belongings were surrendered, to receive their new companion, and to be convinced that no one was withholding anything of his which on subsequent disagreeable visits he might demand back from the survivors.

After a quarter of an hour the swarm came storming back with frightful whoops, two of them carried on their backs -- hurrah, the dead ride fast -- two truly ghastly figures, naked, unadorned, plastered from head to foot with wet river loam. 765 With bestial cries the loam-monsters leaped about like wild 768 animals, three whizzer sticks buzzed and whirred through the air [534] like huge bluebottle flies -- no female creature was to be seen [562] far and wide, and the huts lay as though uninhabited, closed up with mats -- in the middle of the recently stamped circle a bright fire was lighted with great bustle, a tremendous load of all kinds of household equipment was dragged up, baskets, fire fans,

/509 cont./

765 from the soldiers' huts, but after three or four minutes Moguyokuri's gourd rattled as a signal to continue. All the bones are separately painted with urucú -- successively the thigh, upper arm, lower arm, lower leg, the pelvis split into two parts, the ribs and the bones of the hands and feet down to the last little bone of the toes. For a child there is less work; it is packed in toto. If too much of the oil dripped from the bones, covers and mats were placed underneath; nothing was to be lost. Hands were wiped on the palm branches that had been brought along. All the parts of the skeleton, the small bones of the hands and feet wrapped in separate leaves, were carefully placed in the basket, articles of clothing -- three pairs of trousers (Mrs. Coqueiro!), a woman's jacket, three shirts -- were added, and finally the used palm branches were stuffed into the basket-bag, which was full to bursting. It was sewed shut with foot-long wooden needles; Moguyokuri's powerful fist was required to bring the edges together. The palm branches sticking out at both corners were cut off.

/510/ At 5:15 they were finished; they sang a little longer, but during the final hour it had become uncannily quiet and the proceedings came to an end without any kind of ceremonious conclusion; they simply stopped. Moguyokuri asked for my pipe and chatted contentedly. The ceremony was already forgotten. An old woman took the bone-basket on her back, and a [534] young chap strode ahead of her, blowing the large death flute in melancholy fashion. No one paid any attention to them. Thus the two walked along in the gathering darkness, youth and age -- a mood-invoking little evening scene, as in a fairy tale. With a few moaning sounds they delivered the basket to Coqueiro, who was sitting in his empty hut, and hastily came back to the others. And two hours later on this Easter Sunday the Kayapó /Cayapo/ hullabaloo broke out.

[768] Coqueiro had kept nothing. His friends made bow and arrows and presented them to him. On the third morning after the ceremony he took the bone-basket away, and a woman laden with a like burden strode behind him. For it is the custom that

301 The principal ornaments used by men consisted
[237] of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitáta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*okopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pacoó*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putáka*, was made by binding together with human hair four *siriva* wood spikes about 5 inches in length. During dances the men fastened
●534 rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otuíge*), sweet manioc (*otuíge bikoróne*), maize (*omatáka*), black and red beans (*dumatáka*), sweetpotatoes (*kalarkápe*), and cará (*tapatáka*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*pedri*), cotton (*akyémani*),
[276] and urucú (*aodókakóriko*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past.
222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*keír*), mangaba (*katorákua*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *kaakorákua*).
237 Honey (*peíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*dutáko*) made from the wood of the *siriva* palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died,
775 and once every year the ghost returns and enters the body of the person who did the burying and
[782] dances in the *arducto*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina is the *arducto*, which is given every year at the
775 beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by
[782] the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arducto;* and the *akakóne* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male
292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóne* dancers wear
796 long mantles made from buritĩ leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear
775 macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buritĩ bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buritĩ leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kóto*) and
● 534 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in
533 length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *arducto* are those men who have lost relatives since the *arducto* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.

[p. 109 (8)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110 (1)]

[Since there are many similarities between the marid'do funeral dance described by Lévi-Strauss (1: Lévi-Strauss, pp. 22-24) and the mano race described by Cook (8:Cook, pp. 282-283), the researcher would be well advised to compare the two descriptions.]

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614 Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to
[616] be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
824
284

/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green
palm. Each rung is made of a
bundle of two (big marid'do) or three
(small marid'do) sections. Gradually
during the construction, the ladder
is rolled up on itself until it forms,
in the largest example, a disk 1.50
[283] meters in diameter. The two sides
are then decorated with green palm,
held in place by a net of cords made
of women's hair. The top of the
disk is decorated for a length of about
50 cm. with applications of down.
The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewãguddudoge cõreõ marid'do; the
small one, Ewãguddudoge kujagoreõ
marid'do. But it is not necessarily
natives of this clan who have made
them. Some time before the festival
the two marid'do are solemnly taken
out of the men's house and taken to
the middle of the bororo, where they
are placed parallel, about two meters
apart, and on the axis separating the
phratries. The dance of the marid'do
lasts two days; each protagonist tries to
lift one of the disks at arm's end and
to hold it as long as possible while
running and jumping in the plaza.
Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony
(Pl. VIII, C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X,
B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:

535 533

ʷure ʷure	foot, foot
kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
čegu'ę	we others
čę	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
čęgiga	we joyous

764 of the Ewãguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bãdejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewãguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

Plate VIII

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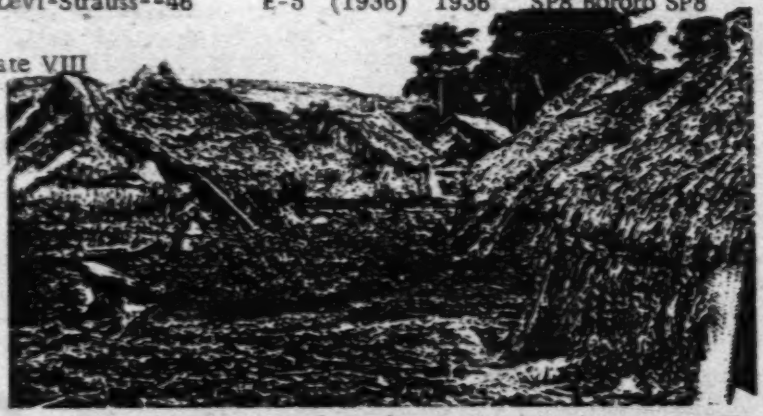

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C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

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1:Lévi-Strauss--47 E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

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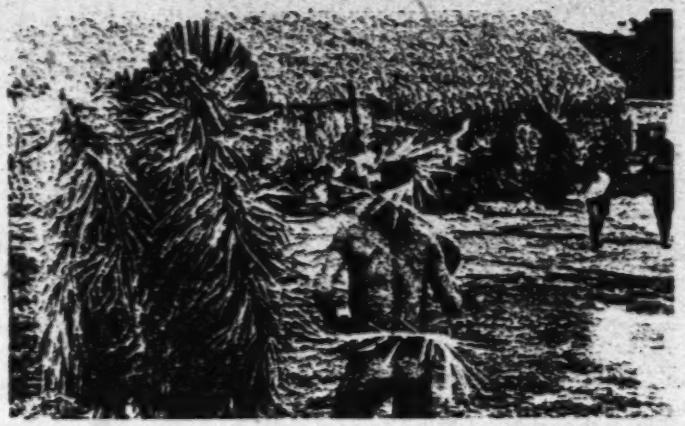

B

C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--47a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The men's house, door of the Tugare. 345 535
B. Dance of the Paiwe clan. 614
C. Dance of the buriti clan. 616

Plate X

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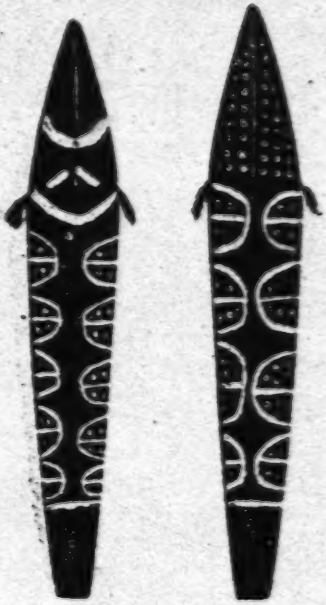

D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

●535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [706] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin [782] described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object [825] of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: 273 the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots [756] or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and 776 rival functionaries.

775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and [754] confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8 Kejara

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PLATE II.—Bororo festival at village of Kejara. Top: Dance of the "Marikiko." Below: Presentation of the "Marikiko." (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[p. 432-E]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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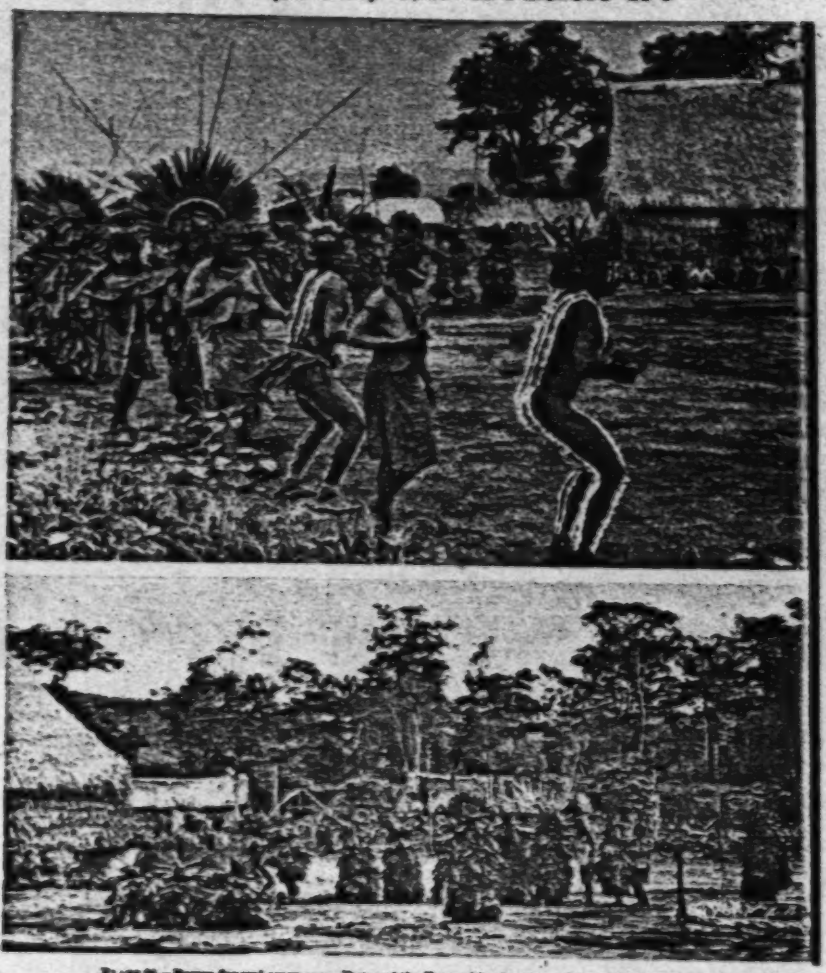

PLATE 56.—Bororo funeral ceremony. Dance of the Ewarodóri clan, some dancers in leaf costume, others decorated with down. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-F]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SPS Bororo SPS

PLATE III.—Bororo Jaguar impersonator. Al do Campanha. Front and rear views. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-6]

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3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

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Figure 2. The Jaguar Dance of the Bororo in Campanha

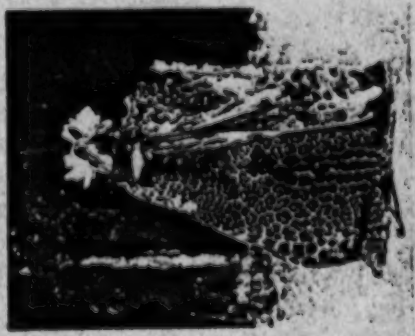

Figure 4. Back View of the Jaguar Costume

[133]

Figure 1. An View of the Flower Paintings

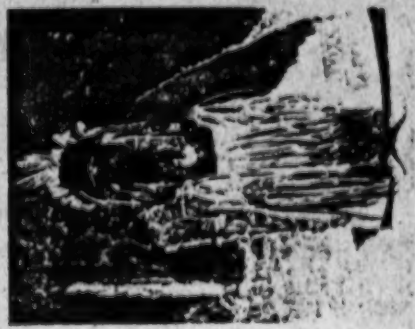

Figure 3. The Impersonator of the Jaguar

[P.99]

[Plate III]

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently. 574 735

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut. 342 352 512

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 323 287 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people. 411 177 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance 574 533 535 [273]

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoulders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar' dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side. His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25
Mato Grosso SP1

PLATE XIX

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B
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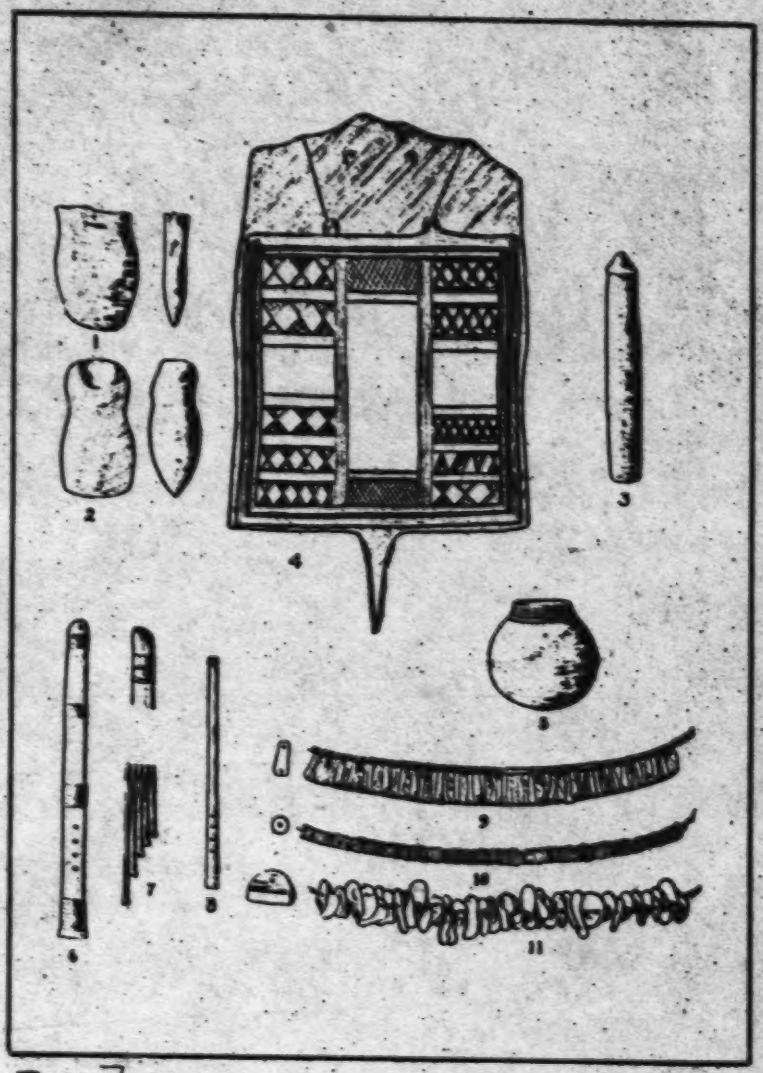

[P. 174]

[for captions, see cat. 116, p. 82—Analyst]

[533] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
[302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
[301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
[535] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
[534] child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
[302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
[301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
[231] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him
[533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
[301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
[302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
[533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
[304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

---

[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] [2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

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6x Kodak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SPR Borero SPR

[Ritual dance to appease spirit of the ceremonial hill.—Analyst]

[p. 43-C]

[p. 43-B]

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6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bazoro SP8

MEDICINE MAN, at the left, holds rattle as he leads strenuous dance. Men and women jump, then kneel, to raise and lower palm fronds held between them.

[p. 44-A]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [411] [531] [766] 765

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

535 825 782

[text continues on p. 45-A]

6: Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

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EXHAUSTED DANCERS squat on temporary grave as a friend, daubed with clay to represent a mythical beast, sprinkles them with water. This action cools the dancers and hastens disintegration of body. Feathered pole is a grave marker.

[p. 44-c]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone.

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IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

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One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

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ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

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Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

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renewed effort to call forth the spirit of the dead Bororo.

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The ritual dances of the Bororo depict in lively and vigorous fashion many aspects of their relations with the spirit world. All the dances take place in the village plaza, and most of them continue for hours at a time, requiring tremendous physical endurance. As one by one the dancers become exhausted, they drop out of line. Weary and covered with perspiration, each one squats unceremoniously on the shallow grave, while someone pours a pot of water over him. These shower baths have a twofold purpose: they refresh the dancers and also moisten the ground, thus hastening decomposition of the body.

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Before the dancers return to strenuous activity, they may sip palm "wine." This weakly fermented beverage is prepared from sap of the *acuri* palm, a tree that grows in profusion near the village. To collect the sap, a man climbs to the top of the tree and cuts off the uppermost fronds. Next, his wife ascends and, with a shell, scrapes the pith from the heart of the

[p.45-c]

by a teammate, who, as he in turn tires, is relieved by a fresh teammate, and so on. The race is so exhausting that no rituals are held the next day. 526 [764]

When the rituals are again resumed, they continue with undiminished variety and vitality until the repertory of dances is completed. Then, early one morning, about a month after the initial burial, the skeleton of the deceased, now nearly free of flesh, is disinterred. A few men take the bones to a nearby swamp, wash them without ceremony, and carefully remove all the remaining flesh. 765 [535]

After being washed, the skull is set by a small fire to dry. When thoroughly dry, it is put into a basket with the other bones and carried back to the village, escorted by a procession to the accompaniment of cane flutes and gourd trumpets. [534]

As the procession approaches the village, it is met by the nearest female [602]

[p. 46-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
825 evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
534 charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets
103 of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
114 at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the *bakororó* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sænger-fest.*

535 Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

[765] —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are be-
[533] lieved to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who,
[175] being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings. During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of
[533] the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday
[534] and holding a picnic in the woods. Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one
[175] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de-
[292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up
[535] and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

/459 cont./

000 Indians, who are standing about in tight bunches, hold their ears and remember the time when shots went off in their forest. Moguyokuri and his son, who even exceeds him in body height, come forward in order to send a few arrows as well into the crumbling remains of Judas Iscariot. Cautiously they first put it out so that the arrows will not burn up. The soldiers are dismissed; powder is now exploded everywhere, and even our comrades cannot resist the temptation; from the cook-yard where the pig is being slaughtered there is murderous screaming, joy predominates everywhere: Hallelujah!

765 Kayapó! The burial ceremony for Coqueiro's widow /sic/, which I shall describe in detail, fell on Easter Monday (1 April); we guests never stopped marveling at the strange contrasts which were set before our eyes every day in the restless life of the colony. Scarcely had the lamentation died away and the burial
721 basket been removed, when there was new excitement. The Bororó maintained they had seen two Kayapó, whom they called Kayámo, in the forest. Their mortal enemy in close proximity
722 to the colony! Leave the colony that very evening -- it seemed almost unbelievable -- was the general solution of the Indians. The soldiers had to be called up; a patrol was sent out and was to discharge a dozen shots in the suspected corner in the forest. Thus they calmed themselves temporarily, but as a precaution the great chief Moguyokuri, the terror of the Mato Grosso, did not sleep with his two wives and his children that night, but at Eliseo's.

726 During the night of 2 to 3 April, too, everyone was awake. Our Indian friends took us to the ranchão and invited us to take part in a meeting, the purpose of which was to fortify themselves with music in the hope of victory over the evil Kayapó. At first
[535] we all stood and danced /460/ on one spot, while an old chief in the center sang and ponderously shook the rattle-gourd. The rest of us held our hands in front of our mouths and bellowed a hollow u, u... into them and flexed our knees in rhythm. Since we noticed how greatly this comforted the Bororó, we did not hold back in our enthusiastic participation. Our band was working in the dark; only occasionally did someone throw a little straw into

763 /460 cont./ A child of about Two which had been struggling with death for about 24 hours and whose end the baris had predicted for today was brought out in front of the hut. The mother was holding it in her lap; the medicine men and relatives sat around and lamented. Behind the mother squatted the father; for a while he remained motionless, then -- one of the onlookers was just lighting his pipe -- /461/ he drew a cord around the neck of the poor little mite and quickly brought to fulfillment the prophecy of the doctors. Immediately everyone except the [535] mother got up; the medicine men fetched their feather ornaments [764] and rattles and, with a booming "aroé..., aroé..." song, commenced the mourning dance.

726 The festivity in the ranchão and the mourning ceremonies outside suddenly suffered a mighty disturbance, however, when two shots were heard from the forest. Somebody there was again shooting at the Kayapó! One man who was sleeping off his intoxication had caught sight of them and heard them shouting! Having waked up, he sounded the alarm and a mad hubbub was the result. Eliseo had the soldiers report; in no time the plaza [411] was filled with men, all of whom carried bows and arrows, clubs, and axes, with women who had packed up all their belongings in carrying baskets and were dragging their children or pushing them on ahead, with half-grown boys, most of whom were also armed. [764] Only the woman with the little dead creature in her lap remained [535] in her place, and a few dancers with the great radial wheel of red arara feathers around their heads stamped, sang, rattled on steadfastly, or, after they had mingled for a moment in the bustle, returned to their duty.

The crowd was milling about wildly and pressing around the main building. The soldiers stood there in a long row; the cadets and officials could scarcely defend themselves against the onslaught, and no one could hear his own words. It was a dark night as well. The agitated ones demanded an immediate crossing to the other river bank before the Kayapó arrived; the entire company was ready to march. Fortunately, the people did not dare separate themselves from the soldiers. There was such a surging and seething that one did not know whether he still had possession of his five senses. Gradually the surging

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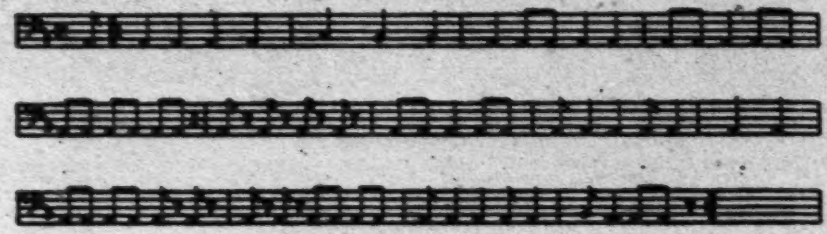
533 diadem) – ehé would be sung; again, however, this did not occur at the ceremony for the dead, but only in connection with hunting.

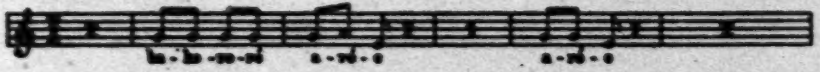
First song, by the Men.



533
539 Second Song, by the Men and Women.

Men

Women



● 535 Rohde speaks of a "fararu dance," for which one is adorned with
[534] feather crowns, bells, and other ornaments. A dance leader, the gourd rattle in each hand, bells made out of deer hoofs on his feet, is in the center of a circle which the men form and which the women surround with a larger circle. They dance rhythmically, leap and rattle for a long time; finally the leading dancer roars hau! and makes a wild final leap which the entire company imitates. Waehneldt saw dances with imitations of animals and calls the howling-monkey dance, with an imitation of all the sounds and movements, particularly extravagant. "In the jaguar-skin dance men and women take part; the latter are never able to see the skin of the jaguar which one man is wearing on his back, who, however, tries to show it to them with his movements at every step." The fear of the women is the point /495/ of the dance.
[198] "The dance, which consisted of their imitating (?) the customs of

/495 cont./

535 198 their ancestors, was a bit clumsy and accompanied by songs in a language different from the present one. The most melancholy and
535 sorrowful dance was dedicated to the memory of their dead; in it they portrayed the latter as present, conversed with them, and bestowed all kinds of endearments on them."

On page 567 I have described the dance for courage in battle against the hostile Kayapó /Cayapo/, in which we had to take part. Details about the dance and song at the ceremony for the dead will be given in the specific report about the burial of Coqueiro's wife, and I shall also describe there the dance of the evening before, during which the belongings of the dead woman were burned.

We saw an amusing dance, on 8 April, the "pare" dance. Four young men in the parîko finery appeared behind the ranchão, led by Domingo who was swinging a rattle gourd in each hand. They rhythmically made small jumps with both feet and danced this way in a circle, in sudden alternation turning to face now inward, now outward. Then came three young girls; each danced timidly behind one of the youths, holding on to his hips. The onlookers were enjoying themselves, but their merriment increased considerably when now a fourth, more dashing person with bark belt and bast band, who was easily recognizable as a man in spite of a headcloth concealing the face, leaped into the circle. He was wearing strings of beads around his neck and carried a small mat in his hand, with which he fanned rhythmically toward the ground. The entertainment lasted about a quarter of an hour; the women, the sham one in the lead, stepped out, the men danced around once more in an accelerated tempo and went bathing.

526 Wrestling bouts, peaceful ones, took place according to the following rules. A person who wants to challenge another seizes him by his right wrist. The two stand opposite each other, and each one places his hands together under the shoulders or in the small of the back of the other one; in this embrace the two stand with almost horizontal torsos, their feet are as far apart as possible, and the one looks at the back of the other. Smiling, they remain this way for a while, perfectly quiet, but then they

2: Steinen--633 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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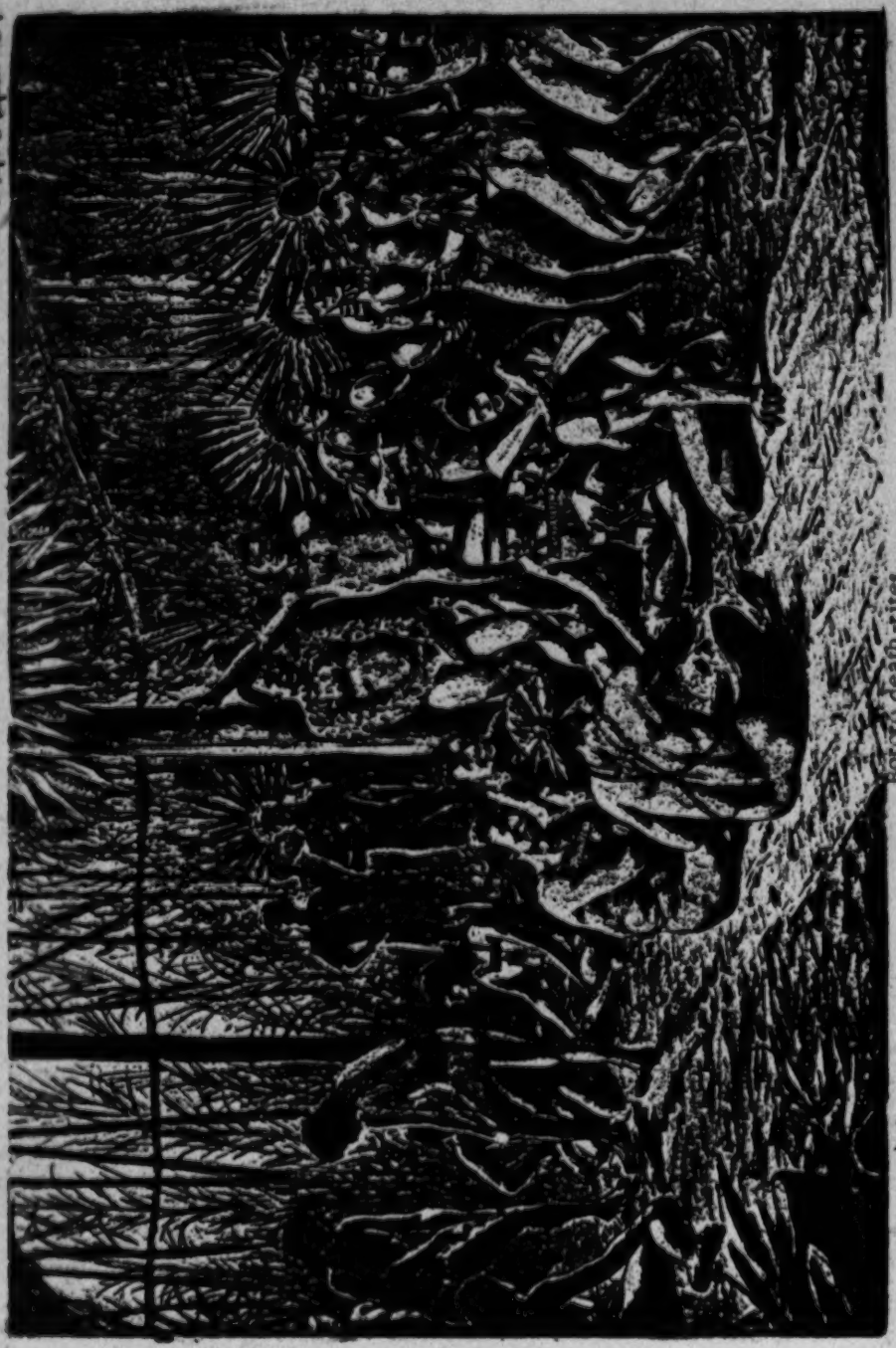

Bororo death-rites.

/506 cont./

765 brush-like and fastened them on the most attractively adorned young man, at the shoulders, where he had black tar spots, on his arms, knees, ankles. This Bororó in the green foliage adornment represented the dead in its present state, buried under a covering of green leaves. Four men stepped up with a basket-bag, brought out clothes of Coqueiro's wife, and hung them on the green one who stood there groaning and rocking with his knees -- a picture of misery, according to our concepts a "poor soul," looking strange in the "overloaded" costume of blue arara feathers, green garlands, and five colored cotton skirts. The others, too, hung skirts on themselves, one man a jaguar [534] skin; they gave the green one a small gourd flute with little [535] white feathers pasted on it and performed a dance. A man with two rattle-gourds led the dance, behind him danced the green one, and behind this one the other four, all six sang in chorus and danced, stepping to the right and stepping to the left, first to the ranchão, then turned back, and, dancing, stamped out a circle on the ground. Suddenly they veered off and, in disorder, ran toward the forest where they disappeared.

With the little gourd flute the late deceased called two dead persons who had lain in the earth for a long time. They were supposed to be present when the belongings were surrendered, to receive their new companion, and to be convinced that no one was withholding anything of his which on subsequent disagreeable visits he might demand back from the survivors.

After a quarter of an hour the swarm came storming back with frightful whoops, two of them carried on their backs -- hurrah, the dead ride fast -- two truly ghastly figures, naked, unadorned, plastered from head to foot with wet river loam.
765 With bestial cries the loam-monsters leaped about like wild
768 animals, three whizzer sticks buzzed and whirred through the air
[534] like huge bluebottle flies -- no female creature was to be seen
[562] far and wide, and the huts lay as though uninhabited, closed up with mats -- in the middle of the recently stamped circle a bright fire was lighted with great bustle, a tremendous load of all kinds of household equipment was dragged up, baskets, fire fans,

/506 cont./

765 [768] bast bands, bark belts, a red coverlet, many maize ears, gourds, shells; bows and bunches of arrows were broken up, and everything thrown together in a heap. Soon the scene took on a [535] semblance of order; the men formed a circle around the fire and moved slowly round and round, leaping up with both feet. The green one was seized and held down by the two loam creatures, whom we at first scarcely recognized as good old Moguyokuri and the chief bari (the archer on Plate 28). The gourds rattled, the whizzer sticks buzzed, the fire now blazed up. The green [535] one was released, and he and a second man behind him in the [768] parîko, /507/ dancing all around and always stepping to the side, first to the right, then to the left, threw the things into the [755] flames. Meanwhile -- and that, it seemed to me, was the strangest thing in the entire performance -- the two old dead persons cured a sick woman who had suddenly arrived, I know not how. They blew upon her and probably gave her the comforting assurance that she would not be fetched away so very soon. Several ran to the nearby river and threw knives and axes into it. Coqueiro tended the fire, dance and song ceased, the feather ornaments were placed beside the fire, and the green one added his garlands, the baris squatted in a row, one behind the other, and [622] were doused with water. Immediately thereafter great commotion: the dog of a soldier had bitten a child; Moguyokuri, still covered with loam, angrily accosts the owner, who, for his own safety, betakes himself to prison; this satisfies the chief, and with his hand he closes the mouth of the scolding mother, who now goes off silently, but grinning happily and sticking her tongue out.

[533] The following night uninterrupted aróe singing on the part of the Indians; no one stayed in the huts or in the ranchão; men, women, and children were outside. Uninterrupted music-making, dancing, laughing and bad singing among the soldiers. Magnificent moonlight. The first solemn hour of the Easter festival revealed marvelous contrasts between the groups for the resurrection.

/508 cont./

765 windows, were put on. It looked quite charming and dainty, what the crude hunters had worked out there. Now a special act was performed, the "consecration" of the skull and new basket. A sort of chapel or sanctuary was built in that five bows were planted in a semicircle, mats leaned against them, and coverlets hung on them and over them. In this niche /509/ was placed the decorated basket, three whizzer sticks as yet unpainted were leaned against it, and the skull laid on a mat filled with a loose heap of feathers; the most active of the baris sat down in the entrance, which was blocked by his body and the drummer standing behind him -- now without his drum. To encourage them, two pots of water, loam-yellow river water, and three
[533] cigars had been put in the niche. Starting slowly, in a deep voice, the two began their song, and the bari swung a rattle in each hand. The others sat around happily, played little pranks, begged for tobacco, and merely hummed along in the final measure. Gradually, however, the singing became more animated, high women's voices joined in energetically, and at the niche the two leaders of the singing worked with all their might, until, after three-quarters of an hour, they were utterly exhausted. They bent down in the niche in order to drink, but their whole bodies shook as in fever, so that the water jug had to be held; they wiped off the perspiration and were able to stammer only a few inarticulate sounds, to which the chorus responded in
[276] unison with several restrained grunts of approval. Trembling, they smoked their cigars.

[535] The coverlets were removed; six men, Coqueiro now among them, swung the rattles, sang, and danced, always with eyes closed, wholly absorbed in themselves. We, too, danced and rattled for a while, to the delight of the Indians. Only one or another would occasionally pause for a while, smoke his cigar meanwhile with great haste, and wipe off the sweat that poured in streams from the bodies of the six. Numerous women sang along, passing the time with delousing, or fanned the dancers rhythmically to cool them, standing behind them; a large number of men lay stretched out along the wall and rested. There was a general pause only once, and the singing was supplanted by the merry jingle of the harmonica coming

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes
a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[516] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact
[302] of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuǰawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuǰawa, the

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[538] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
424 and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[196] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

121 realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings
114 of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship
[538] system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with
[829] ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter II

THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*801 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [846] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [553] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
614 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*601 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

585 1942: 39). If a child marriage is to be contracted, the
[304] girl's family will ask her future husband, instead of her
[224] brother, to pierce her ear lobes. A more elaborate ceremony is performed when the girl is given as a wife to the hunter who has killed a jaguar for some of her dead brothers. In this case, however, she is only one of the gifts that are given to him in exchange for the jaguar skin. The other gifts, bow and arrows and poari (a musical instrument) are obligatory. Of particular interest for us is the speech that one of the girl's brothers makes when he delivers her to the hunter. He says:

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• 539

> "This is your wife, stay with her. This is the place for your bow, for your arrow. Here is the place for you to eat nokodu, noa, noidoya, the place for you to eat motore and honey. Here your ruwobo, your aria, your pori (different kinds of containers) are waiting for your fish, for your game. Here you will eat nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu. You should look after this girl, take care of her, so that she will make kodo as your mat, beto as your blanket. She will make the basket where your arrows will stay. She will wash you and give you to drink. She will go to meet you when you come back from fishing or from the hunt, when you come back from the woods or the hills. You do not have a mother, older sister, or younger sister anymore. This girl will be your mother, your older sister, your younger sister. You should treat her with care. Do not scare her when she goes to get water, when she goes to get firewood. Do not scare her when she is eating fish or when she is eating meat. You should defend her from other bad women, from the things she is afraid of. Do not scare her. You will be her mother, her father, her brother, and she will love you with all her heart."[1]

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[1] Akoredujereo, awudo apore amugure, atugo pare, awoiga pare, ake nokodu, noa, noidoya jetareo, ake motore jetareo, ake miyawoe gigodugedu jetareo. Woere aruwobo, akaria, apori jeture ako karo togi, ako barogo togi. Woere a mode nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu kowuje, woe. Awudojire aeture

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand
593 against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
[835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
[522] tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
[578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
593 affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
[539] uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

881 reciprocal, he will be called iyorubodare by them. The only
*601 exception occurs if the initiator is a brother of the boy's true father; then the boy will call his father's mother imarugo, grandmother.

881 When delivering the boy to the initiator, the boy's
• 539 brother says, "This is your wife (akoreduje); together with him you will cut marido; together with him you will go to get the palm leaves in the forest; with him you will clean the village plaza and Aije muga; you will make a road for mano; with him you will open a path through the bushes, in front of the others carrying their bows and nets; with him
824 you will kill game and fish."[1] (Marido is the plant the Bororo use in making a big wheel, also called marido, with which they dance during a ceremony of the same name. The palm leaves mentioned are those which the Bororo men use to make a fence around the dancing ground during certain cere-
796 monies forbidden to women. Aije muga is the place where the Aije, the bull-roarers, are hidden, where many of the ceremonies have their starting point, and where the actors in these ceremonies are adorned and furnished with the necessary
824 paraphernalia. Mano is another wheel of palm leaves that the Bororo carry in a race on a long road leading to the village.

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[1] "Akoredujereo, awu apore are mano kora ta, awu apore are keo kora ta, awu apore ature bai kae, awu apore ature kaidaga kae, awu apore are bororo akudo, awu apore Aije muga akudo. Awu apore are mano koda to, awu apore are awure jodo ipo, iwora paru keje, tuge, boiga, buke, boari otodai."

571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and repre-
616 sentatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

571 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije
613 Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the
539 head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also baku-
773 gumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumae, a kind
616 of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo iwararege eimejera (the chief of the iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."[1]

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1 "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Ou rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[772] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[229] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure arego-
dure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:
773
[539]

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together—they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
754

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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

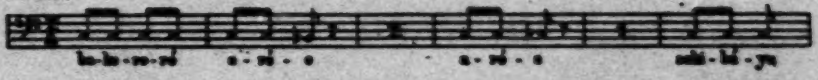
2 "Ure awu kioge barege ure ewodudo ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu, e kije. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

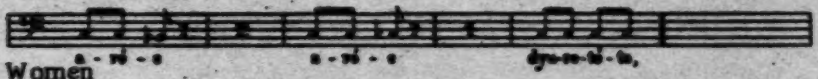
533 diadem) – ehé would be sung; again, however, this did not occur at the ceremony for the dead, but only in connection with hunting.

First song, by the Men.

533
539 Second Song, by the Men and Women.

Men





Women

535 Rohde speaks of a "fararu dance," for which one is adorned with
[534] feather crowns, bells, and other ornaments. A dance leader, the gourd rattle in each hand, bells made out of deer hoofs on his feet, is in the center of a circle which the men form and which the women surround with a larger circle. They dance rhythmically, leap and rattle for a long time; finally the leading dancer roars hau! and makes a wild final leap which the entire company imitates. Waehneldt saw dances with imitations of animals and calls the howling-monkey dance, with an imitation of all the sounds and movements, particularly extravagant. "In the jaguar-skin dance men and women take part; the latter are never able to see the skin of the jaguar which one man is wearing on his back, who, however, tries to show it to them with his movements at every step." The fear of the women is the point /495/ of the dance.
[198] "The dance, which consisted of their imitating (?) the customs of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually 000
in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that 342
even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they 364
erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of 361
the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of 364
huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- 356
ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing 296
to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, 592
each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very 345
large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut [361]
is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling [342]
is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a [342]
bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; [589]
a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the [548]
men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and
finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is per- [562]
mitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts 000
in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
●548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of estab-
595 lished institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[147] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had inter-
[561] course are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[437] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/279 cont./

Cera Phratry

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Clan	Name	Marries with
Bādejeba	Bakorokuddu (name of a legendary hero)	Ārōre čābōge^{w}ō
	Iparečęba (id.)	Ąrōre baiaddada^{a}
	Wapa (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddada^{a}
	Merit'awāra (The Path of the Sun)	Apibore bo'pokęjewo
O Čera	Uaboreō (?-Uabo: heart)	Ewāguddu
	At'ugoreō (The Painted Man)	Ārōre čębege^{w}ō
Ki	Kibakororo (Bakororo, The Tapir)	Ewāguddu bo'pokęjewo
	Tu'goga (?-Tugo: arrow)	Ewāguddu baiaddada^{a}
	Māra (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddada^{a}

/280/

Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge	Kōge (Gilthead)	Ewāguddu čoreō
	Bokodori Baro (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddada^{a}
	Ariga Coča (?-Ariga: puma)	Ewāguddu čābōge^{w}ō
Bakoro	Nogujeba (legendary hero)	Apibore (Kru'guga uobę)
	^{a}Kario Bokodori (legendary hero who named an extinct clan)	Apibore (Broge)

/280 cont./

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Cera Phratry

Clan	Name	Marries with
Bóro	Bok'arebo (?)	Ārōre baiaddada
	Jerégi-čodo (Old Tortoise)	Apibore kujagoreŏ

Tugare Phratry

Paiwe	Baiporo (door?)	Bokodori Čera
	Meriri kurigeŏ (Big Light)	Bakoro Čera
Apibore	Broge (?-indicates wealth)	Bakoro Čera
	Kru'guga uobe (Relative of the Eagle-throat; indicates wealth)	Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge
Ewāguddu	Tad'ugo (?-indicates wealth)	Ki
	Aria kurigeŏ (Big Saucepan?)	Ki
	Butere gāde (?)	Bokodori
Ārōre	Baitogógo (legendary hero)	Bādejeba

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614 This table, which is no doubt incomplete, suggests the following conclusions:

/282 cont./

582 601 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] [614] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewaguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuǰawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out. [241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [774] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 44 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 179

*601 522 [765] [224] To a man who is making love to a woman in mourning his companions will say: "Stay away from her, she is our "little mother," our "poor-little mother." After the hunt, it is a duty of the "ceremonial father" to carry the game to his wife ("the mother") who has to cook it for the "meal of the spirits." If, for some reason, the "father" did not join the hunt, this will provoke many jokes and comments from the other hunters. They will say, "Our father did not come, but we have here another 'our father' who will carry the meat," alluding to the sexual relations between this other man and "the mother." If the woman had many affairs in the past, which is quite usual among the Bororo, each man in his turn will deny being the most qualified "father" pointing to somebody else as the one who should carry the meat.

Conclusion

*601 114 When one arrives in the field he is immediately confronted both with a complicated set of relations and with different systems crosscutting each other. At this point all ideas about an ordered conceptual universe appear to be nonsense. It seemed to me that the Bororo were also confused, but ignored the contradictions and pretended that things were clear and simple. I tried to construct full genealogies but did not succeed. For one the Bororo avoid uttering the names of dead people, and if persuaded to produce them, another difficulty arises. Everyone at birth receives several names and during his life he acquires many new ones. A good hunter about forty-five years old had fifty different names. Some

• 551

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation—employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense—gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

● 551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

559 613 personal names, but some personal names may have never been used as lineage names; and, finally, new names also can be made up by combining elements already existing. For example, marido is the buriti palm. It is also a big wheel used in the ceremony of the same name, and is made of cut pieces of an aquatic plant. It belongs to the clan ivagududoge. The Bororo say: "Marido is the grandfather, the grandmother of the ivagududoge. Marido is their name, they sing about it in their clan songs and in the opening songs of their ceremonies." (ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare, eparuyare oino maridoche.) Now, there are a great number of names which are made by adding some specification to the word marido:

1. Marido Aya
2. " Akadu
3. " Akiri
4. " Atugo
5. " Bororo
6. " Ekureu
7. " Jiwu
8. " Kaworu
9. " Kujaka
10. " Kurireu
11. " Mugu
12. " Olowa akiri
13. " Olowoda

551 613 14. Marido Paradu

15. " Ukiga

Of these fifteen personal names, eight (1,2,3,4,7,10, 12,13) have been recorded on several occasions as lineage names. Some of them (8,9,10) belong only to the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge (Older Brothers); others (2,4,5,6,7, 11,12,14,15) belong only to the subclan of the Red Ivagududoge (Younger Brothers); and alternative classification was recorded for 1,3, and 13.

614 551 Another item belonging to the clan Ivagududoge is the spirit Jakomea. Twenty-two different specifications have been recorded for the name Jakomea. Nine of them were the same as those used for Marido: akadu, akiri, atugo, ekureu, jiwu, kaworu, kurireu, mugu, okwoda. We see that the Bororo can form a large number of names by adding various specifications to the name of an item which belongs to one clan. Some of these specifications are always connected with the more important subclan (Black, Older Brothers): kurireu, choreu, kaworu, are. Others are connected with the less important subclan (Red, Younger Brothers): ekureu, enawu, kuguri, oro, kujagureu, akadu. Still others, akiri, atugo, okwoda, may be used by either of the subclans, or, on some occasions, by only one of them. Which subclan will use the names cannot be predicted because some items could have been seen first by the Blacks, others by the Reds.

As we have seen, most of the names are formed in this way: Jakomea Akadu, Jakomea Akiri, Jakomea Atugo, etc., and Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc.

613 Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc. But there are
• 551 other names more specifically connected with particular lineages. For example, Tadugo, the name of one of the lineages of the Black Ivagududoge, cannot be provided with specifications and cannot be given to members of another lineage. Another name reserved to the members of the Tadugo lineage is Tore Ebowu, "the one who went with his sons" (in the name is an allusion to a very important Bororo myth). Other important lineages have long lists of exclusive names. For example, Mamuyawuge Echeba, a lineage of the clan Badajebage Chobugiwuge, is the owner of the following names: Bakugu Kuri, Echera Baru, Eigawa Are, Eigawa Enawureu, Ekoe Choreu, Ekoe Ekudu, Enogureu, Ka iwara, Mamori Ekureu, Mamori Kurireu, Mamori Ore, Okoge Paiwareu, Paiwareu, Pariko Ekureu, Turugudu Pijiwu, and perhaps many others. Some names are exclusive to a particular lineage only when formed with a particular specification. For example, the name Aroya Kurireu is exclusive to one lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge, while the names Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo, and Aroya Ekureu can belong to a member of a lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge or to a member of the subclan Red Ivagududoge.

613 The list actually recorded for the clan Ivagududoge in-
614 cludes about 250 names. Adding up all the names reported by other authors (Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 441-446; Cruz, 1939: 1941; Horta Barbosa in Rondon, 1948: 8-10) and excluding all repetitions results in a total of 191 names. To this number should be added 60

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvegedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 [421] It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge 614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu- 825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a 827 fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
562 cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
775 the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[772] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
222 the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
229 as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[55] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the village of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e.,

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[563] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P. W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri,
• 551 and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooá. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
855 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

5: Baldus--52 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

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23. Eastern Bororo: A smile by Mario Bokodori Kudde (Sangradouro)

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7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

Where holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

000 fixed upon a maiden, though without her knowledge, his father sends a message to the girl's father, saying that he with his son and relatives will visit him shortly. The recipient of this message readily surmises the object of the visit, and if the prospective marriage is agreeable to him, makes preparations for a grand festival. Finally, after the festivities have lasted two or three days, the bridegroom's party suddenly seize the maiden in question, hurry her away to their canoes and disappear, as if they had kidnapped her. But no attempt is made to prevent this act, or to pursue the apparently fleeing party, and the girl is henceforth regarded as married.

Some other tribes test the skill of their young men in archery before allowing them to marry; and if one does not prove to be a good marksman, the maiden whose hand he seeks refuses him on the ground that he has not the skill to shoot fish and game enough to sustain a family.

553 Resuming our story of life among the Bororó: A very interesting naming, initiation, or naturalization ceremony, suggesting a Romish baptism, is observed for all male children while still in early babyhood. Early in the morning, at the first [302] token of the approach of the "supreme power," the family and [304] friends of the little one, whose body has been decorated by smearing it with gum and coating it with crimson and white feathers, accompanied by a conjurer, take up a position on the highest ground in the vicinity of the village; and at the *meri rutu*—sun rising—as the "supreme majesty and power" sweeps upward from behind forest and hill, bathing the earth in its glorious light, the conjurer pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument, made especially for the occasion, and beautifully ornamented with many-colored feathers, at the same time pronouncing, *Piadudu*, or the name of some other animal or object the name of which the child is to bear. *Piadudu*, softly repeat the family and friends; so *Piadudu*—humming-bird—a favorite name, becomes the name of the child. The Bororó, like most savages, [551] regard their names as deep secrets for religious or other reasons, refusing to reveal them to any person not a member of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

their tribe, and always responding *pardukuí*—I do not know, 551
who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony 553
is not performed for a female child.

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind 855
to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents [861]
seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should [597]
whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives.

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by 198
this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, 516
moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand.

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four: 802
therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands."

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mêdo* [262]
at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around.

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the
[515] forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614
823 Ewãguddudõge čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewãguddudõge čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaʷge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47 /).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokęjeʷõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokęje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokęjeʷo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewãguddudõge bo'pokęjeʷõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewãguddudõge kurigeč, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/272 cont./

552 Thus we have (Fig. 15, No. 17 /see p. 6 /) Ewâguddudōge
592 eten'manaāge: those of the Elder Brothers of the Buriti, and (18)
614 Ewâguddudōge etu'ieemage: those of the Younger Brothers of the Buriti.

614 It is also possible that the adoption or division of emblems among the members of the same clan results in the creation of other secondary determinants. /273/ Several clans are divided in this manner into two subclans distinguished respectively by the colors red and black. Thus:

Apibore čoreŏ: black (23)
Apibore kujagoreŏ: red (22)
Paiwe čoreŏ (25)
Paiwe kujagoreŏ (26)
Ewâguddu čoreŏ (15).
Ewâguddu kujagoreŏ (18).

/Figure 15 appears here./ /274/

Some groups of clans perhaps came from a single clan, as they seem to share emblems: the Bóro acquired an object associated with the legendary history of the Bakoro clan, of which they were no doubt formerly a part, in the same way as the O Čera, themselves also inheritors of a legendary animal of the clan. The Bokodori clan is subdivided into Kōge (gilthead) and Čiba (red arara); but it is not clear whether this is truly a question of subdivisions of a main clan or of a homogeneous clan designating itself by three emblems: "Bokodori and Kōge, Bokodori and Čiba," the natives say, "it's the same thing."

621 The number of terms used for the definition of the groups is
552 thus clearly more important than the number of houses of the
592 village. The result of this is, first, that different informants do not always designate the same houses by using the same adjectives; the same informant varies equally according to the time and the circumstances. In the second place, each house, or almost each, is found to have, if not always its own name, at least a set combination of the names of the clan, of the position, of the family, etc., which belong /sic/ to it alone. The Bororo village

[TEXT Continues on P. 7]

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is,
552 of families or groups of families, living in the same house and
592 styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the
614 household always involves, among other things, the name of the
616 clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(čãbõgeʷõ half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori čãbõgeʷõ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddadaʷ

(čębegeʷõ half)
5. Bokodori Čera čębegeʷõ
6. Ki kujagoreõ
7. Ki
8. O Čera čębegeʷõ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ
11. Bãdejeba čębegeõ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddadaʷge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ bo'pokęjeʷõ

/275/

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Ārórę čębegeʷõ
14. Ārórę čębegeʷõ
15. Ębwāguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębegeʷõ
16. Ębwāguddu bo'pokejeʷõ čębegeʷõ
17. Ębwāguddu baiaddadaᵃ eten'manaãge
(cābōgeʷõ half) 18. Ębwāguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čābōgeʷõ
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Ārórę čābōgeʷõ baiaddadaᵃ (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Ārórę čābōgeʷõ
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Ārórę clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ębwāguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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178
433

It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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511
114

2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [774] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

and ornaments or just chatting.

361 The village layout is a reflection of the Bororo social structure. The Bororo point around the village circle with their fingers to show the place of important social groups. It is not necessary that these social groups actually be present in a village; the ideal village plan is in Bororo minds.

The villages are always situated near rivers. In the part of Mato Grosso where the Bororo live, rivers flow from east to west, and the villages are oriented so that the east-
61 west axis divides them into two halves. The Echerae moiety occupies the southern half, the Tugarege moiety occupies the northern. Each moiety consists of four clans, each clan of two subclans, and each subclan of many lineages. A lineage consists of people who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor and carry the same family name, which is the ancestor's personal name. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said by the Bororo to be related as matrilineal descendants of
[553] brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, animals, and plants. Though the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within the moiety are treated as if their common ancestors had been broth-
621 ers. In a village it is desirable for the important lineages
61 to be represented so that the village can properly carry out

Chapter II

THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*601 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extrageneological social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [846] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [553] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

582 be contracted with a woman who belongs to one of the lineages of the opposite moiety with which Ego's lineage, through exchange of cultural items and ceremonies, have established alliance in the mythical past. Theoretically one's father, one's wife, and one's son all belong to such a lineage.

613 In the light of the above prescription it is interesting to see the Bororo criteria for ascribing true lineage membership. In the Bororo view, in order to be a true member of a particular lineage a person should not only belong to that lineage, but should also be son of a man of an allied lineage. Allied lineages exchange ceremonial performances. The actors of such performances will preferentially be chosen among the "true" members of an allied lineage or, at least, among the "true" members of the opposite moiety, i.e., their mother and their father should be from different moieties.

553 Similarly, one of a child's older "brothers" (MB, MMB)
604 should be his namegiver. It is essential that, at least terminologically, the namegiver and the namereceiver are related both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. This is the case only if, at least in theory, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was upheld in every generation. In this case a person's mother's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father, and a person's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father's sister's son (see Table VII). The first kin type (FF) is al-

[Text Continued On Page 43]

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table VII

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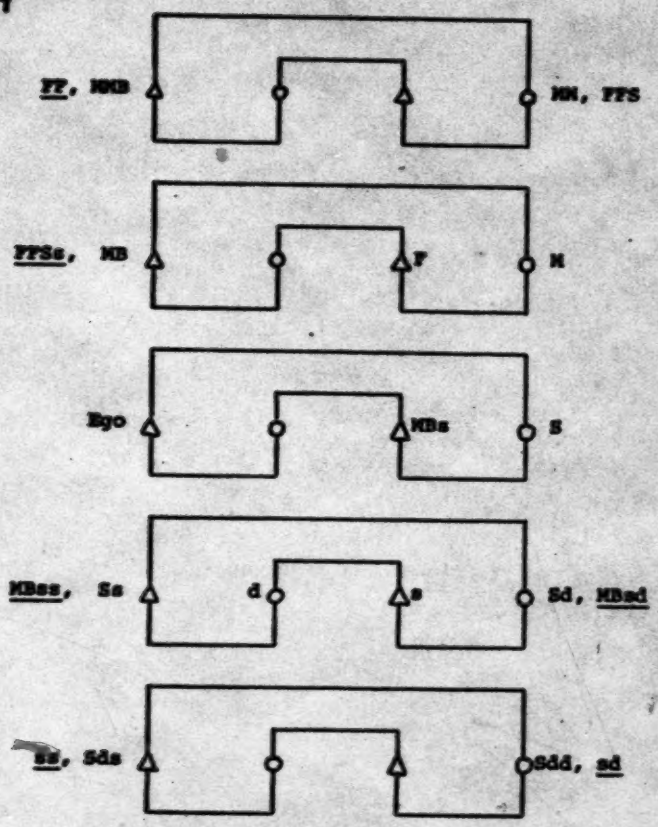
604



553 604 ready "grandfather" (iyedaga) by definition, while the second kin type (FFSs) is brought into the same class by equivalences already presented:

FFSs → FFMs (by the skewing rule)
→ FFB (by the half sibling rule)
→ FF (by the merging rule)
∴ iyedaga (by definition)

Thus the naming rule should be written as: any senior matrilateral relative who is Ego's namegiver should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's senior patrilateral relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any junior sororifilial relative to whom Ego gave a name should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's junior fratrifilial relative.

304 604 The same rule applies also to the senior "brother" (MB, MMB) who pierces the ear lobe of Ego. The rule was written 553 604 without specifying the sex of the namegiver. On some very rare occasions a child's "older sister" (MS, MMS) will pro- *[601] pose the name for him (her). If her suggestion is accepted, the child will call her imarugo ("grandmother"). There is *601 604 still another instance in which a person calls his "older [844] sister" imarugo, and that is when this "sister" cuts the umbilical cord when the child is born, in absence of a woman belonging to the lineage or clan of the child's father, who normally have this prerogative. Reductions applied to her are:

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[271] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz., naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[559] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is
[773] not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
562 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished an- [533] cestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

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[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names--the names of the clans--and clanic names--personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

[553] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
[302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
[301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
[538] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
[534] child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
[302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
[301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
[238] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him
[533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
[301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
[302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
[533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
[304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] [2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

[553] Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [538] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [201] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere- [723] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (eme nure eme rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

553 this statement, but if we look at the lineage structure and ideology, things become clearer. For example: Kaigu was the founder of one lineage in the clan of Bokodori Echerae. He had many names, but the one used most often was Kaigu. Theoretically he should have transmitted five or six of his clanic names to his nephew, the first born son of his eldest sister (utuye boetojiwudo onaregedu imedu boetojiwu: lit., "his older sister/ the first born one/ her child/ the first born one"). When Kaigu became old he left it to his nephew to perform most of the ceremonial duties, and when he died his nephew became the head of the lineage. He inherited all the rights, the duties, the place of the house in the village, and the names of the dead Kaigu. Then he is Kaigu,
827 he has a nephew, and the story repeats itself. Any living Bororo is considered to be not only the descendant of a long line of ancestors but also identical to all of them. When I wondered about some contradictory deeds ascribed to the great chief Baitogogo in the myths, my informant explained to me that there were many Baitogogo: one did this, the other did that. On another day, when I did not understand the name of a particular hero mentioned in the myth, he pointed at a man passing by and said, "He did it!" For the passerby had the same name as the hero. Thus conceptually the Bororo consider themselves equivalent to their matrilineal ancestors.

553 Today, as the Bororo population is dying out, occasion-
178 ally a child does not have any classificatory brother from

553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other
[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to
* [601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called <u>iyedage</u>, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That
613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father
582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

613 lineages have in contemporary Bororo rituals, and it is expressed in terms of seniority. Ki Bakororo is said to be the [796] older brother, the two others the younger brothers. Each of lineages (brothers) has to perform different functions in certain ceremonies, and the ancestral brothers have their own distinct personalities in the myths. However, the Bororo affirm that the three terms are only three different names of the same person: Ki Bakororo. He also has many other names, but these three are his most important ones. There is a way of reconciling these seemingly contradictory statements. Table VIII diagrams relationships which accommodate both of the above interpretations.

613 553 Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari are hierarchically ordered fraternal lineages. By the act of naming, every man and his mother's brother are equivalent: Ki Bakororo is equivalent to his mother's brother Ki Bakororo; Badajeba Kudoro is equivalent to his mother's brother Badajeba Kudoro; and Jakorari to his mother's brother Jakorari. 613 If we go far enough, we arrive at their common mother's 553 brother, who, by the naming act, is equivalent to all three 173 lineages: to Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. Thus the Bororo can logically say that the three names are only different names of the same person. The principal name of this person was Ki Bakororo, and this was the name that his eldest sister's son inherited from him. The name then continued to be used as the name of the principal lineage within the subclan by Ki Bakororo's matrilineal descendants.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

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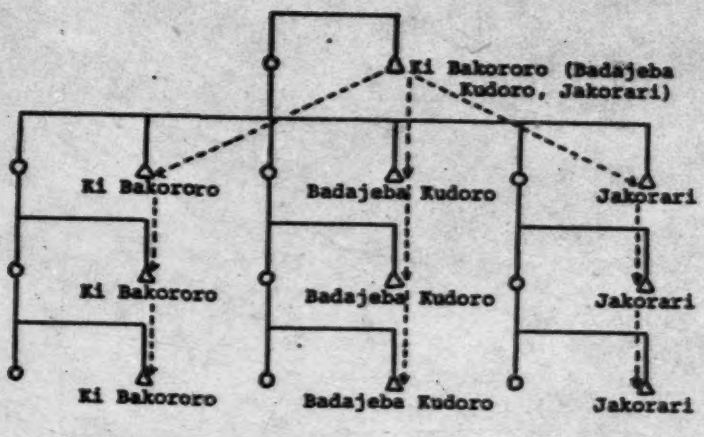
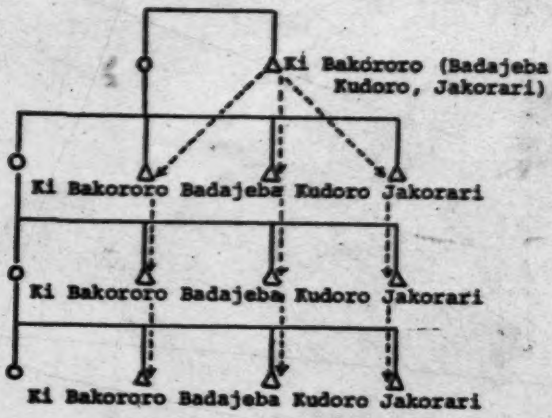
Table VIII





The broken lines represent name-giving relationships and the arrows indicate the direction from name-giver to name-receiver

613 553 173 it is not known if the other two names, Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari, were actually used by the original Ki Bakororo, but this is not important. It may have happened that ten generations after the original Ki Bakororo, two of his descendants with the nicknames of Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari made themselves famous and established their own separate lineages. But the relationship of equivalence is not directional, so the names Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are retroactive, and the Bororo can say that Ki Bakororo is Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari.

181 Western anthropologists may consider themselves structuralists, but they still sometimes need historical explanations to understand better the structure of a system. The Bororo do not have this historical bias; their view of the world is entirely structural. We have already seen evidence of this world view in the symmetry of relationships between father and son and husband and wife and in the relationship of equivalence between a man and his name-giver; now it is evident in the hierarchical relationship among brothers who are "really the same person."

000 Ki Bakororo could be considered the unmarked term of this set, while Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are marked. In this specific example, Badajeba Kudoro is also considered the unmarked member in opposition to Jakorari, because Badajeba Kudoro is his older brother, and the relationship is transitive.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

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Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

593 However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be
593 substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to
597 have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who
653 named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (<u>ere mitotuje</u>, "they are just one"; <u>e kare tuginoi</u>, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

593 like to stress that <u>they</u> <u>are</u> <u>not</u> <u>really</u> the same person:
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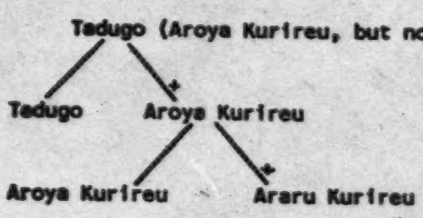
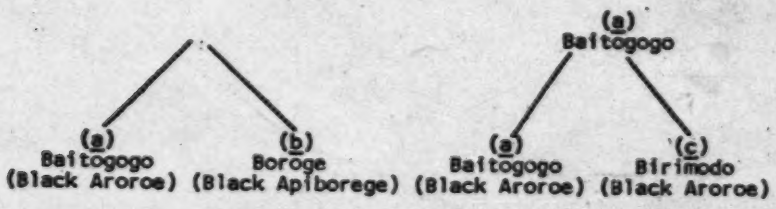


613 The Bororo also express the relation between two lin-
829 eages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother--younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:



Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*601 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

In a society where the majority
553 of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the func-
828 tion of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of
829 the possibility of reciprocity and equality.
[181]

Another instance of reciprocal address results from the
553 initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same
881 time are given a common name, which they later use in address-
*[601] ing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past
or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In
Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held
there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways,
they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was
the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other
names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge,
[561] Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the ex-
istence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of
this group of boys bound together by the common experience
of becoming full members of adult society at the same time,
and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor
of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age
groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in
view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo
and the other Gê tribes.

613 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only
626 man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted
178 to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (♀) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was
[52] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 Another possibility open to a man without descendants
64 (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[172] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the <u>ika</u>: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

553 Hugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
[534] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[162] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
881 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
616 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his
571 yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[834] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
[561] tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
[825] penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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[1] "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P.W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

000 fixed upon a maiden, though without her knowledge, his father sends a message to the girl's father, saying that he with his son and relatives will visit him shortly. The recipient of this message readily surmises the object of the visit, and if the prospective marriage is agreeable to him, makes preparations for a grand festival. Finally, after the festivities have lasted two or three days, the bridegroom's party suddenly seize the maiden in question, hurry her away to their canoes and disappear, as if they had kidnapped her. But no attempt is made to prevent this act, or to pursue the apparently fleeing party, and the girl is henceforth regarded as married.

Some other tribes test the skill of their young men in archery before allowing them to marry; and if one does not prove to be a good marksman, the maiden whose hand he seeks refuses him on the ground that he has not the skill to shoot fish and game enough to sustain a family.

553 Resuming our story of life among the Bororó: A very interesting naming, initiation, or naturalization ceremony, suggesting a Romish baptism, is observed for all male children while still in early babyhood. Early in the morning, at the first [302] token of the approach of the "supreme power," the family and [304] friends of the little one, whose body has been decorated by smearing it with gum and coating it with crimson and white feathers, accompanied by a conjurer, take up a position on the highest ground in the vicinity of the village; and at the *meri rutu*—sun rising—as the "supreme majesty and power" sweeps upward from behind forest and hill, bathing the earth in its glorious light, the conjurer pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument, made especially for the occasion, and beautifully ornamented with many-colored feathers, at the same time pronouncing, *Piadudu*, or the name of some other animal or object the name of which the child is to bear. *Piadudu*, softly repeat the family and friends; so *Piadudu*—humming-bird—a favorite name, becomes the name of the child. The Bororó, like most savages, [551] regard their names as deep secrets for religious or other reasons, refusing to reveal them to any person not a member of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

their tribe, and always responding *pardukuí*—I do not know, who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony is not performed for a female child. 551 553

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives. 855 [861] [597]

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand. 198 516

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four; therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands." 802

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mído* at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around. [262]

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[2433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sª. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[199] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from [411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.

846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat, [844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not [515] bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done

847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If

853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."

757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary, was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.

846 352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip [304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.

551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man
will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then
tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a
sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
846 honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided.
These dietary restrictions continue for some
months after the birth of the child. The husband,
however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into
the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-
in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position.
The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and
cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being
buried. The midwife then carries the child and
assists the mother back to the village. The
child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are
accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to
pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the
same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information
about using herbal medicines to induce abortion,
nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or
6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she
has come of age. She is not secluded by her
parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male
relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present
to the young man.

[p. 110 (1)]

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
352 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

Brazil.

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "bangs." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 177 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown children occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
554 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *Ta Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *Ta Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

2: Steinen--i E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Pl. I

142
237
292
301
554

Bororó chief.

/454 cont./

578 Today the younger of the two wives of Moguyokuri, a large, big-boned woman who seems to scorn all clothing, suddenly burst in with coarse vituperation. She had a bunch of mandioca [252] roots in her hand and in a fury tossed them at Eliseo"s feet. We had already noticed the general mandioca-roasting today in the men's house; the planting had once again been prematurely robbed of the thin root stalks. Moguyokuri"s Xanthippe had apparently been unjustly accused of the theft; others had given her the mandioca. The quarrel took on ever greater proportions and lasted until evening. Two hostile parties among the women opposed each other. The loudest noise was made by "Maria," [554] Arateba"s sister, who, in general, played the most important role of all the Indian women. Maria had been Duarte's mistress, and it was rumored that he had decked her out with riding habit and feather hat; now, at any rate, she was walking about in only her national costume, a small, sturdy, nimble, and, according to our ideas, moderately attractive person with sparkling eyes...

When the squabble had reached its height inside one of the huts, it was to be fought out in a sort of wrestling match. Everybody rushed out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Amid lively talk and gestures, they placed three women on one side and Maria opposite them alone. One of the three leaped forward with a big jump, Maria towards her. They clasped each other around the waist and a wild wrestling commenced. But in a few seconds they formed the center of a thick knot of onlookers and fellow combatants, a knot which itself kept milling about in the thick of things, and with a larger, looser crowd of people along the houses; it was a mad shoving and pushing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with amusement, the women vying with each other in their howling, while the two opponents were locked in a tight embrace and clutched each other's hair. Finally they were pulled apart, but the word-wrangle began all the more violently, with several yelling at several others. One old woman in particular drowned out all the others with her shrill voice. Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
583 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day; now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on p.601]

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs 237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [531] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

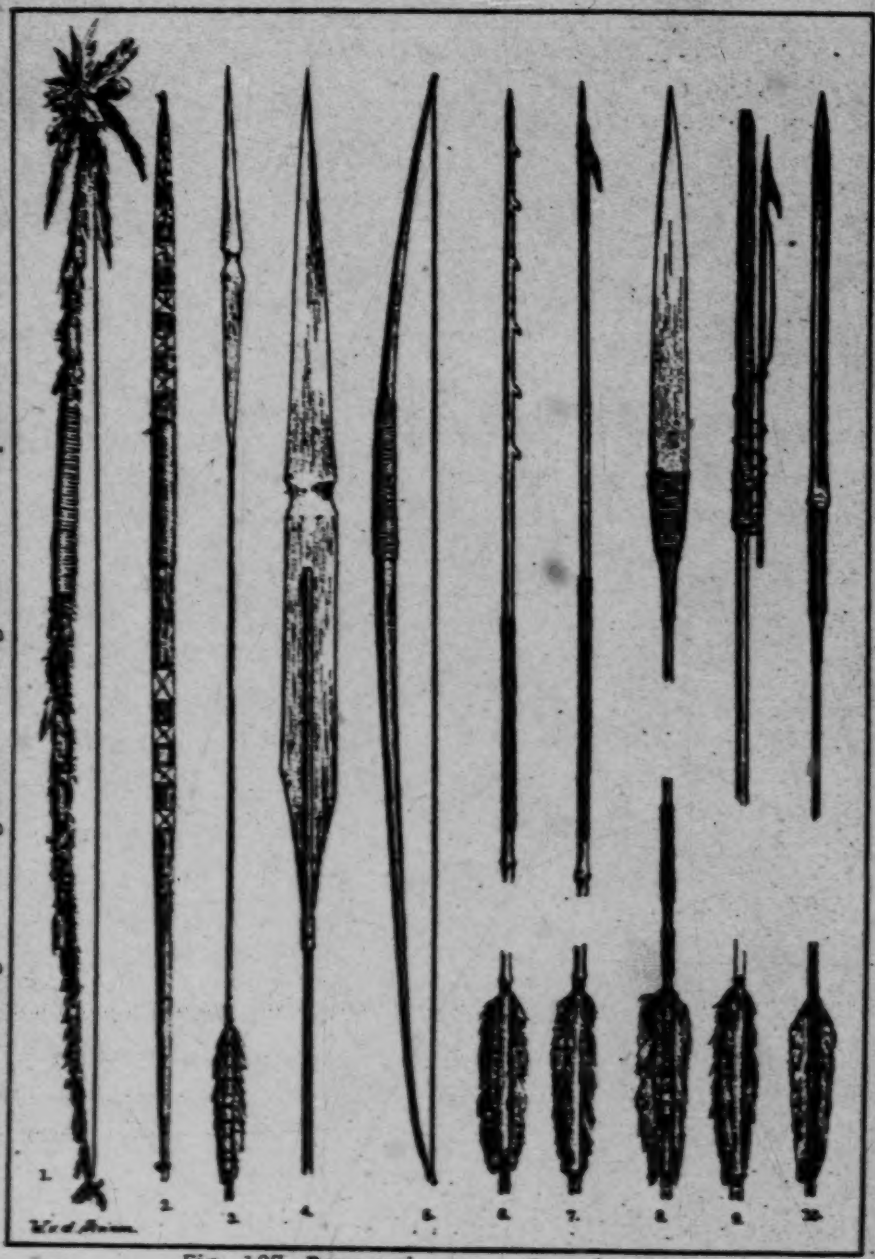
[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

2: Steinen--605 FD-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8



1. Bow of the chief, 2. of the jaguar hunter. 3. Jaguar arrow. 4. Bamboo point of 3. 5. Ordinary bow. 6 and 7. Hunting and fishing arrows. 8. Pig arrow. 9. Harpoon arrow. 10. War arrow.

Fig. 137. Bows and arrows. Bororó.

/490 cont./

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
515 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the orna-
mental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/500 cont./ One day The men permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuŝawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose
[181] clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
556 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured
614 products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Ārōre čābōgeʷōge, Ẻwāguddudoge čābōgeʷōge, and Ẻwāguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ẻwāguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O čera clans.

The Bādejebage čębegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
856 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
576 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
224 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest
425 relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

Chapter V

ADDITIONAL DATA CONCERNING KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Terms of Address

114 In my discussion of the Bororo referential terminology,
*601 I have not made any use of the literature available on the subject (Albisetti, 1948: 10-11; Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962: 452-475; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 51; Lévi-Strauss, 1936: 281; Oberg, 1953: 127). The published data present a great deal of inconsistency, due to the difficulty in distinguishing among the different terminological systems which, side by side and often cross-cutting each other, are used by the Bororo.

*601 The terms of address constitute one of these systems. I will not give a list of all the vocative kin terms, because most of them are identical with the referential kin terms. Only the differences between the two systems will be noted.

The descriptive term for son is itonaregedu imedu ("male child"), for daughter is itonaregedu aredu ("female child"), for younger brother iviye imedu ("male younger sibling"), for
*601 younger sister iviye aredu ("female younger sibling"). In
561 the referential system the distinction between sexes was
562 neutralized and both son and daughter were referred to as itonaregedu ("child") and both younger sister and younger

*601 brother were referred to as iviye ("younger sibling"). In
• 561 the system of address the distinction between generations is
562 neutralized and the sex differentiation stressed, so that both son and younger brother are called imedu ("man" or "male") and both daughter and younger sister are called aredu ("woman" or "female").

System of Reference		System of Address
"younger sibling" (iviye)		"man" or "male" (imedu)
"child" (itonaregedu)		"woman" or "female" (aredu)

*601 The terms for these new designations do not take the prefix for the first singular, i, it, in, which all of the reference terms have (i in imedu is part of the root), and they usually have postposed the adjectives "young" and "old" which will be discussed later.

Second, there is a merger of certain kin types from the grandparents' generation with those of the parents' generation:

$$(MP \rightarrow P) = (dc \rightarrow c)$$

i.e., Ego's mother's parents are addressed in the same way as Ego's own parents. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals also holds: Ego's daughter's child is addressed in the same way as Ego's own child.

We can immediately perceive the structural similarity of this rule with the Crow Type IV rule in the consanguineal domain and with the female parallel-collateral skewing rule. This is the third time that the structural equivalence of

*601
602

	"grand-father" and "mother"	"sibling"	"grand-mother" and "father"	"grand-child" and "child"	
pega rogu	+	+	+		
pega	+	+	+		
rogu		+			Senior
0	+	+	+	+	
0	+	+	+	+	
rogu		+	+	+	
pega			+	+	Junior
pega rogu			+	+	

[562] The two subclasses "man" or "male" (imedu) and "woman" or "female" (aredu) are not included in the diagram because the application of the adjective to them follows the same rules as for "younger siblings" and "children."

*601 The kinship terms can receive further specifications.
● 561 The most important among these are those used in connection with relative age or the birth order of siblings. Ego will describe his or her sibling born before him either as itododaiwu ("the one before me"), or pebutoijagiwu ("the one born before me"), or ikodurekodajiwu ("the one whom I follow"). He will describe his sibling born after him either as

*601 ipebutojagiwu ("the one born after me"), or koduirekodajiwu
561 ("the one who follows me"). The first-born is designated boetojiwu ("the first one"), while the last-born is designated boigoduwu ("the last"). When there are three brothers, the oldest will be described as etumanareu ("their older brother"), the second as boyadadawu ("the one in the middle"), and the youngest one as etuviyereu ("their younger brother"). Further, any young sibling also can be ad-
*601 dressed as imedregedu. Finally there is a special term for
304 a man's first born son, ikenojiwu ("the one on my nose," which alludes to the custom of piercing a man's nasal septum on the same occasion when his first-born son is given a name).

*601 There are still a few more alternative terms that should be mentioned here. These are mostly those related to actual
607 differences in relationships among kinsmen. If a man quar-
*601 rels with his sister's husband, he will call the latter otogududogedu ("the one to whom pity was shown," meaning that the brothers gave their sister as wife to him out of pity). He will be called in return by his proper name instead of imedu. Two men married to sisters, if on good terms, may choose to call each other reciprocally either ito inowu ("the one like me") or imeduya ("my companion") instead of iyedaga and ivagedu. Similarly two women married to the same man, will call each other reciprocally either itoydo ("the one
*601 like me") or imedago ("my companion"). There are also some
593 conventional expressions used when two people speak about a third person to whom both of them are related. For example,

101 be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages. But whatever the correct interpretation is, if in fact there is one, the people of one's own moiety and those from the other one will all be merged in the term paobe (first person plural inclusive) when contrasting the Bororo to civilized people or some other indian tribe.

*601 In addition to genealogically specified kin-types, any
561 Bororo, if necessary, may be designated by a kinship term:
562

imana ("a man's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

ivuri ("a woman's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iyedaga ("grandfather"): Any imana or ivuri who is knowledgeable or quite old.

ituye ("older sister"): Any woman of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iviye ("younger sister"): Any person of the same moiety who is younger than Ego.

iyogwa ("father"): Any man of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any man, regardless of his age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

imerugo ("grandmother"): Any woman of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any woman, regardless of her age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

itonaregedu ("child"): Any person of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego and does not belong

*601 to Ego's father's clan.

561 562 <u>Iyegedu</u> ("grandson"): Any man of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego <u>iyedaga</u>. Any man of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

<u>Irago</u> ("granddaughter"): Any woman of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego <u>iyedaga</u>. Any woman of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

*601 82 A further extragenealogical extension of kinship terms includes all the world. All plants, animals, rivers, mountains, stars, and even spirits are conceived as connected to a particular clan or subclan. How these connections became established differs from case to case. Some animals were already part of a certain clan in mythical times when there was not yet a difference between animals and people. Some other items were seen for the first time by a member of a specific clan. For many others the Bororo do not know to whom they belong. However they have no doubt that everything belongs to somebody, and if they do not know it, it is because today the knowledge of the people is limited. Any such item, if connected with one's own clan, or, by extension, with any clan of one's moiety, will be considered the person's grandfather or grandmother. If it is connected with one's father's clan, or, by extension, with any clan of the opposite moiety,

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

181 sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities,
571 participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The
[114] patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

614 The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into sub-
561 clans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and sub-
562 clans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In re-
822 porting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ances-
827 tors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers.

614 The division is not restricted only to animals; many other
562 beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differen-
822
827 tiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

822 796 237 302 614 822 [825] In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

614 796 ers of the Bokodori Echerae, owns all okoge kurireuge (big okoge). Kaigu gives the representation of one okoge eimejera (one chief of okoge) to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge; the representation of the other okoge eimejera is given to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge; the representation of okoge aredu (female okoge) is given to Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The lineage of Koge Enogwa Tabowu, as we know, was alternately classified as belonging to the subclans of the Black, the Red, and the "in the middle" Ivagududoge. The younger brothers Bokodori Echerae own the rest of okoge, all okoge kugurireuge (small okoge), and give their representation to all less important lineages of the Ivagududoge.

614 301 [56] Differences between the subclans of older and younger brothers are also expressed through the medium of ornaments. The Bororo love to talk about ornaments, and examples of subclan differences are numerous. I will mention only few of them.

The Ivagududoge own a labret called ararureu. It is a string of regularly cut pieces of shell. The ararureu of the Black Ivagududoge is long and is made with large pieces of shell, while the ararureu of the Red Ivagududoge is short and the pieces of shell are small.

The festive bow of the Apiborege, called ikuye ika, is ornamented with painted rings made of leaves of babassu palm. The rings on the bow of the Big Apiborege are broad and widely spaced, the rings on the bow of the Small Apiborege

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

614 choreu - kujaqureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kurugugwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kurugugwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

796 613 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Jakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

[561] [562]

In a society where the majority
553 of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the func-
828 tion of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of
829 the possibility of reciprocity and equality.
[181]

Another instance of reciprocal address results from the
553 initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same
881 time are given a common name, which they later use in address-
*[601] ing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways, they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge,
[561] Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the existence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of this group of boys bound together by the common experience of becoming full members of adult society at the same time, and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo and the other Gê tribes.

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

722 Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture

561 The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

844 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society 787 is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ike, the crying of the mother, and
[534] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[162] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[835] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
[825] penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
344 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in
562 diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones;
[439] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[802] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose
[181] clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
556 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured
614 products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre ČåbōgeʷōGe, Ɛ́wåguddudoge Čåbōgeʷōge, and Ɛ́wåguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ɛ́wåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O Čera clans.

The Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po^{a}ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers
[173] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Āróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[text continues on p. 36]

/297 cont./

614 designate the Ārōre ̆čębegeʷõ (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Aréme, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

534
562

1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive.

[764]

The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." After interminable

[126]

negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113]

1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage* and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after [775] the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.
[847]

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
556 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on
[826] their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 775 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 775 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 174

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [775]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

[726] [224] [782] [237] [825]

272 273 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

[756]

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

775 [821] [753] [262] [756] [787] [773]

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

156 [787] 774 756 755 [562] [262] [778]

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter V

ADDITIONAL DATA CONCERNING KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Terms of Address

114 In my discussion of the Bororo referential terminology,
*601 I have not made any use of the literature available on the subject (Albisetti, 1948: 10-11; Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962: 452-475; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 51; Lévi-Strauss, 1936: 281; Oberg, 1953: 127). The published data present a great deal of inconsistency, due to the difficulty in distinguishing among the different terminological systems which, side by side and often cross-cutting each other, are used by the Bororo.

*601 The terms of address constitute one of these systems. I will not give a list of all the vocative kin terms, because most of them are identical with the referential kin terms. Only the differences between the two systems will be noted.

The descriptive term for son is itonaregedu imedu ("male child"), for daughter is itonaregedu aredu ("female child"), for younger brother iviye imedu ("male younger sibling"), for
*601 younger sister iviye aredu ("female younger sibling"). In
561 the referential system the distinction between sexes was
562 neutralized and both son and daughter were referred to as itonaregedu ("child") and both younger sister and younger

*601 brother were referred to as iviye ("younger sibling"). In
561 the system of address the distinction between generations is
562 neutralized and the sex differentiation stressed, so that both son and younger brother are called imedu ("man" or "male") and both daughter and younger sister are called aredu ("woman" or "female").

System of Reference		System of Address
"younger sibling" (iviye)		"man" or "male" (imedu)
"child" (itonaregedu)		"woman" or "female" (aredu)

*601 The terms for these new designations do not take the prefix for the first singular, i, it, in, which all of the reference terms have (i in imedu is part of the root), and they usually have postposed the adjectives "young" and "old" which will be discussed later.

Second, there is a merger of certain kin types from the grandparents' generation with those of the parents' generation:

$$(MP \rightarrow P) = (dc \rightarrow c)$$

i.e., Ego's mother's parents are addressed in the same way as Ego's own parents. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals also holds: Ego's daughter's child is addressed in the same way as Ego's own child.

We can immediately perceive the structural similarity of this rule with the Crow Type IV rule in the consanguineal domain and with the female parallel-collateral skewing rule. This is the third time that the structural equivalence of

*601
602

	"grand-father" and "mother"	"sibling"	"grand-mother" and "father"	"grand-child" and "child"	
pega rogu	+	+	+		
pega	+	+	+		
rogu		+			Senior
0	+	+	+	+	
0	+	+	+	+	
rogu		+	+	+	
pega			+	+	Junior
pega rogu			+	+	

[562] The two subclasses "man" or "male" (imedu) and "woman" or "female" (aredu) are not included in the diagram because the application of the adjective to them follows the same rules as for "younger siblings" and "children."

*601
561 The kinship terms can receive further specifications. The most important among these are those used in connection with relative age or the birth order of siblings. Ego will describe his or her sibling born before him either as itododaiwu ("the one before me"), or pebutoijagiwu ("the one born before me"), or ikodurekodajiwu ("the one whom I follow"). He will describe his sibling born after him either as

101 be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages. But whatever the correct interpretation is, if in fact there is one, the people of one's own moiety and those from the other one will all be merged in the term paobe (first person plural inclusive) when contrasting the Bororo to civilized people or some other Indian tribe.

*601 In addition to genealogically specified kin-types, any
561 Bororo, if necessary, may be designated by a kinship term:
562

imana ("a man's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

ivuri ("a woman's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iyedaga ("grandfather"): Any imana or ivuri who is knowledgeable or quite old.

ituye ("older sister"): Any woman of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iviye ("younger sister"): Any person of the same moiety who is younger than Ego.

iyoqwa ("father"): Any man of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any man, regardless of his age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

imarugo ("grandmother"): Any woman of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any woman, regardless of her age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

itonaregedu ("child"): Any person of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego and does not belong

*601 to Ego's father's clan.

561 <u>ivagedu</u> ("grandson"): Any man of the same moiety who

• 562 is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego <u>iyedaga</u>. Any man of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

<u>irago</u> ("granddaughter"): Any woman of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego <u>iyedaga</u>. Any woman of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

*601 A further extragenealogical extension of kinship terms

82 includes all the world. All plants, animals, rivers, mountains, stars, and even spirits are conceived as connected to a particular clan or subclan. How these connections became established differs from case to case. Some animals were already part of a certain clan in mythical times when there was not yet a difference between animals and people. Some other items were seen for the first time by a member of a specific clan. For many others the Bororo do not know to whom they belong. However they have no doubt that everything belongs to somebody, and if they do not know it, it is because today the knowledge of the people is limited. Any such item, if connected with one's own clan, or, by extension, with any clan of one's moiety, will be considered the person's grandfather or grandmother. If it is connected with one's father's clan, or, by extension, with any clan of the opposite moiety,

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is consid-
ered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
562 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

853 Bororo fathers and mothers are very affectionate and
868 patient with their children. Both parents teach the child how to talk, and when the child grows up and starts asking questions, they try to explain everything they are asked.
603 The method of education is by advice and persuasion. In
868 the village where I worked, a three-year-old girl once was crying and screaming loudly at her grandmother. The woman seemed not to pay too much attention to her behavior and kept talking gently to her, saying that she should not be angry with her grandparents because they were not maltreat-her; they were teaching her so she would know how to do things and would behave correctly; that when she grew up she would go to collect ako (one kind of nut) and pick ari, boko, and jatugo (fruits of the forest); that for these
855 reasons they were talking to her. Sometimes, however, the
861 Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals, owls or wolves, will come and eat their sexual organs. Very seldom is a child beaten; when it happens, it is only for special transgressions. Only once did I see a mother strike her daughter with a stick. She had found the child eating clay, and the child had been previously warned several times not to do it. The children are never forced to do something they do not want to do. A mother can ask her young daughter to go to the spring to get some water, but if the girl says itaidu kare--"I do not want to do it"--the mother will take the container and go to the spring herself.

868 At three or four years of age a girl will start to play
562 with small baskets, straw trays, and fans that her mother

868 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with
562 small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as
868 adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is
[822] his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

868
829
593

> If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will will die but you will be here in his place, you will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With this in mind he instructed you in all these things.
>
> But suppose you do not listen to your father's

181 sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities,
571 participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The
[114] patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

614 The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into sub-
561 clans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and sub-
562 clans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In re-
822 porting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ances-
827 tors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers.

614 The division is not restricted only to animals; many other
562 beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differen-
822 tiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu
827

(black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea); ancestors of the Red ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female[A] and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodare (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

[A] [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

796 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are
613 exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Jakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red
[561] Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual
[562] pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

616 beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane
823 belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

534 Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: Ika and pana. Ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for [542] rhythm. Usually, when Ika plays, the women are not supposed
533 to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. Ika
534 is always played alone or two Ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is
[825] also significant. Ika is elongated and narrow, often with
[831] one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka—
600 the curves of a narrow waist. Ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[72] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[223] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure arego-
dure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu mpto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
600 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

553 Hugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
[534] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[162] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[834] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
[561] tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
[825] penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
482 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions; that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier. /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

562 It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary
121 for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it
847 male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be: the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones: the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous impediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.

847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and especially of the future mother herself. If, for example, the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epidemics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe, which does not want to admit anything that might harm its

847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete

842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Borôros, Rio de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P.W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
[601] wife, who will receive and will place everything in order, while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment on they will live together, they will call each other by the names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two
[304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
831 young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
[302] "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/131 cont./

562 831 the following morning, Maria, rich in experience, in whose resistance there could not have been very serious intentions. Did you not want to get married yesterday? I asked. -- Now I am already married, she answered calmly. She was lying down in all /132/ comfort under a red blanket beside her favorite man, and both were cracking nuts from a palm tree. One day we say Moguyokuri encouraging the young men to decorate Maria, who appeared so brave in the struggle and was so submissive now. Immediately six young men threw themselves upon her, painting her."

The fact, however, that the girl taken to the men's house did not figure there in any manner as a slave without a will of her own is evident and thanks to the following observation by Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 489): "While the women, ordinarily, remained away from the men's house, there was rarely missing there a couple of lovers who frolicked lying under a common red blanket. Nobody was concerned about it, except a few friends tormented by a little jealousy, who actually had been refused by the common sweetheart and had to be satisfied with sitting beside the couple, talking to them."

562 831 184 Such customs in the men's house do not seem to have existed among the Bororo with whom the Salesian missionaries spent their life. At least Colbacchini never mentions anything similar. I did not see any women in the men's house in Toriparu either.

000 It has been affirmed that the custom according to which one sex is much older than the other one in marriage indicates a predominance of the first (Vaerting, o.c., p. 22 and seq.), quoting examples from Egypt, America, and India. From South American Indians, for example, from the hunting and gathering people of the Chamacoco in the Chaco /133/ (Baldus: Indianerstudien /Indian Studies/, Leipzig, 1931, p. 58),

/133 cont./

000 and from the Mojo, agriculturalists already Christianized by the Jesuits on the Rio Mamoré in Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland /To the Gateway of the Sun through old Indian country/, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), there became known the so-called matrimonial school, an institution according to which adolescent boys marry older women, and older men young girls, the older ones representing, in a way, an educational role. We did not learn of similar
582 rules among the Bororo. Concerning the age ratios in the marriages observed in 1934 in the mission of Meruri, the list reproduced above is to be seen. According to this list, for 4 couples, both spouses were of the same age, for 16 the husband was older, and for 6 the woman was older. For 7, the husband was up to five years older; for 3, he was from five to ten years older; for 6, he was more than ten years older. For 3, the wife was up to five years older; for 2, she was from five to ten years older; for one, she was more than ten years older.

616 One must consider as a harmful consequence of the exogamy
589 practiced among the Bororo the fact that bachelors and the widowed of both sexes often have to remain, without being able to marry for a long time, or even forever, for lack of a corresponding consort from the other "half"; this was observed also by Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50).

616 One can judge the severity with which the separation of the exogamic "halves" is observed, even after marriage, by the
562 following observations by Colbacchini (o.c., /134/ pp. 49 and 50); "By their totemism, it is absolutely forbidden for the men of one dynasty to talk, to smile at, or merely to notice or to look at the women of another dynasty. This is observed meticulously and scrupulously. The men of any age, meeting by chance on the road or any place one or more women, not only will keep from being stopped, they will not look at them,

/134 cont./

616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty, and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in public, even though not so scrupulously: it will, however, be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to be together, except when they leave the house and both go to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest: this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal), while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[289] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and
[171] weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of
128 labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

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833 How much the sexual life is related to the social
562 position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in
123 Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

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833 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day:
562 "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down
123 one beside the other, because one day they will die and then
775 they are reunited."

864 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from
115 Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 From Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the
171 following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

/144 cont./

000 goddess of the earth, had in common seven rings. "When they met at night, they would decorate themselves with these rings, that is, the one who was lying on top always wore the first four rings, and the one who was lying underneath wore the remaining three rings" (Leo Frobenius: Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes, /From the Cultural Realm of the Continent/, Berlin, 1923, p. 112). According to an ancient Syrio-Judaic tale, Adam and Eve argued in paradise about which of the two, during coitus, had to lie underneath and which one on top (Frobenius, ibidem).

/145/ To what point the socially inferior position of the woman in our civilization is manifested also with respect to the sexual life is shown by the following expressions: "to possess" or "to use" or "to dishonor" a woman. Our collective morality does not tolerate the woman's using such expressions also with respect to the man. She cannot "possess him," but must "belong to him," she cannot "use him," but she must "surrender herself," and she can never "dishonor him," because she must seduce him in such a way that he considers himself the seducer.

Among our Indians, we shall look in vain for a mentality 562 that establishes similar violent differences between the sexes. This is not contradicted by what Koslowsky (o.c. p. 384) relates about the western Bororo /The following quotation has been translated from the Spanish/: "When they get ready for hunting/the ounce [H.B.]) they begin by observing certain ceremonies, which consist principally of not sleeping with one's wife for four days before leaving to hunt the feline; in this interval he starts by painting his face with urucú, he prepares his arrows at the heat of the fire in order to harden the fibers of the tacuara /bamboo/. Under no circumstance is the woman allowed to touch the point of the arrows, since the Indian believes that with her contact they would lose their power of penetration and that it would attract misfortunes to him." -- When the man avoids relations

562 224 [411]

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/145 cont./

562 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically
224 and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his
833 sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the
173 past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but
[224] today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much, for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

832 It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is
833 the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to
173 which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

832 They say that the only form of sexual caress known by the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

838 Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the
839 Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes
171 visited by me.

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should
not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of
this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation
of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already
found out "that any look or smile between persons of different
sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral."
Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom
and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
562 (Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c.,
p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner:
"When the contention within the hut reached the culminating
point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running
out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one.
Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three
women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One
of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to
meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce
fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center
of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned
in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass
/148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing,
the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure,
the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries
held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the
hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines
of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the
front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and
try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or
521 when they themselves get furious because of some gossip. Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to
152 be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
593 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

/149 cont./

562 the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this
114 opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced
797 of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man,
[593] a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already born with him, a composition by which only the individual is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes himself from all the other individuals. Although the social position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way, seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage is given its own and true configuration, or, said better, its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the boundary between the social and the individual being. How many men are there among us who would like to be dominated by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer with his individuality the influence of the conventions created by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/150 cont./

171 The differences in character of the individuals are no fewer in an Indian aldeia than in one of our aldeias; and
562 there, too, the very pronounced characters open the road, in marriage, through the /151/ social rules. Among the Guató, whom Couto de Magalhães (O selvagem /the Savage/, 3rd. edition, São Paulo, 1935, p. 148) calls "an exaggerated type of the man's rights over the woman," Julio Koslowsky ("Tres semanas entre los indios Guatos /Three weeks among the Guato Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895, p. 232) found a man about whom, after having praised his extraordinary intelligence, he mentions /the following quotation has been translated from the Spanish/: "The only thing that I had to disapprove was the complete submission that he demonstrated toward his wife."

Such examples are found in every tribe of Indians. Among the Tapirapé I saw men who ordered and mistreated the woman, and others who fled from the hut with his plumes when the enraged wife threatened to throw these ornaments in the fire. Among the Karajá there are men who, in a moment of anger, thrashed the woman terribly, and who, in spite of that, in all the important matters, submits to her unconditionally. Karl von den Steinen says, although generalizing, of the Indians of the Xingú region (o.c., p. 332): "The man let the woman carry a heavier load than he did, he ordered her to remain far from the house of the flutes in which the men consulted, smoked, held festivities, and where the men were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and did what she wanted."

562 One day an old lay brother in Sangradouro, who had spent all his life with the Bororo, explained to me, in an ingenuous way, the behavior of this tribe in such situations: "Generally it is the man who commands; but /152/ when one of them is very good to the woman, it is

/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

If we want to investigate the importance of the
121 adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask
562 first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with
[237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex.
[304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the
[856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

/152 cont./

301 The earring without a tooth, represented in Figure 2, belongs to the clan of the Paí-we; the one with a tooth, in Figure 3, is from the clan of the Dyakome(r)-koadda.

[237] It is probable that the shape of these earrings might have been taken from the chest ornament made with the claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/ (Priodontes giganteus) called bokodori inoge (bokodori: tatú canastra; inoge: claw), and represented various times by Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 50) and by Karl von den Steinen (o.c.).

[306] I saw a Bororo in Sangradouro also make a chest ornament in the shape and with the size of the bokodori inoge, but out of a sheet of tin plate.
I was not able to find out whether this shape has any connection with the moon.

/153/ We may consider as "individual adorning" among the Bororo the use of transverse cords on the chest and of the narrow woven ribbons on the arms. Both sexes, /154/ adults and children, are in the habit of wearing them occasionally in order to, as I was assured, be protected from illnesses.

[562] [751]

It seems that the chest ornament made out of animals' teeth serves for the same purpose. Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 479) wrote about this ornament: "Only very rarely does it happen that women also receive these ornaments, which probably results from the change by the colonization, because it is said that among the other Bororo it is common

[237] [751] [562]

/154 cont./

301 562 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care. [237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment" [836] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally [593] adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both [171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first [171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting [613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/156 cont./

301 562 other sex or to his own or shows him superior to the other sex or to his own can only be answered in facing this or that particular case. Thus, this answer has only individual-psychological value, and not general value, concerning the significance of the adornment for the position of the sexes.

562 201 Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 497) writes that among the Indians "it is proper for the woman to cry and 'to tremble' always, when animals, enemies, or merely cataracts threaten, and always to need protection."

I confirmed in my experiences that this is true in general; and when it is observed that the woman, in anger and in fear, utters sharp cries or moans, while the man almost always tries in any case to preserve a more tranquil dignity, we are inclined to see in this behavior a superiority of the man. And even if the cause for the woman's behavior is only her intention "to win by means of weakness" in the relations between the sexes, that seems to us an indication of social inferiority.

000 In the majority of the native tribes the men even want the women to show fear, and certain dances are performed for this purpose. According to Wilhelm Koppers (Unter Feuerlandindianern /Among Fuegian Indians/, Stuttgart, 1924), the Indians in Tierra del Fuego narrate that in ancient times they were completely dominated by the woman, because the latter had joined together in secret leagues and performed rites thanks to which they kept the men in /157/ permanent fear. But one day the men discovered this stratagem and then did the same with the woman; and since that time the latter have been intimidated [171] by means of practices of sorcery and dances. In the dances of the Ināpēsē of the Chamacoco in the Chaco (Baldus, Indianerstudien, p. 94), what the men want, by means of their mysterious and frightening tricks, is to protest against the power of the women.

/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931": The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII,
[562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is,
796 many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the
[534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular
[761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
603 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[309] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

/162 cont./

773 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

the combined action produces a strange, moaning whir. The rest of that day and all of the following night the bull-roarers are whirled, and their noise is believed to represent the voice of the evil spirit *Bope*. (No woman may see the bull-roarers, for the sight, it is believed, would kill her.) The bones are carried to their final resting

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[776]
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[p. 48-C]

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302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the tatou canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called bachytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This bachytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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Uneven holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

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abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually 000
in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that 342
even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they 364
erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of 361
the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of 364
huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- 356
ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing 296
to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, 592
each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very 345
large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut [361]
is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling [342]
is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a [342]
bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; [589]
a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the [548]
men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is per- [862]
mitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts 000
in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

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wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

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skin deep, but now and then they accidentally cut deep and bleed profusely. The reader will have observed that the males do not cut themselves, nor pluck out their hair. They are careful not to injure themselves. It is only the nearest female relative of the deceased that has her hair jerked out.

Witnessing these hideous, uncanny and revolting scenes of savagery, in the sickening atmosphere and dismal gloom of the great hut, and listening to the pandemoniacal uproar or medley of infernal noises, one could well imagine that he had somehow been cast into the dungeons of the damned, and was hearing their shrieks, and wails, and moans of unspeakable anguish and despair. While this hideous drama, that only savage tragedians are capable of interpreting, was being enacted, and pandemonium was singing and playing its hellish hymns, and saying its mass, in this cavernous place; outside, a tropical sun was silently inundating the earth with its glorious effulgence, and all Nature, arrayed more beautifully than Solomon in all his glory, sang for joy.

The first part of this horrid nightmare within the great hut with the body present, continues night and day without intermission, until the first sunset after death; then, as the king of light sinks slowly and majestically behind the western wilderness, and the shadows of night begin to gather, symbolical of the closing forever of life's bright, happy day, and the ushering in of the black, sad, hopeless night of the invisible world, the savage choir, chorus and orchestra become hushed; and the enwrapped remains are borne solemnly to the public playground just outside the great hut, placed on top of the ground and covered by a little mound of earth. Here the body lies for a week or more in order that the flesh may decay and separate from the bones. Each evening during this time, at the *meri de códu*—the setting of the sun—as the prince of day resigns the earth to the rule of night, the sorrowing family and sympathizing friends, gather around the sacred mound, and with their faces turned toward the dying light, murmur a low, mournful chant, pleading the virtues of the lost one, and perhaps also recommending him to the good offices of the "supreme power"

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Brazil.

[776 [821 [756 [795 The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them, is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

789 534 Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons, or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarer*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

534 562 788 No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

warning calls are given frequently for some hours in advance 534
of the time when the instruments are to be brought into 562
use. Hearing these warnings the females enter their huts, 788
close the openings and hide their heads. The *roarers* are always manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush, and at openings in the forest.

Many other tribes have mystery instruments and practice 534
demon music. Wallace, describing those of some Rio Negro 562
tribes, says that their instruments are pipes, or tubes, like 171
great bassoons or trumpets, and produce sounds somewhat like trombones or clarinets. One kind is made of bamboo or palm-stems, hollowed out, while others are made of bark, twisted spirally and have mouthpieces of leaves. Each instrument produces but one note, but several pairs are played at the same time, each pair being of the same size and emitting the same note. A simple tune is played, revealing unusual taste for savages; and though the music sounds strange and wild, it is somewhat pleasing. The musicians wave the instruments about in a peculiar manner, vertically and sidewise, while playing them, and accompany these movements with corresponding contortions of the body. These instruments are considered a great mystery. No female of the tribe must ever look upon them under pain of death. From the first moment this mystery music is heard, not a female, young or old, is to be seen for all have hidden themselves away in the woods. If a female should see one of these instruments, either accidentally or by design, she would be put to death, usually by poisoning; and a father will not hesitate to become the executioner of his own daughter, or a husband of his wife. Even where there is only a suspicion that the instrument has been seen by forbidden eyes, no mercy is shown.

I experienced difficulty in getting possession of two or 126
three of the *roarers* for my collection. The Bororó were very 534
reluctant to let me have them, fearing that their women might 562
catch sight of them in some way. But they finally brought them to our hut, one at a time, under cover of darkness, after having borrowed blankets from us in which to roll them, and

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126 534 562 delivered them to me with a solemn, mysterious air. Even after the instruments were in our possession, these superstitious people manifested great solicitude in having us hide them away in the bottom of a box, and placing the box itself in an inaccessible place.

126 534 777 We also had difficulty in securing the big bass flutes used at the funeral *bakororó*. They were not kept hidden from any member of the tribe, yet the savages were loathe to part with them for some superstitious reasons. When I asked a captain to get me a pair, he looked solemn and mysterious, and said by words and signs: "The captain" (myself) "must not take this instrument away with him. It is a very bad instrument; whoever carries it away will never more return." In saying that it was "bad," he meant that it was "bad medicine," that it would bring "bad luck" to the possessor. Perhaps the old pagan was not far wrong after all, for contrary to my expectations, and to my great disappointment, I have not yet been able to return to their villages.

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 514 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 241 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 621 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

178 291 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/497 cont. /

534 belonging to their new associate is being withheld, that in the
765 future they therefore have nothing more to seek in the village, and then later when the bone-basket is disposed of and the deceased leaves the village. The underlying idea of all the ceremonies is the fear that the deceased will return to take away the
534 living. In the ceremonies undertaken to ward off this possibility,
765 the weaker sex is apprehensively excluded. During this time the
562 women run into the forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by the whizzer stick, whose booming noise has a warning or uncanny character by nature. If they were present, they would risk the danger of dying. Up to this point everything
534 is logical and natural. Now, however, something more than is
562 necessary happens; in connection with these practices there has
784 developed a danger for the women at even the mere sight of the whizzer stick. They would die if they saw it.

000 Certainly a reinforcement of an exaggerated nature, but not at all incomprehensible. One finds similar exaggerations among our women in their fear of firearms; a lady whom I know held her ears when I showed her a revolver with an open, empty barrel and, in a state of excitement which refused to see and hear anything, begged that it be taken away because -- quoted strictly historically -- "it happens often enough that those things
[828] go off even if they are not loaded." When the whizzer stick is heard among the Bororó on the two occasions mentioned, it corresponds to the loaded revolver; there is danger for both men and women, but the apprehension for the latter is greater because in general in the view of the Indian it is part of a woman's nature that she always weeps, "trembles," when animals, enemies, indeed, even waterfalls threaten, and that she is always in need of protection. Now if even the sight of the whizzer stick is dangerous for the woman, this is still partly the fear of the unloaded revolver, partly also a thoughtless form acquired by her as the result of the practice of generations, which is employed with anxious eagerness without examination. In exactly the same way Wallace observed in the Amazonas region that the women flee when the flutes of the jurupari-demon dance are heard, and he was

/498 cont./

000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
●562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
784 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
784 founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
344 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in
562 diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

/506 cont./

765 brush-like and fastened them on the most attractively adorned young man, at the shoulders, where he had black tar spots, on his arms, knees, ankles. This Bororó in the green foliage adornment represented the dead in its present state, buried under a covering of green leaves. Four men stepped up with a basket-bag, brought out clothes of Coqueiro's wife, and hung them on the green one who stood there groaning and rocking with his knees -- a picture of misery, according to our concepts a "poor soul," looking strange in the "overloaded" costume of blue arara feathers, green garlands, and five colored cotton skirts. The others, too, hung skirts on themselves, one man a jaguar [534] skin; they gave the green one a small gourd flute with little [535] white feathers pasted on it and performed a dance. A man with two rattle-gourds led the dance, behind him danced the green one, and behind this one the other four, all six sang in chorus and danced, stepping to the right and stepping to the left, first to the ranchão, then turned back, and, dancing, stamped out a circle on the ground. Suddenly they veered off and, in disorder, ran toward the forest where they disappeared.

With the little gourd flute the late deceased called two dead persons who had lain in the earth for a long time. They were supposed to be present when the belongings were surrendered, to receive their new companion, and to be convinced that no one was withholding anything of his which on subsequent disagreeable visits he might demand back from the survivors.

After a quarter of an hour the swarm came storming back with frightful whoops, two of them carried on their backs -- hurrah, the dead ride fast -- two truly ghastly figures, naked, unadorned, plastered from head to foot with wet river loam. 765 With bestial cries the loam-monsters leaped about like wild 768 animals, three whizzer sticks buzzed and whirred through the air [534] like huge bluebottle flies -- no female creature was to be seen [562] far and wide, and the huts lay as though uninhabited, closed up with mats -- in the middle of the recently stamped circle a bright fire was lighted with great bustle, a tremendous load of all kinds of household equipment was dragged up, baskets, fire fans,

/508 cont./

765 Meanwhile Coqueiro also arrived, holding a child by the
[152] hand. He sat down quietly to one side, sobbed and wept. He wore no ornament, except the black cord around his waist, which he had spun and plaited out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he squeezed his eyes shut as though weeping were painful.

Gradually the vault of the skull was covered with red arara velvet. If a person had to wipe off his hands, he used the basket. Some of those present soon no longer paid any attention to the celebration. The children were running about gaily, a few men were munching on ears of maize and working, a couple of women were delousing each other, but kept on singing devoutly. It also became emptier.

One eventually became drowsy from all the whirring and booming tones. A drummer joined in, a pelt of small parrot feathers pasted on his arms. The room filled up again. Seven
765 women stepped up to the old bone-basket, scratched themselves,
785 and placed their feet on it so that their blood soaked the straw too. Cf. Plate 29 /see p. 633/. The wounds were two to three centimeters apart, a red network covered legs and arms, chests and abdomens. Their facial expression remained calm and showed no pain; the scratching was done with extremely quick movements. They all wrapped their sliver of glass in a leaf, handed
[152] it to Coqueiro, and sat down beside him. New groups came to scratch themselves, always only women and girls, and did what the preceding ones had done; each one, before she made a scratch, put the sliver to her mouth and moistened it. Booming and droning, two flutes joined the music of the rattling gourds, the drum, the singing and stamping. The singers danced with incredible endurance. Coqueiro also squatted down beside the basket and scratched his arms, while a woman stood beside him with her child on her back.

765 Toward noon the skull and the basket were finished. In the case of the former, the red velvet cap was interrupted by a pretty yellow cross-line, corresponding to the cranial suture. Snowy white feathers were glued on the new basket, and on either side, in the white area, two rows of red squares, like

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
● 563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
• 563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

582 among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a per-
613 son might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's
881 yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen
[827] from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

881 While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of
[585] mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full anal-
[114] ysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I,
[178] pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned
[563] it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more
[181] intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of
556 manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
614 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

• 571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre čåbōgeʷōge, Ẻwåguddudoge čåbōgeʷōge, and Ẻwåguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ẻwåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O čera clans.

The Bādejebage čębegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [237] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 849 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to
[616] be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
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/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awãra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeõ," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bãdejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 773 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bãdejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 571 787 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin of the O Čera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to [E92] establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Čera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/) comes from a subdivision of Bãdejebage Čębegeʷõge: Iparéčeba, of the Bãdejebage Čãbogẽʷõge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bãdejeba Čębegeʷõ had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement.

614 [787] Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ewãguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
773 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
[262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character.
[614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

• 571 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
[115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from
The beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
616
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622

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

115 constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[197] years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bādejeba—one Bādejeba Čāboge^{w}ō or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō, however, held a pre-eminent place.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębege^{w}ōge and Čābōge^{w}ōge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bādejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the ^{a}Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bādejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

/302 cont./

571 side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the
614 Bādejebage Čābōgeʷōge. The existence, the name, and the
616 localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained.
621 While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them,
[634] we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tučawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷō from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge found themselves completely stripped.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tuǰawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębegeʷō clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[773] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

/The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

613 There is still another context in which the Bororo use
571 the term boyadadawu, and in this case the term is used interchangeably with akuge. Akuge is another Bororo word which is difficult to render in English. The closest translation would be the Portuguese "criaçao dêles," their domestic animals, their pets, their foster children. In the present context an appropriate translation would be "their clients." The designation boyadadawu may be applied when a lineage within a clan is of so little importance that the Bororo are reluctant to call it either Black or Red. In this instance the term boyadadawu does not indicate the spatial position of the lineage between the two subclans, but rather it indicates that the lineage is attached to other lineages which can legitimately be considered Black or Red. An exception, however, is the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu, which was designated by one informant as boyadadawu. This lineage can be considered "in the middle" in two ways. It is in the middle between the Black and the Red Ivagududoge, and at the same time it is considered to be geographically the middle of the Tugarege moiety. A comparable lineage in the Echerae moiety is supposed to be a lineage situated between the two subclans of the Bokodori Echerae clan, but the informants do not agree on its name.

614 I will now discuss some clans that present certain pe-
613 culiarities in their subdivision.

The clan Bokodori Echerae is not divided into Blacks and Reds. The Bororo avoid making this division when talking

613 Paiwoe, Apiborege[1]
614 Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge
[796] Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge
[361] The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echerae (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Enogujeba Echerae (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

613 The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugi-
614 wuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Che-
● 571 begiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

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[1] The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
796 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

613 and Ocha Kudureu (a lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge
614 clan) was older than Bakorokudu, but the younger brothers
571 outgrew their older brothers, and the Bororo made them chiefs. Because of this, he said, the Bororo do not talk about the subclans of these two clans in the framework of older-younger brother relationship but give them special
183 names. It is my opinion that the function of this disagree-
571 ment is to avoid valuing one kind of activity more than the other. And if both kinds of activity are of equal importance, then the brothers who preside over them also have to be of equal importance.

614 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red
616 macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the
827 Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after
561 the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger
[192] brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo lan-
[773] guage. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger.
844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever be-
[773] ing born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have al-
571 ready been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963:
114 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

181 sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities,
57 participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The
[114] patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

614 The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into sub-
561 clans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and sub-
562 clans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In re-
822 porting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ances-
827 tors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers.

614 The division is not restricted only to animals; many other
562 beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differen-
822
827 tiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and repre-
616 sentatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

571 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije
613 Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the
539 head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also baku-
773 gumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumpe, a kind
616 of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo iwararege eimejera (the chief of the iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."[1]

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[1] "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Ararore) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

- imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
- uku ika (a musical instrument)
- pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
- baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
- okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)
- biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
- enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

- imo irogodu (body painting)
- imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
- imo pariko (a headdress)

773 Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:
616 imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)
571 imo irogodu (body painting)
[292] Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)
[302] Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo
[534] gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.
[769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it
[115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

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But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'Itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'Itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'Itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'Itubore.'[1]

Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many sub-
[825] clans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the adugodoge
[776] (jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aije (water spirits represented by the bull-roarers) be-
[774] longing to the Aroroe. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aije, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

Bakororo gave:

Aije choreu (black Aije) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Aije kujagureu (red Aije) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Aije baru-baru (Aije of the horizon) to Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Aije akirireu (down Aije) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

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1 "A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu mode iwo maku akai. Kodire i mode maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere Itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare Itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure Itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare Ituborere ema pugeje."

773 616 571 [776] Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[776] Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

[776] Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[614] The Arorce entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 616 614 613 As a second example I list the lineages with which the clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

571 changed:
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Tadugo's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

Aroya Kurireu's yorubodare are:

Kuje Barujeba (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Boyari Pijiwu (Kiye Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge).

Butore Agadu's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Bokodori Baru (Bokodori Echerae Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

Yorubodare of the Small Ivagududoge are:

Small Bokodori Echerae

Small Kiye.

571 We see that there is a tendency for the most important
616 lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most
613 important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less important lineages to contract these relationships with lesser lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships existing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other relationship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu, and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro. Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororb at least one representation to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits
[582] Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lin-
[881] eages to intermarry and exchange initiators among themselves, though they are from the same moiety.

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [574] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

cause their Echorae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborega. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
534 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[834] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[891] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
790 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

437 signs than by words. "*Caiba!*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Boé*, sick; *Boé*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of [281] the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day, some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for [532] [126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with super-
000 stitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
264 families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/486 cont./

411 bamboo point, hollowed out with the capibara chisel, and is only loosely fastened with a little resin and string; cf. No. 4. The war arrow, No. 10, also carved out of seriba, bears a very narrow (one to two centimeters) piece of bamboo, round, but sharpened along its entire length (37 centimeters). The bamboo points break off in the body.

The barbed arrow is equipped with a harpoon device to catch alligators and larger fish. The length of the harpoon arrow in No. 9 was 1.78 centimeters /sic/, 31 centimeters of which should be allowed for the barbed stick fastened to a rope; the shaft, a thick ubá reed, was additionally wound half a meter in breadth.

The snapshot in Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ and Plate 28 /see p. 600/ show the stretching of the bow. The crouching archer holds the bow horizontally; the standing one, vertically. A reserve arrow is held parallel to the bow with the left hand. In this case the arrow rests to the left of the bow on the index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. At its rear end it is grasped between thumb and index finger, the thumb lets go, the index finger, in extended position, supports and adjusts the arrow more accurately, the other three fingers, especially the middle
[171] finger, stretch the bowstring. Thus, the stretching is different from that on the Kulisehu (cf. page 237). In the case of the crouching archer, where the arrow lies on the bow and is slightly pressed against it there by the tip of the index finger of the left hand, the position of the stretching right hand differs insofar as the rear end of the arrow is held between the tightly grasping thumb and the bent index finger.

345 Work in the men's house and techniques. Each one had his particular place: one who lived in the direction of the river, in the corner facing the river, and so forth, all according to the position of the house of the nearest relatives. Here where the
[571] Indians were among themselves there prevailed, except for the sexual practices, a commendable order, even according to our
461 concepts. A person who had nothing to do, of course, idled with great perseverance, but a person who was occupied with his weapons, ornaments, and implements worked indefatigably and

561 /500 cont./
●571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the [178] Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

224 At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband [222] would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals [462] included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending [756] over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown. [231]

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar [263] only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is [574] served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, [342] [346] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes* [184]

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina 574
to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had 735
been left behind, to bring maté, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. 342
The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleep- 352
ing either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no 512
further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make 323
pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no indus- 287
try whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were 411
several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language 177
being almost forgotten even by the older people. 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, 574
they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one
for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the 533
men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompani- 535
ment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Sev- [273]
eral times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoulders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which
[531] was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar' dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side. His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [579] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars. 133 137

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of *college yells*, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females. 361 574 122

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, *brightly painted, uncouth* appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The 361 137 291 302 000 136

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the 533
notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, 825
growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its 151
bakororó, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures.

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting 533
expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages [224]
intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* [574]
is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune.

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the 532
savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space 224
of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, 825
especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals.

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these prim- 000
itive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state.

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

Brazil.

When the immediate family of the deceased have howled, wailed and chanted until they can scarcely articulate, they drink clay water, asserting that this relieves the throat somewhat. 765 [271]

Finally, I saw the basket of bones taken by the mother of the deceased, and buried in the little cemetery two or three miles from the village, where, it was believed, the *bopi* would take possession of them in a few weeks. The sorcerer is believed to know when the *bopi* removes the bones. [775]

A day or two after the conclusion of the funeral rites I witnessed, the father of the deceased, sent by the village authorities, disinterred the basket of bones and brought it back to the great hut. Three of the chief men from a distant village had arrived on a visit, whom it was necessary to receive with honors and entertain with the best festival the village could get up. And what could equal for entertainment a good funeral *bakororó?* But how could they have a funeral *bakororó* without a corpse, or at least the bones? As soon as the basket of bones was again brought into the great hut, pandemonium was once more in session, and the rattling, roaring, groaning, squatting, snorting, barking, weeping and wailing continued all the rest of the day and all night. At daybreak, the following morning, an intermission was taken in order that the players and actors in this savage drama might go fishing. They fished and hunted all day that they might have something to feast upon, for, of course, a *bakororó* without a banquet would scarcely be a *bakororó*. But when the darkness of night again enshrouded the land, the hideous uproar of the savage horde again burst upon our ears and did violence to the peace and tranquillity of the night until the dawn, when it was once more hushed, and the basket of bones was again entombed. [574]

Some of the Indians of the Rio Negro, here before mentioned, a score or two of families of whom live in one immense hut,—a primitive "flat,"—always bury their dead inside this hut under a few inches of earth, depositing the tobacco, ornaments and trinkets of the deceased in the grave with him. Some days after burial, a large quantity of fermented liquor is 000

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *areda* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-
[261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
●574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the 574 ●
wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve 576
yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of 261
their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which 262
was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of 264
roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly [252]
devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from 122
the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook ooo
prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of [123]
Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the [461]
material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet ooo
long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

/466 cont./

Eliseo had not yet been promoted; he himself, however, had been obliged to advise against having his young friend take over the other colony, Izabel, as proposed, because he might spoil his entire career by a mistake! For an outsider it was, indeed, remarkable to see how very much the cadets trusted his paternal care, which he alone profited by, and seemed truly devoted to him. I estimate that there were 30-35 toasts during the evening and calculate that more than 20 were to Duarte's well-being. Good-natured Eliseo was priceless. He first asked fluent Ildefonso to speak for him, but after a while he got up himself and /467/ began with determination: "não tendo a devida intelligencia," in fact, once the ice was broken, he gave one toast after another, each time beginning with the excuse that he did not have the necessary mental powers, and each time, at the end, appealing for the coadjuvencia of those present, debaixo de todo enthusiasmo he drank the health successively of the individual members of Duarte's family, his wife in Cuyabá, his brother, and especially his eldest daughter. The more beer that was drunk, the more moving and serious the speeches became. The apothecary was a poet, he knew a great deal about all kinds of flowers and compared the uncouth cadet Joaquim to a bud, he extolled woman who -- part one -- was only a child, and for him -- part two -- a goddess who forever remains an unfathomable mystery to us men. To the soft accompaniment of the guitar Caldas recited stirring verses; the beautiful words often tumbled over one another with uncanny speed, and with equal alacrity our emotion was obliged to leap from the tender to the pathetic, from the strong to the sweet. Everyone was deeply moved. Duarte was embraced like a father, Eliseo knelt before him and begged him for his blessing, which the father, however, gently refused with a "isso não," "oh friends, not these tones."

648 I have not yet mentioned the Bororó. They were by no means
574 absent, however, and were very much part of things. For the
[273] first time I saw a proud Indian chief uncork a bottle of German export beer. They did very well by the juice of barley and sugar cane and drank far more than they could stand; they kept

/467 cont./

648 interrupting the sentimental speeches with their eager chatter,
574 but no one paid any attention to it, they raised their bottles when
[273] the glasses clinked and would join in, they exhausted themselves and us with tender embraces. Moguyokuri also sat down and sang a resounding song and played the guitar, sweeping across the strings like a tapir through bamboo. Only the Indian women were absent during the serenade. Before it started, however, two young people had been brought by Moguyokuri to Duarte's room next door. There they looked out of the window the next morning and let themselves be admired, tortoise-shell combs in their hair, talmi chains around their necks, rose-colored circlets around their wrists, and demurely dressed in long shirts covered with a huge, iridescent palmetto design.

648 Perhaps I may be permitted to close up my peep show here. The pictures would merely be repeated. Until our departure on 18 April we had no occasion to observe whether the absence of the leader of the catechesis might be to blame for our unfavorable first impressions. Quite the contrary. Duarte went bathing, took a walk to the brickyard or the like; otherwise he sat all day in his room, in which there were always many Bororó. They all begged. Some received something, others received nothing. There were always drunken ones among them. The soldiers brought wood and palm leaves, which they obtained in the forest, for a new building. A few Bororó helped /468/ occasionally, because they received whiskey for it. If the purpose of the colony was doing nothing and passing the time on the part of officials and Indians, it could be regarded as a shining example for all others.

III. Observations.

000 Anthropological. Dress (hair, sexualia, artificial injuries, painting, ornaments). The aróe. Hunting and agriculture. Weapons. Work in the men's house and techniques. Food; "consecration" by the baris. Dance and play. Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Art of drawing. Law and marriage (customs of the family and of the men s house). Birth; names. Death rites. Soul and

/489 cont./

732 Sometimes Dyapokuri gave a performance. The men were far from regarding the feeble-minded one, who could only babble, as a superior creature. He liked to portray the quarreling of the women by launching into the most enraged gestures and vigorously demonstrated the mutual scratching and hair-pulling. He flew into frightful agitation himself, however, when a soldier teased him on account of his setting out to pursue the Kayapó (page 568) and, a stick over his shoulder, hitched along with huge, lunging strides: the poor devil foamed at the mouth with indignation, threw his burning chunk of wood at the mocker, and, since he did not know what else to do, snatched up a few wood chips from the ground and, with a teeth-baring grimace and unintelligible sounds of rage, depicted -- the mustache of the soldier. After a while he calmed down again and, for the funeral ceremony, practiced rattling with two rattle gourds and the rhythmic aróe grunts.

123 The hours in the ranchão were instructive and agreeable. There was only one thing that was intolerable, the incessant begging for tobacco. My pipe traveled from one man to another. The men dictated pages of Bororó to me, each one having to present in sentences whatever was going on at the moment, listened to me repeat it, and then laughed, just as gratified [157] as the Bakaírí. The more intimate we became, the more striking was the agreement in temperament and character with the Kulisehu Indians. On a post in the men's house, after we had taken the anthropological measurements, /490/ my height was also indicated. A piece of charcoal was crushed with the teeth, pulverized with saliva in the hand, and above my head a black ring was painted around the post.

433 Food; "consecration." According to Clemente's report, in spite of all the hunting, the plant food obtained by the women is of the greatest importance, because it comes in more regularly 222 and abundantly. The women look for roots with a pointed stick, climb up the palm trees with great agility, among which preference is given to the oaussú and akurí, gather the nuts, cut the "palm cabbage" in the crown, look for jatobá and pikí fruits, 292 and so forth. The palm nuts are roasted or pounded in a mortar •574 and mixed with water to make a thickish drink, the refreshing

/490 cont./.

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice
574 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

415

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

575

[Information on the aroe as it relates to the souls of the dead may be found in category 775.]

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/490 cont./

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
615 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:

535 wure wure	foot, foot
533 kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
čegu'e	we others
če	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
čegiga	we joyous

764 of the Ewãguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bãdejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewãguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau prepared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous
[576] ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

301 Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
556 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
428 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
433 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

This is the third time that the structural equivalence of
*601 the child and his or her mother is required in accounting for
593 kin terms. Though the social correlates of the rules will be discussed in subsequent chapters, we may even now start to wonder about the nature and importance of the mother-child relation for the Bororo.

There are still some more kin types that remain to be discussed. The first is "father's child." By our step-kin rule, father's children, younger than Ego, are considered younger siblings and are classified appropriately as iviye, or vocatively as imedu and aredu. (An alternative designation for them is ikobo. This term is applied both referentially and vocatively, but only knowledgeable members of the society use it at all, and then only very rarely.) However, if the person's father's child is a member of the opposite moiety (i.e., if their common father had the child by a woman of his own moiety), he will not be addressed by any kinship
[576] term at all. The Bororo say that it is not polite to remind a brother that he is the child of an endogamous relation.
[835] Thus he will usually be addressed by his name. "...but," said one of my informants, "if my sister from the other moiety makes sexual advances to me, I should say to her 'Do not play with me, the same father caused our birth, so do not behave in this way, I am your brother (avuri).'"[1]

There are two other kin types that differ, in the system

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[1] "Awadu kaba, pao mitodu koyare pawodudo. Kodire aro modu kare ino. Avuri nure imi."

*601 one parent speaking to the other about their child will say
593 akonaregedu ("your child"), while a woman speaking to another about their common husband will say akoredu (your husband). A mother speaking to her sons about their father will say tameduya (your companion), while a father speaking to his daughter about their mother will say tamedago (your com-
*601 panion). Finally, in some cases it is considered more polite
576 to refer to kinsmen descriptively instead of mentioning the class to which they belong. Thus if a man is looking for his sister-in-law and he is a polite person he will ask, "Where is my brother's wife (imana oreduje pa, or kaiba imana oreduje kodure)?"

Choice among Alternative Designations

*601 As a general rule it may be said that: 1. When a per-
611 son is doubly related to Ego, both matrilaterally and patrilaterally, the relationship traced through the mother takes precedence over the one traced through the father. In case FSs is also MBc then itonaregedu (MBc) takes precedence over
*601 imarugo (FSd) and iyogwa (FSs). 2. The term traced through
593 marriage of a person or one of his kinsmen takes precedence over the one traced through parents: in case that MBs is also SH, inodowu (SH) takes precedence over itonaregedu (MBs).

*601 In the case of sister exchange and marriage, where two
607 men are at the same time "wife's brother" and "sister's husband" to each other they will call each other either inodowu or itonaregedu. I did not have the opportunity to personally observe this kind of relation.

616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *areda* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-
[261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
593 [835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
[522] tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
[578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
593 affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
[539] uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tayogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

593 success from the economic point of view, but what is more
484 important seems to be the pleasure that the couple derive from being alone, away from their families, and free from continuous observation of the rules of public conduct.

593 There are advantages in having brothers and sisters:
[578] the brothers will be a support during quarrels, and the sis-
[431] ters will send their siblings gifts of food, part of what they collect in the woods, or pieces of the game their hus-
[607] bands kill. A man will receive food from his brother's wife if he does not have any closer relative. On the other hand, a man finds some disadvantages in having many brothers: the competition in asserting oneself in ceremonies is much stronger, especially if the knowledge and ability of the brothers is comparable. There will be a lot of tension and envy among ambitious brothers in competing for the honor of being called on as a performer by the yorubodare lineage
593 from the other moiety. A wife who has many brothers can
607 also be a handicap. One will have to hunt and fish not only for the wife's mother and father, but he will have to send part of the food to her brothers too. They may frequently come to ask for ornaments and artifacts, for hunting and fishing tools, all of which the husband is supposed to give to his brothers-in-law without showing any sign of dissatisfaction. He cannot even ask for recompence, mori, as he would do with anybody else, because, as the Bororo say, "he is living with his compensation" (mori tabo rugaduye tumugure oino kodi)—with the sister that they have given him in marriage.

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827
[825] faces are black."[2]

613 At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in
827 which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is de-
578 scribed: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena pijiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

614 Most names of the clans are also derived from some of
827 the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

[825] "Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.

"When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido). But then the Bororo made their name prettier."[2]

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1 "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekera, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

2 "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyedo Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

773 /147/ In the legend of Kẽ-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should
not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of
this, she is led to laugh by Kẽ-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation
of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already
found out "that any look or smile between persons of different
sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral."
Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom
and of that passage quoted from the legend of Kẽ-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

562 We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
(Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c.,
p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner:
"When the contention within the hut reached the culminating
point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running
out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one.
Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three
women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One
of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to
meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce
fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center
of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned
in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass
/148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing,
the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure,
the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries
held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the
hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines
of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the
front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and
try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
521 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to
152 be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
593 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to him- 582 583
self he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu whenever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families. They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an [595]
old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The pros- 844
pective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born, and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. It is common for children, espe- 862
cially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases. The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts, works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry 582
a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the 173
Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men, now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them. There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not 586
abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights 578
between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged husband berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men, women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to fur-
412 nish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in
433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and
226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January,
222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the
[283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

Brazil.

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear
to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a
162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see
a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually
593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them,
especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes
586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then
leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of
the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêda*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of
[674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less
147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a
484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a
482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the
462

/454 cont./

●578 Today the younger of the two wives of Moguyokuri, a large, big-boned woman who seems to scorn all clothing, suddenly [252] burst in with coarse vituperation. She had a bunch of mandioca roots in her hand and in a fury tossed them at Eliseo"s feet. We had already noticed the general mandioca-roasting today in the men's house; the planting had once again been prematurely robbed of the thin root stalks. Moguyokuri's Xanthippe had apparently been unjustly accused of the theft; others had given her the mandioca. The quarrel took on ever greater proportions and lasted until evening. Two hostile parties among the women opposed each other. The loudest noise was made by "Maria," [554] Arateba"s sister, who, in general, played the most important role of all the Indian women. Maria had been Duarte's mistress, and it was rumored that he had decked her out with riding habit and feather hat; now, at any rate, she was walking about in only her national costume, a small, sturdy, nimble, and, according to our ideas, moderately attractive person with sparkling eyes.

When the squabble had reached its height inside one of the huts, it was to be fought out in a sort of wrestling match. Everybody rushed out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Amid lively talk and gestures, they placed three women on one side and María opposite them alone. One of the three leaped forward with a big jump, Maria towards her. They clasped each other around the waist and a wild wrestling commenced. But in a few seconds they formed the center of a thick knot of onlookers and fellow combatants, a knot which itself kept milling about in the thick of things, and with a larger, looser crowd of people along the houses; it was a mad shoving and pushing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with amusement, the women vying with each other in their howling, while the two opponents were locked in a tight embrace and clutched each other's hair. Finally they were pulled apart, but the word-wrangle began all the more violently, with several yelling at several others. One old woman in particular drowned out all the others with her shrill voice. Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his

/454 cont./ Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his
578 tent-mate who was also taking part had her breast scratched, forced the
[627] great chief /455/ Moguyokuri in; with tremendous calm the latter stepped into the noisy crowd and suddenly it was quiet. There was not a sound; his mighty arm shoved aside the three most dangerous women at once. Maria had definitely lost; she did not say a word and stood scowling, arms crossed, her bosom heaving violently, while a friend on her side smoothed her tousled hair. More disgruntled ones tried to unleash the storm once again, but the laughter of Corona won out;

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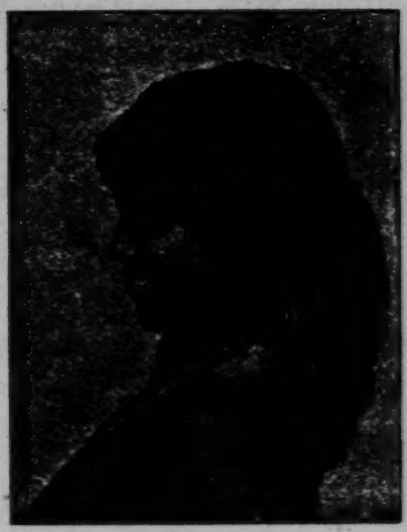

Fig. 127. Bororó woman.

578 they dispersed, and the shrill old woman, at a triumphant trot, was led off by three women.

519 Shaking our heads, we turned our steps homeward toward our shack, but there, too, we were driven back by an infernal noise. The soldiers were dancing and singing in the moonlight with their mulattoes and Indian women; they were making music with harmonica, with fork and plate -- carnival everywhere!

[526] I went back to the men's house; two men were practicing wrestling. They grasped each other under the arms, bending far forward, and remained in this position for a long time, until one of them suddenly tried one leg, or rather his heel, to press in the knee-hollow of the other one and knock him over, but he was lifted up and lost.

/463 cont./

872 after the other, the boys had to recite after him. For hours they practiced, gaily waving their paper, "bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul." In several months they had not gone beyond this. Caldas himself seemed impatient, and during the short time that we were able to endure the performance he asked three times what time it was. Two Bororó fathers were sitting in the /464/ corner and occasionally also murmured absent-mindedly bal, bel, bil, bol, bul. Among my linguistic notes I find that the Bororó told me, "he is teaching the boys to read"; the sentence in literal translation corresponds exactly to the situation: "he is
876 teaching the boys to look at the paper." Caldas hoped, however, that there would soon be progress; he said the boys were an ill-behaved lot who first had to learn obedience. Up to now he had hit their fingers with a ruler if they did not pay attention. Now, however, he had an improved system of "palmatorios," two specimens of which he showed us. They looked like wooden spoons, except that they had a circular, flat end-piece, and this -- here was the improvement -- was perforated with holes like a sieve. The air whistles through the holes and this increases the pain. Well, I hope the new palmatorios stood the test and that the boys have meanwhile progressed at least as far as xal, xel, xil, xol, xul. In our day the entire result was always just dal, del, dil, dol, dul.

● 578 The hostile brothers. On 9 April Arateba, in his drunkenness,
[273] again put on one of his sensational performances. Burning with rage, he tears down the house of a widow who would not let him have his way. He is quickly finished with this work, even though he threatens to fall over backwards with each jerk. His brother and two sensible friends hoist him on their shoulders and take him to his hut. There he has the weeping blues for a quarter of an hour, but after cold water has been poured over him he pulls himself together again and appears in front of headquarters. He
593 strides up and down like a roaring lion in a cage and challenges his brother, upon whom he heaps abuse in front of all the people, to a fight. His brother leaps at him and, crouched over, hops back and forth in front of him for a while; then they clutch each other with furious holds. Arateba is thrown to the ground four times.

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/279 cont./

Cera Phratry

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Clan	Name	Marries with
Bādejeba	Bakorokuddu (name of a legendary hero)	Āróre čābōgeʷō
	Iparečęba (id.)	Āróre baiaddadaᵃ
	Wapa (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Merit'awāra (The Path of the Sun)	Apibore bo'pokęjewo
O Čera	Uaboreč (?-Uabo: heart)	Ewāguddu
	At'ugoreč (The Painted Man)	Āróre čębegeʷō
Ki	Kibakororo (Bakororo, The Tapir)	Ewāguddu bo'pokęjewo
	Tu'goga (?-Tugo: arrow)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Māra (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
/280/		
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge	Kōge (Cilthead)	Ewāguddu čoreč
	Bokodori Baro (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Ariga Coča (?-Ariga: puma)	Ewāguddu čābōgeʷō
Bakoro	Nogujeba (legendary hero)	Apibore (Kru'guga uobę)
	ᵃKario Bokodori (legendary hero who named an extinct clan)	Apibore (Broge)

/280 cont./

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Cera Phratry

Clan	Name	Marries with
Bóro	Bok'arebo (?)	Ārōre baiaddada
	Jerégi-čodo (Old Tortoise)	Apibore kujagoreŏ

Tugare Phratry

Paiwe	Baiporo (door ?)	Bokodori Čera
	Meriri kurigeŏ (Big Light)	Bakoro Čera
Apibore	Brogę (?-indicates wealth)	Bakoro Čera
	Kru'guga uobę (Relative of the Eagle-throat; indicates wealth)	Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge
Ewāguddu	Tad'ugo (?-indicates wealth)	Ki
	Aria kurigeŏ (Big Saucepan?)	Ki
	Butare gāde (?)	Bokodori
Ārōre	Baitogógo (legendary hero)	Bādejeba

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614 This table, which is no doubt incomplete, suggests the following conclusions:

/280 cont./

582 614 five clans contract marriage with three clans. These are: /281/

Bādejeba (Apibore, Ewāguddu, Āróre)
Bakoro (Paiwe, Apibore, Āróre)
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Paiwe, Apibore, Ewāguddu)
Apibore (Bādejeba, Bakoro, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)
Ewāguddu (Bādejeba, Ki, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)

two clans contract marriage with two clans:

Paiwe (Bakoro-Bokodori)
Āróre (Bādejeba-Bóro)

one clan marries with only one clan:

Ki (Ewāguddu)

601 [582] The study of kinship terminology permits us to state precisely this system of preferential union. The native vocabulary distinguishes, in fact, for most degrees of kinship, between the elder and younger. Thus:

ogwa umanna: father's elder brother
ogwa uie: father's younger brother
mugā vuri: mother's elder brother
mugā uie: mother's younger brother
ogwa utuge: father's elder sister
ogwa uie: father's younger sister
mána: elder brother
uie: younger brother (or sister)
utuge: elder sister.

On the other hand there is only one term to represent several kinship relations in the following cases:

marúga: ancestor, father's elder sister, mother-in-law (man speaking)
ure: mother's brother, elder brother (woman speaking)
uie: younger brother, male cousin
iędaga: father-in-law, father's father
mugā pega: mother-in-law, father's mother (literally: bad mother).

/282/

582 601 These identifications permit us to conclude that the matrimonial system is as follows:

A male individual may contract two types of marriage. He will marry either his father's younger sister or his father's elder sister's daughter. In the first case, his father's father is at the same time his father-in-law, and his father's mother, his mother-in-law. In the second case, his father's elder sister is his mother-in-law.

[616] This same individual's sister may not, symmetrically, marry her mother's brother, as they both belong to the same phratry. Her uncle hence enters the category of men whom she cannot marry, and she has only one name to designate her mother's brothers and her own brothers (elder). The combinations open to her are: her mother's brother's son and her elder brother's son. The maternal uncle and the elder brother are thus identified by the young girl as providers of possible spouses. The result is that the men have wives their own age or older, whereas the women have husbands their own age or younger. This is confirmed by [595] experience: the marriage of a woman and of her daughter by a previous marriage to a new husband constitutes the typical case of bigamy[1] among the Bororo.

In addition, three categories of men exist for a woman: those older than she whom she cannot marry (mother's brothers, elder brothers); those younger than she whom she cannot marry (her father's brother's sons, younger brothers); and finally, those of her own age or younger, with whom she can contract marriage.

The Bororo have hence had, at least in the past, two forms of marriage, namely: the cross marriage and the marriage of a nephew with his aunt. It is not possible to say, given the present state of our information, whether these marriages are always rigorously practiced, whether they are contemporaneous, or whether one of these forms represents, in relation to the other, an evolved stage. But with the exception of the typical cross marriage, it is not the mother's brother who is identified with the father-in-law, but the mother's brother's father.

[1] [Cf. analyst's footnote on p. 10--Analyst]

/282 cont./

582 601 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] [614] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewãguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuẽawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out. [241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 564

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [774] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [773] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and
• 582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage
174 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as
585 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous
591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is
763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk
602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors
764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's
[622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve
224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A
[616] mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (arce). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him
881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for
764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread
764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

593 provides and cares for him "father," a broader term which
*601 does not have this derogatory connotation.

All these considerations show that the equivalence rule is correct, and that the classes of "father" and "mother's husband" should be included in a hypothetical superclass "FATHER," which can in turn be broken down into the subclasses of "father" and "stepfather" by componential definitions.

The kin types "father's wife" and "father's brother's wife" are not in our list of kin terms. The Bororo do not consider them as relatives: one's stepmother is not regarded as a relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: a woman's stepchild is not regarded as a relative. In symbolic notation:

$$FW \rightarrow \emptyset \qquad\qquad Hc \rightarrow \emptyset$$

Thus far we have accounted for most consanguineal and step types. The Bororo kinship terminology does not have any separate "in-law" terms, therefore the next step is to see how the in-laws are merged with consanguineal categories.
[603] In addition an alternative classification of mother's brother and mother's mother's brother as "grandfather" (<u>iyedaga</u>) should be discussed.

582 6. <u>Naming Rule</u>. Bororo ideology places emphasis on the positive prescription to marry in the opposite moiety rather than on the negative proscription not to marry in the same moiety, i.e., on the alliance between moieties rather than on a prohibition of "incest." Marriage should ideally

582 be contracted with a woman who belongs to one of the lineages of the opposite moiety with which Ego's lineage, through exchange of cultural items and ceremonies, have established alliance in the mythical past. Theoretically one's father, one's wife, and one's son all belong to such a lineage.

613 In the light of the above prescription it is interesting to see the Bororo criteria for ascribing true lineage membership. In the Bororo view, in order to be a true member of a particular lineage a person should not only belong to that lineage, but should also be son of a man of an allied lineage. Allied lineages exchange ceremonial performances. The actors of such performances will preferentially be chosen among the "true" members of an allied lineage or, at least, among the "true" members of the opposite moiety, i.e., their mother and their father should be from different moieties.

553 604 Similarly, one of a child's older "brothers" (MB, MMB) should be his namegiver. It is essential that, at least terminologically, the namegiver and the namereceiver are related both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. This is the case only if, at least in theory, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was upheld in every generation. In this case a person's mother's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father, and a person's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father's sister's son (see Table VII). The first kin type (FF) is al-

[Text Continued On Page 43]

*601 604 MMS → FFS (by the naming rule)
→ FFM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imarugo (by definition)

MS → FFSd (by the naming rule)
→ FFMd (by the skewing rule)
→ FFS (by the half-sibling rule)
→ FFM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imarugo (by definition)

*601 7. The restricted equivalence of spouses and cross-
[592] cousins. In discussing the naming Rule we have shown the necessity of a bilateral prescriptive marriage rule to account for alternative classifications of MB, and MMB. We also said that there are no affinal terms for affinal relations; consanguineal terms are applied to them. A "marriage rule" or "prescription" would thus seem to be necessary. First let us see which one of the kin types have not yet been accounted for:

in the iyedaga ("grandfather") category: wife's father, husband's father, and husband's brother (WF, HF, HH)

in the imarugo ("grandmother") category: wife's mother, husband's mother, and wife's older sister: (WM, HM, WS⁺)

in the inodowu ("step-father") category: a woman's older sister's husband: (♀S⁺H)

in the itonaregedu ("child") category: wife's younger sister: (WS⁻)

*601 daughter Ego marries should be, at least terminologically,
603 his "true lineage brother" i.e., related to him both matri-
604 laterally and patrilaterally. The Bororo say that they call iyedaga ("grandfather") that particular imana ("older brother") who gave them a name, and that particular imana whose daughter they marry.

*601 The equivalence rule, with necessary restrictions to
604 in-laws from different generations and taking into account
606 the patrilaterality of MB can be written as follows:

$$(SpF| \rightarrow MB| \rightarrow FFSs|) \equiv (|dcSp \rightarrow |♂Sc \rightarrow |♂MBsc)$$

$$(SpM| \rightarrow FS|) \equiv (|♀cSp \rightarrow |♀Bc)$$

i.e.: Ego's spouse's parent is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-uncle and cross-aunt. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocalsis: Ego's child's spouse is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-nephew and cross-niece. The straight vertical line indicates a context restriction. When it is prefixed it means "no preceding linkage," and when suffixed, "no following linkage" (Lounsbury 1965: 168).

*601 It should be noted that the "marriage rule" was posited
● 582 as a de facto state of affairs, regardless of whether or not such a prescription was positively stated by the Bororo. In fact, the Bororo do not say that a person should marry his cross-cousins. They emphasize that a man should marry
*601 in an allied lineage. But the women of this allied lineage are either his classificatory "grandmothers" (FS, FSd, etc.) or his classificatory "daughters" (d, MBd, etc.). Moreover,

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother
842 is terminologically expressed by the category imuga ("moth-
* 601 er"), of which the only member is one's own mother.

Marriage

582 Ideally, marriage should be contracted with some of the lineages from the opposite moiety which are in yorubodare
[178] relationship ("alliance") to one's own lineage. Though, because of depopulation, this is rarely the case today, the Bororo are still proud when they can say: I mugu paga karegure, itoreduje apore imugure, ikoge, ivire, tadare imugure which can be translated, "I do not live in this place (his wife's house) just by chance. I stay with my wife, I
104 stay among my spouses." It is difficult to render into English the Bororo paga which I translated "by chance." (The Brazilians have the adverb "a toa" that renders it better. This adverb is used very much by the Bororo when they speak Portuguese.) The sentence means that the man is married ac-
582 cording to tradition. In saying "I stay with my wife," the Bororo means to say, "I stay with a woman who, by prescription, should be my wife." Every story which describes the establishment of special relationship between two clans by virtue of some gift has the same conclusion "... and so he made them his yorubodare ("allié"), his husbands, and his wives" (Oinore ure uyorubodaredo, ukogedo, uviredo apo).

585 A marriage ceremony is very simple. The mother of the girl brings food to the house of the boy, and, if he accepts the offer, he will eat the food (Colbacchini and Albisetti

593 837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
835 602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

587 606 There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him [585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but [43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

582 593 As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by 591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on marriage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual relations with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father. It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other
[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to
* [601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called <u>iyedage</u>, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's metrilineage. That
613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father
582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full analysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

571 We see that there is a tendency for the most important
616 lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most
613 important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less important lineages to contract these relationships with lesser lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships existing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other relationship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu, and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro. Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororo at least one representation to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits
[582] Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lin-
[881] eages to intermarry and exchange initiators among themselves, though they are from the same moiety.

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies,
[574] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot
[881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator,
[583] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should
[768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be
[773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or metado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

/123 cont./

163 If the children are from a previous marriage of the husband, the number for them is put in parenthesis; being from a previous marriage of the woman, the number is between brackets.

162
163
582

	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
1	Alexio 50	Alvina 55	2			1
2	Antonio 55 v	Assumpção 65 v	(1) [1]	[1]	(3) [1]	[1]
3	Attilho 23	Frederica 17			1	
4	Braz 50	Josefina 38	2	4	1	3
5	Benedito 65	Loiduvina 55	1	1		
6	Bentino 20	Dosithea 20				
7	Baptista 26	Erminia 21	1		1	
8	Claudio 22	Ismaelita 19		1		
9	Domingo 50	Natalia 52		1	1	
10	Elias 21	Conceição 18	2			
11	Extanisilão 45	Angelina 45		1		1
12	Eugenio 18	Cecilia 16		1		
13	João 38	Regina 19				
14	João Cagliero 50	Judith 50	1	4	2	2
15	João Baptista 50 v	Lucina 20	(2)	(1) 1	(4)	
16	Modesto 35	Anita 26	2	2		
17	Sebastião 55 v	Aida 40 v	(2) [1]		(1) [1]	
18	Thiago 35	Maria Luisa 35	1	1		2

/124/

162
163
582

	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
19	Ugo 27	Claudia 22		2		
20	Vito 45	Angelina ?	3	2		
21	Rafael 60 v	Catarina 32	(1)	(3)		
22	Manoel 32	Jacinta 45 v	[1] 1	4		
23	José Maria 27	Theresa 26		1		1
24	Justino 39	Clotilde 35	2	1	1	3
25	Joaquim 70	Irene 50		(2)	(1)	(1)
26	Cirilo 35	Maria 42 v	[1]	[1] 2		
27	Luiz 50	Florisbela 55	1	1	2	1
28	Gabriel Pilar 34 (abandoned his wife)		2	1		1
		Total:	31	39	20	17
	orphan brothers		1	2		
	" "		1	2		
	orphan boy		1			
	orphan girl			1		
	3 bachelors					
	1 widower					
	1 widow					

/133 cont./

000 and from the Mojo, agriculturalists already Christianized by the Jesuits on the Rio Mamoré in Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland /To the Gateway of the Sun through old Indian country/, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), there became known the so-called matrimonial school, an institution according to which adolescent boys marry older women, and older men young girls, the older ones representing, in a way, an educational role. We did not learn of similar
582 rules among the Bororo. Concerning the age ratios in the marriages observed in 1934 in the mission of Meruri, the list reproduced above is to be seen. According to this list, for 4 couples, both spouses were of the same age, for 16 the husband was older, and for 6 the woman was older. For 7, the husband was up to five years older; for 3, he was from five to ten years older; for 6, he was more than ten years older. For 3, the wife was up to five years older; for 2, she was from five to ten years older; for one, she was more than ten years older.

616 One must consider as a harmful consequence of the exogamy
589 practiced among the Bororo the fact that bachelors and the widowed of both sexes often have to remain, without being able to marry for a long time, or even forever, for lack of a corresponding consort from the other "half"; this was observed also by Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50).

616 One can judge the severity with which the separation of the
562 exogamic "halves" is observed, even after marriage, by the following observations by Colbacchini (o.c., /134/ pp. 49 and 50); "By their totemism, it is absolutely forbidden for the men of one dynasty to talk, to smile at, or merely to notice or to look at the women of another dynasty. This is observed meticulously and scrupulously. The men of any age, meeting by chance on the road or any place one or more women, not only will keep from being stopped, they will not look at them,

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

[121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliny are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliny is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiago Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely, been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

121 One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has
582 fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and
591 patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted
[586] in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children
586 remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the wife.

121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each 224 party eating separately.

226 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are 533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the unearthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, [532] and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. 583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

582 583 turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to himself he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu whenever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families. They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an [595] old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The pros- 844 pective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born, and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. It is common for children, espe- 862 cially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases. The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts, works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry 582 a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the 173 Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men, now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them. There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not 586 abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights 578 between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged husband berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men, women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war- 462
like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer.

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, 222
may be seen going forth in various directions with huge bas- [482]
kets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their fore- [854]
heads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him.

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is con- 582
tracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age 584
of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken 839
for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Be- [584]
cause of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old.

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
564 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *Ta Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *Ta Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
583 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

601 sister (*ashimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *nasundé*. (See chart 12.)

●582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other
591 families. After marriage a young man lives with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys
[606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were
[627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípukɨ*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabéla* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípukɨ* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabéla* asked *Aípukɨ* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*umaé*), and out of the other, the *abaé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[p. 108 (1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

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601 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties—*Cherdide* and *Tugarégede*.
616 A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*. He calls men of the *Cherdide* moiety *cherdi* and women *cherdre*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubúdare*, or if they are small children, *yorubúdarédrogo; drógo* meaning little.

601 There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

[582] Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If
601 old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's
616 father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imána*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imánapega* or *yedága*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedágapega;* mother's brothers are *yedága;* father's sister's

[p. 127 (8)]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Women wear a gray perineal band,
or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

*601 in the ivagedu ("grandson") category: son's wife and a woman's younger sister's husband: (sW, ♀S⁻H)

in the irago ("granddaughter") category: daughter's husband and a man's brother's wife. (dH, ♂BW)

(It should be noted that some of these kin types represent not only these kin types themselves, but also others which are equivalent to them as a result of previous reductions. For example: husband's father's brother has been reduced to husband's father by the application of the rule stating the equivalence of brothers; husband's mother's brother has been reduced to husband's brother by the Crow skewing rule, etc.)

*601 583 While the terminology for affinal relatives suggests the necessity of a marriage prescription, in itself it does not lead to a unique specification, in genealogical terms, for [illegible] a prescription (although it may be noted that some, but not all, of the data would be consistent with a rule of bilateral (symmetrical) cross-cousin marriage).

*601 603 606 If, for the time being, we postpone consideration of parallel siblings' spouses and spouses' parallel siblings, we see that in the kin types wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father, and husband's mother, one's spouse's parents are terminologically equivalent to "grandparents," and also that in the kin types son's wife and daughter's husband, the spouses of one's children are terminologically equivalent to "grandchildren." Again, as it was the case in the discussion of naming, Ego's mother's brother whose

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the ap-
[352] plause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each
224 party eating separately.

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533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the un-
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emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men,
women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of estab-
595 lished institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[147] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

● 583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

/129 cont./

584 Colbacchini (o.c., pp. 55 and 56) writes about the Bororo: "In general and in the majority of cases it is the woman who precedes the man in the marriage proposal. The young woman who feels led to esteem a young man and who wishes to be joined to him consults in particular the mother, if she is still alive, or the older sister. If such a proposal is well received by the mother, the latter will then take an active part in satisfying the daughter's wishes. She will then try to find out, among her friends and the lad's relatives, whether the daughter would be readily accepted as a wife. In the affirmative care, the mother and the daughter prepare some dishes which they judge or know will be to the taste of the young man, and the mother of the pretendant, or in her absence the older sister, knowing that the lad /130/ is home, goes at noon to look for him, taking the prepared delicacies, in a wicker basket, in order at the same time to make to him the proposal and official request. Upon entering the house, she will address the young man, who will be sitting near the fire working on the arrows; and she will say to him: -- A wogae i roino -- (I came looking for you) -- and she will make him the proposal. If the young man wishes to accept it, he will say nothing, but will stretch out his hand to receive the gift sent, which he will place at his side. And with this gesture the request is granted. The agreement concluded, jubilant with joy, she will immediately take the
[591] good news to her daughter. Both the mother and the relatives of the bride then set about preparing the house, because it is
[513] the custom that the man goes to live in the wife's house. They will prepare the fire, the straw mat for sleeping, the receptacle
584 for water; afterwards they will cook something and wait. At
585 nightfall, the lad will retire to the bride's house and, without saying anything, will enter and place himself beside the one who from this moment on is his wife. The mother or the sister will go to the house of the bridegroom to get what belongs

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
wife, who will receive and will place everything in order,
[601] while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With
this ceremony the marriage is settled: from that moment
on they will live together, they will call each other by the
names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in
certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the
pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern
Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's
descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the
woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage
in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two
[304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl
are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the
father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry
her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related"
to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing
women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the
men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
831 "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during
[302] the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in
part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how
the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters
fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from
a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle,
wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and
taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war- 462
like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer.

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, 222
may be seen going forth in various directions with huge bas- [482]
kets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their fore- [854]
heads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him.

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is con- 582
tracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age 584
of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken 839
for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Be- [584]
cause of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old.

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
554 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *Ta Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *Ta Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[149] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
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584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*púpurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The 768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[772] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[172] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
[553] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother
892 is terminologically expressed by the category imuga ("moth-
*601 er"), of which the only member is one's own mother.

Marriage

582 Ideally, marriage should be contracted with some of the lineages from the opposite moiety which are in yorubodare
[178] relationship ("alliance") to one's own lineage. Though, because of depopulation, this is rarely the case today, the Bororo are still proud when they can say: I mugu paga karegure, itoreduje apore imugure, ikoge, ivire, tadare imugure which can be translated, "I do not live in this place (his wife's house) just by chance. I stay with my wife, I
104 stay among my spouses." It is difficult to render into English the Bororo paga which I translated "by chance." (The Brazilians have the adverb "a toa" that renders it better. This adverb is used very much by the Bororo when they speak Portuguese.) The sentence means that the man is married ac-
582 cording to tradition. In saying "I stay with my wife," the Bororo means to say, "I stay with a woman who, by prescription, should be my wife." Every story which describes the establishment of special relationship between two clans by virtue of some gift has the same conclusion "... and so he made them his yorubodare ("allié"), his husbands, and his wives" (Oinore ure uyorubodaredo, ukogedo, uviredo apo).

585 A marriage ceremony is very simple. The mother of the girl brings food to the house of the boy, and, if he accepts the offer, he will eat the food (Colbacchini and Albisetti

585 1942: 39). If a child marriage is to be contracted, the [304] girl's family will ask her future husband, instead of her [224] brother, to pierce her ear lobes. A more elaborate ceremony is performed when the girl is given as a wife to the hunter who has killed a jaguar for some of her dead brothers. In this case, however, she is only one of the gifts that are given to him in exchange for the jaguar skin. The other gifts, bow and arrows and poari (a musical instrument) are obligatory. Of particular interest for us is the speech that one of the girl's brothers makes when he delivers her to the hunter. He says:

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> "This is your wife, stay with her. This is the place for your bow, for your arrow. Here is the place for you to eat nokodu, noa, noidoya, the place for you to eat moto and honey. Here your ruwobo, your aria, your pori (different kinds of containers) are waiting for your fish, for your game. Here you will eat nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu. You should look after this girl, take care of her, so that she will make kodo as your mat, beto as your blanket. She will make the basket where your arrows will stay. She will wash you and give you to drink. She will go to meet you when you come back from fishing or from the hunt, when you come back from the woods or the hills. You do not have a mother, older sister, or younger sister anymore. This girl will be your mother, your older sister, your younger sister. You should treat her with care. Do not scare her when she goes to get water, when she goes to get firewood. Do not scare her when she is eating fish or when she is eating meat. You should defend her from other bad women, from the things she is afraid of. Do not scare her. You will be her mother, her father, her brother, and she will love you with all her heart."[1]

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[1] Akoredujereo, awudo apore amugure, atugo pare, awoiga pare, ake nokodu, noa, noidoya jetareo, ake motore jetareo, ake miyawoe gigodugedu jetareo. Woere aruwobo, akaria, apori jeture ako karo togi, ako barogo togi. Woere a mode nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu kowuje, woe. Awudojire aeture

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand
593 against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
[835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
[522] tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
[578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
593 affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
[539] uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

593 837 835 602 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

587 606 There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him [585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but [43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

582 593 As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by 591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
562 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full analysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
794 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
616 moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

/129 cont./

584 Colbacchini (o.c., pp. 55 and 56) writes about the Bororo: "In general and in the majority of cases it is the woman who precedes the man in the marriage proposal. The young woman who feels led to esteem a young man and who wishes to be joined to him consults in particular the mother, if she is still alive, or the older sister. If such a proposal is well received by the mother, the latter will then take an active part in satisfying the daughter's wishes. She will then try to find out, among her friends and the lad's relatives, whether the daughter would be readily accepted as a wife. In the affirmative care, the mother and the daughter prepare some dishes which they judge or know will be to the taste of the young man, and the mother of the pretendant, or in her absence the older sister, knowing that the lad /130/ is home, goes at noon to look for him, taking the prepared delicacies, in a wicker basket, in order at the same time to make to him the proposal and official request. Upon entering the house, she will address the young man, who will be sitting near the fire working on the arrows; and she will say to him: -- A wogae i roino -- (I came looking for you) -- and she will make him the proposal. If the young man wishes to accept it, he will say nothing, but will stretch out his hand to receive the gift sent, which he will place at his side. And with this gesture the request is granted. The agreement concluded, jubilant with joy, she will immediately take the
[591] good news to her daughter. Both the mother and the relatives of the bride then set about preparing the house, because it is
[513] the custom that the man goes to live in the wife's house. They will prepare the fire, the straw mat for sleeping, the receptacle
584 for water; afterwards they will cook something and wait. At nightfall, the lad will retire to the bride's house and, without
585 saying anything, will enter and place himself beside the one who from this moment on is his wife. The mother or the sister will go to the house of the bridegroom to get what belongs

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
[60] wife, who will receive and will place everything in order, while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment on they will live together, they will call each other by the names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two
[304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
831 young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
[302] "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

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[p. 110 (B)]

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her hus-
band, her daughters and their husbands, and all their un-
[881] married children. After initiation the sons move into the
[422] men's house, but all their belongings remain in their moth-
[264] er's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their
[582] natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their
[591] mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man
marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of
the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind,
596 in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied
by several extended families, each family having its own
fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide
whether they will cook together or separately. When they
cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman
[264] cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The
families living in one house do not eat together, but the
women always exchange some of the food they have prepared.
596 They also help each other care for the children. If a woman
855 is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take
the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to
collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

[121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliny are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliny is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiage Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely, been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with
121 matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has
582 fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and
591 patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted
[586] in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children
586 remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the wife.

121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
521 Quickly, they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing
152 this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me: "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not
593 going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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582 turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to him- 583
self he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver
her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters
while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number
of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early
marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu when-
ever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families.
They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope
and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an [595]
old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed
the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take
a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The pros- 844
pective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born,
and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends
who go in search of her. It is common for children, espe- 862
cially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large
indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the
mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's
leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying
scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases.
The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts,
works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry 582
a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta
Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the 173
Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men,
now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these
things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them.
There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was
once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate
that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the
Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not 586
abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare
intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her
from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights 578
between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing
with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged hus-
band berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village
can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns
the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they
emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men,
women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a
162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually
593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes
586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêda*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of
[674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less
147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a
484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a
482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the
462

/276 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level
of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden
737 products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. P. 117--Analyst]

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand
593 against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
[835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
[522] tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
[578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
593 affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
[539] uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

587 593 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 593 837 For the women things go differently. A good wife is supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the [614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman [578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her 593 837 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife. 602 835 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in continuous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

593 837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by 836 602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

587 606 There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him [585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but [43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

582 593 As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by 591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

/133 cont./

000 and from the Mojo, agriculturalists already Christianized by the Jesuits on the Rio Mamoré in Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland /To the Gateway of the Sun through old Indian country/, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), there became known the so-called matrimonial school, an institution according to which adolescent boys marry older women, and older men young girls, the older ones representing, in a way, an educational role. We did not learn of similar
582 rules among the Bororo. Concerning the age ratios in the marriages observed in 1934 in the mission of Meruri, the list reproduced above is to be seen. According to this list, for 4 couples, both spouses were of the same age, for 16 the husband was older, and for 6 the woman was older. For 7, the husband was up to five years older; for 3, he was from five to ten years older; for 6, he was more than ten years older. For 3, the wife was up to five years older; for 2, she was from five to ten years older; for one, she was more than ten years older.

616 One must consider as a harmful consequence of the exogamy
• 589 practiced among the Bororo the fact that bachelors and the widowed of both sexes often have to remain, without being able to marry for a long time, or even forever, for lack of a corresponding consort from the other "half"; this was observed also by Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50).

616 One can judge the severity with which the separation of the
562 exogamic "halves" is observed, even after marriage, by the following observations by Colbacchini (o.c., /134/ pp. 49 and 50); "By their totemism, it is absolutely forbidden for the men of one dynasty to talk, to smile at, or merely to notice or to look at the women of another dynasty. This is observed meticulously and scrupulously. The men of any age, meeting by chance on the road or any place one or more women, not only will keep from being stopped, they will not look at them,

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 [797] [533] [774] The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually 000
in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that 342
even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they 364
erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of 361
the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of 364
huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- 356
ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing 296
to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, 592
each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very 345
large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut [361]
is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling [342]
is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a [342]
bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; [589]
a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the [548]
men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is per- [362]
mitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts 000
in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614
823 Ewãguddudõge čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewãguddudõge čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadačge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47 /).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokęje^{w}õge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokęje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokęje^{w}o (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewãguddudõge bo'pokęje^{w}õge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewãguddudõge kurigeõ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and
582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage
174 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as
585 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous
● 591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is
763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk
602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors
764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's
[622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve
224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A
[616] mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (arce). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him
881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for
764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread
764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

593
837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
836
602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

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593 there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by
591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal extended family, which is the most important residential and economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent; where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidarity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equivalence rule, which were required to account for the kinship system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fraternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relationships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers" are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and their wives.

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their un-
[88] married children. After initiation the sons move into the
[422] men's house, but all their belongings remain in their moth-
[264] er's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their
[586] natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their
[591] mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind,
596 in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman
[264] cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared.
596 They also help each other care for the children. If a woman
855 is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

596 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and
855 even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family, he can move his family to another village. This movement of the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people but does not affect the structure of the new group, which will be very much like the one left behind. The man will live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will de-
591 pend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's
596 mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom occur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women, the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing. The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that her children will be looked after when she goes into the woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she received from her mother.

593 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the
461 fields to do some work together that would be difficult for a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the extraction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a
593 couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man,
484 his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here,
613 allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase in population and consequent clustering of the members of the same lineage within a single village can motivate the less important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other places where they will be more appreciated and will have the chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies.
[362] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage
[591] sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can become more independent, but there is always the risk that she and her children will in time be classified as younger brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names
[36] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 With the decrease in population that has been going on
178 from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization,
361 the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-
613

/129 cont./

584 Colbacchini (o.c., pp. 55 and 56) writes about the Bororo: "In general and in the majority of cases it is the woman who precedes the man in the marriage proposal. The young woman who feels led to esteem a young man and who wishes to be joined to him consults in particular the mother, if she is still alive, or the older sister. If such a proposal is well received by the mother, the latter will then take an active part in satisfying the daughter's wishes. She will then try to find out, among her friends and the lad's relatives, whether the daughter would be readily accepted as a wife. In the affirmative care, the mother and the daughter prepare some dishes which they judge or know will be to the taste of the young man, and the mother of the pretendant, or in her absence the older sister, knowing that the lad /130/ is home, goes at noon to look for him, taking the prepared delicacies, in a wicker basket, in order at the same time to make to him the proposal and official request. Upon entering the house, she will address the young man, who will be sitting near the fire working on the arrows; and she will say to him: -- A wogae i roino -- (I came looking for you) -- and she will make him the proposal. If the young man wishes to accept it, he will say nothing, but will stretch out his hand to receive the gift sent, which he will place at his side. And with this gesture the request is granted. The agreement concluded, jubilant with joy, she will immediately take the [591] good news to her daughter. Both the mother and the relatives of the bride then set about preparing the house, because it is [513] the custom that the man goes to live in the wife's house. They will prepare the fire, the straw mat for sleeping, the receptacle 584 for water; afterwards they will cook something and wait. At 585 nightfall, the lad will retire to the bride's house and, without saying anything, will enter and place himself beside the one who from this moment on is his wife. The mother or the sister will go to the house of the bridegroom to get what belongs

/134 cont./

616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional
precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall
into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since
any look or smile between persons of different sex and
diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen
eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty,
and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of
these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man
talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that
they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even
between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in
public, even though not so scrupulously; it will, however,
be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his
own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to
be together, except when they leave the house and both go
to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest;
this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this
severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the
men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and
matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not
the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of
both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her
consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to
the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the
man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after
marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal),
while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of
her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has
to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

/135 cont./

593 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' [512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not [354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the [603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother [855] nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

836 Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer
431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long [411] bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love [602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, [421] an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

224 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over
602 "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that
114 her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

[121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliny are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliny is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiago Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely, been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

121 One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has 582 fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and 591 patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted [586] in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children 586 remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the wife.

121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

•591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives 603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents. [853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with [149] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are [304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians 548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

601 sister (*ashimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *manamdé*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other families. After marriage a young man lives
● 591 with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys
[606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were
[627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabéla* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabéla* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*uenasé*), and out of the other, the *abusé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[p. 108 (1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*púpurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The 768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured

[p. 110 (B)]

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614
823 Ewãguddudõge čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewãguddudõge čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddada^{w}ge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47 /).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokęje^{w}õge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokęje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokęje^{w}o (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewãguddudõge bo'pokęje^{w}õge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewãguddudõge kurigeõ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/272 cont./

552 Thus we have (Fig. 15, No. 17 /see p. 6 /) Ewåguddudõge
592 eten'manaãge: those of the Elder Brothers of the Buriti, and (18)
614 Ewåguddudõge etu'ieemage: those of the Younger Brothers of the Buriti.

614 It is also possible that the adoption or division of emblems among the members of the same clan results in the creation of other secondary determinants. /273/ Several clans are divided in this manner into two subclans distinguished respectively by the colors red and black. Thus:

Apibore čoreŏ: black (23)
Apibore kujagoreŏ: red (22)
Paiwe čoreŏ (25)
Paiwe kujagoreŏ (26)
Ewåguddu čoreŏ (15).
Ewåguddu kujagoreŏ (18).

/Figure 15 appears here./ /274/

Some groups of clans perhaps came from a single clan, as they seem to share emblems: the Bóro acquired an object associated with the legendary history of the Bakoro clan, of which they were no doubt formerly a part, in the same way as the O Čera, themselves also inheritors of a legendary animal of the clan. The Bokodori clan is subdivided into Kõge (gilthead) and Čiba (red arara); but it is not clear whether this is truly a question of subdivisions of a main clan or of a homogeneous clan designating itself by three emblems: "Bokodori and Kõge, Bokodori and Čiba," the natives say, "it's the same thing."

621 The number of terms used for the definition of the groups is
552 thus clearly more important than the number of houses of the
592 village. The result of this is, first, that different informants do not always designate the same houses by using the same adjectives; the same informant varies equally according to the time and the circumstances. In the second place, each house, or almost each, is found to have, if not always its own name, at least a set combination of the names of the clan, of the position, of the family, etc., which belong /sic/ to it alone. The Bororo village

[Text Continues on p. 7]

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is,
552 of families or groups of families, living in the same house and
●592 styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the
614 household always involves, among other things, the name of the
616 clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(čãbõgeʷõ half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori čãbõgeʷõ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddadaʷ

(čębegeʷõ half)
5. Bokodori Čera čębegeʷõ
6. Ki kujagoreõ
7. Ki
8. O Čera čębegeʷõ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ
11. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddadaʷge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ bo'pokęjeʷõ

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
14. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
15. Ębwāguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębege^{w}ō
16. Ębwāguddu bo'pokeje^{w}ō čębege^{w}ō
17. Ębwāguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaāge
18. Ębwāguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čābōge^{w}ō (cābōge^{w}ō half)
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čābōge^{w}ō baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čābōge^{w}ō
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ębwāguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awãra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeõ," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bãdejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 773 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bãdejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 571 787 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin of the O Čera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to [592] establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Čera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/) comes from a subdivision of Bãdejebage Čębegeʷõge: Iparečeba, of the Bãdejebage Čãbogẽʷõge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bãdejeba Čębegeʷõ had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement.

614 [787] Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tǔšawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębege$^{\omega}$ō clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[773] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębege$^{\omega}$ōge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

000 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

only the Caboocass

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.
[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
● 392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.
353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[891] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
942 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[881] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear orna-
302 ments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina 574
to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had 735
been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. 342
The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleep- 352
ing either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no 512
further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make 323
pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no indus- 287
try whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were 411
several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language 177
being almost forgotten even by the older people. 197

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, 574
they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one
for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the 533
men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompani- 535
ment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Sev- [273]
eral times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their unmarried children. After initiation the sons move into the men's house, but all their belongings remain in their mother's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind, in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared. They also help each other care for the children. If a woman is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

[88] [422] [264] [586] [591] 596 [264] 596 855

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

ritual practices accompanying death 764
are often among the most elaborate
and impressive ceremonies to be found
in the primitive world. No more spec-
tacular funerary ceremony is known
to ethnology than that of the Bororo
Indians of Brazil.

The Bororo now living on the São 131
Lourenço River in the state of Mato 101
Grosso call themselves *Orarimogo-*
dogue—Fish People. Their settlement 361
consists of a number of large thatched
houses arranged in a circle around an
open dance plaza. Each hut is occupied 592
by a group of closely related women,
together with their husbands and chil-
dren.

[p. 39-E]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 361
club where visitors are received and entertained. The baehyta of 346
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 341
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather
sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out
most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an
opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always
damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the
same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and
strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end,
though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch
tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these
huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and
are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 442
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads,
arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food.
When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old
and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village
moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 592
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women
much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground
is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted
or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the
smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by
binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three
or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 964
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an oppor-
tunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually 000
in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that 342
even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they 364
erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of 361
the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of 364
huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- 356
ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing 296
to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, 592
each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very 345
large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut [361]
is called the *baihýtu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling [342]
is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a [342]
bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; [589]
a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the [548]
men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is per- [862]
mitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts 000
in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

593

Equivalence Rules

1. The Equivalence of a Woman's Brother and her Son. On Tables IV, V, and VI we have already made some preliminary notes on Bororo kin classification which shows equivalence of a woman's brother and her son in certain contexts. In consanguineal domain there is an equivalence between a person's mother's brother and his or her brother (imana or ivuri, and iviye) and between a woman's brother's child and her son's child (ivagedu and irago). In the affinal domain there is an equivalence between wife's brother and wife's son (itonaregedu) and between a woman's brother's wife and her son's wife (irago). The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals holds true, i.e., in the consanguineal domain there is an equivalence between a man's sister's children and his own siblings (iviye), and between a person's father's sister and his or her father's mother (imarugo). In the affinal domain there is an equivalence between a man's sister's husband and his mother's husband (inodowu), and between a woman's husband's sister and her husband's mother (imarugo). We see that only a woman's own brother is not classified as her "son." We have here an example of Lounsbury's Crow-type IV. This can be phrased as: with the exception of the case of female Ego's brother as a designated kinsman, any woman's brother is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to her son. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: with the exception of the case of male Ego's sister as a designated kinswoman, any man's sister is

593 to be regarded as structurally equivalent to his mother. Or in symbolic notation:

$$(\overline{♀B} \rightarrow \overline{♀S}) \equiv (\overline{♂S} \rightarrow \overline{♂M})$$

The new symbol that is here used, a bracket above a kin type, means that the concerned kin type is contextually restricted from one side or the other, and that the right-hand and left-hand context restrictions cannot be removed at the same time, although both may apply at the same time.

2. The Equivalence of Brothers. The Bororo data indicate that only consanguineal kin types and, among them, only brothers, are classified in conformity with a principle of equivalence of siblings of the same sex; i.e., a man's brother's children and his own children are in the same kin class (itonaregedu), but a man's brother's wife and his own wife are in different classes (irago and itoreduje respectively). Also a woman's sister's children (ivuri, ituye or iviye) and her own children (itonaregedu); are in different classes as well as a woman's sister's husband (inodowu or ivagedu) and her husband (itoredu). Thus the merging rule must be written accordingly, specifying the equivalence of brothers in consanguineal contexts, and excluding the equivalence of sisters, as well as of affinal contexts. The rule states any man's brother's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that man's own child. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's father's brother is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's father. In symbolic notation, this rule and its

593 converse can be expressed as:

$$(♂Bc \rightarrow ♂c) \equiv (FB \rightarrow F)$$

604 3. The Equivalence of Mother's Sister and Own Sister.

593 It remains to be seen how a woman's sister's children are classified. If we examine the data we see that they are in the same class as a woman's siblings and her mother's siblings: any woman's sister's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that woman's sibling. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's sister is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sister. In symbolic notation this parallel-collateral skewing rule and its converse can be expressed as:

$$(♀Sc \rightarrow ♀B/S) \equiv (MS \rightarrow S)$$

It can be readily seen that this rule, together with the Crow-type IV skewing rule in the consanguineal domain, expresses the equivalence of a child and his, or her, mother in certain contexts. We could even combine these two rules into a collateral skewing rule which would affect both parallel and cross collateral kin types, stating the equivalence of a person's mother's siblings, with a person's own siblings. This form would be quite convenient if we had set as our task to account only for consanguineal kinship terms. But, since in dealing with affinal kin types we would have to introduce again the Crow-type skewing rule, it seems better to write the rules separately as we have done. Furthermore, unless one is a total 'relativist,' then typology is a legitimate and meaningful concern; in which case one

604 wants to recognize that this is a Crow-type system, and one
593 wants to bring out what kind of a Crow-type it is. However it should be clear that the alternative is not between different solutions, but only between two ways of expressing the same thing.

593 4. The Equivalence of Half Siblings and Full Siblings. The Bororo data indicate that half siblings and full siblings are classified together, thus the rule expressing structural equivalence between half siblings and full siblings, does not present any restriction: any person's parent's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sibling. In symbolic notation:

$$Pc \rightarrow B/S$$

With the four rules derived so far, all the Bororo consanguineal kin types, except some alternative designations, can be reduced to their primary meanings.

5. The Equivalence of Stepfather and Father; the Non-equivalence of Stepmother and Mother. A man's stepchild and his own are terminologically equivalent (itonaregedu). In symbolic notation:

$$Wc \rightarrow c$$

i.e., any man's wife's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that man's own child. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's husband is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's father:

$$MH \rightarrow F$$

593 The corollary appears not to hold because father and stepfather belong to two different kin classes, iyoqwa and inodowu respectively. There are several reasons for classifying these together into a single superclass "FATHER." One has already been mentioned: they have the same reciprocals. If iyoqwa and inodowu were to be regarded as two separate classes, the commonly shared reciprocal class of "child" would also have to be subdivided in two classes: one of "consanguineal child" and the other of "stepchild." This, however, would be in disagreement with the data, and another rule would be necessary to merge these two classes again. Secondly, other kin types such as father's mother's husband and father's sister's husband (which by the Crow rule is reduced to father's mother's husband) would require the reintroduction of a step-kin rule in order to be reduced to
593 their corresponding focus, which is father's father. Final-
*601 ly, though stepfather is the focal point of the inodowu class, in practice the stepfather is always addressed by his stepchild as "father" (iyoqwa), or by his name if the stepchild is an adult, And also in making reference to him (non-vocative), the stepchild will tend to use the term iyoqwa or his proper name.

The term otowu (otowu is the third person singular of inodowu) which refers also to a man's sister's husband has become somewhat deprecative: it connotes the wife-receiver, the debtor, who cannot refuse to comply with his wife's brothers' wishes. Thus a child calls his stepfather who

This is the third time that the structural equivalence of
*601 the child and his or her mother is required in accounting for
• 593 kin terms. Though the social correlates of the rules will be discussed in subsequent chapters, we may even now start to wonder about the nature and importance of the mother-child relation for the Bororo.

There are still some more kin types that remain to be discussed. The first is "father's child." By our step-kin rule, father's children, younger than Ego, are considered younger siblings and are classified appropriately as iviye, or vocatively as imedu and aredu. (An alternative designation for them is ikobo. This term is applied both referentially and vocatively, but only knowledgeable members of the society use it at all, and then only very rarely.) However, if the person's father's child is a member of the opposite moiety (i.e., if their common father had the child by a woman of his own moiety), he will not be addressed by any kinship
[576] term at all. The Bororo say that it is not polite to remind a brother that he is the child of an endogamous relation.
[835] Thus he will usually be addressed by his name. "...but," said one of my informants, "if my sister from the other moiety makes sexual advances to me, I should say to her 'Do not play with me, the same father caused our birth, so do not behave in this way, I am your brother (avuri).'"[1]

There are two other kin types that differ, in the system

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[1] "Awadu kaba, pao mitodu koyare pawodudo. Kodire aro modu kare ino. Avuri nure imi."

*601 of address, from their referential forms. These are "hus-
593 band" and "wife," whose referential forms are itoredu, itoreduje. A man will address his wife as imarugo (reciprocal: ivagedu) or aredu (reciprocal: iyogwa), depending on her belonging to his father's clan, or her being the daughter of his true or classificatory brother, or they will call each other by their names. It seems that even a descriptive form is considered very formal in reference to one's spouse, and is rarely, if ever, used in first person singular. A person speaking about the spouse will use his or her name. I heard the terms for wife and husband being used only with second and third person pronouns: "Where is your husband (akoredu)?", "Where is his wife (oreduje)?" The Bororo say that a wife will call her husband itoredu only if he acts in a good way to her brothers, i.e., all of his classificatory children; and it seems that these good stepfathers are very rare among contemporary Bororo.

The last kin type that remains to be discussed is "mother's husband." As previously mentioned, although this kin type is the focal kin type of the class indowu, this term is never used in addressing the true mother's husband. The small child will call his mother's husband iyogwa; grown-ups will call him by the terms they would use if he were not married to their mother.

Specific Terms

*601 The Bororo kinship terminology presented so far is defective with regard to the different shades of meaning possible within any particular kin class. These differences are communicated by the adjectives pega and rogu and their compound pega-rogu added to both referential and vocative terms. These adjectives are so much part of the common usage that even their absence is significant. In the Bororo language pega means "bad" or "old," and rogu means "small," but when suffixed to a kinship term they function as part of a special semantic domain. Some of these combinations of noun and adjectives are obligatory for particular kin types, while others are freely chosen by the speaker in order to convey the [593] desired feelings. For example, iyogwa without an adjective is the obligatory vocative term for one's own father, while iyogwa pega is the obligatory vocative term for one's mother's father. [603] However, women may address their mother's father, if he is very, very old, as iyogwa pega-rogu. [605] The use of adjectives with the term imarugo follows a similar pattern, the only difference being that the man is allowed to allude to possible intimacy with his father's sister's daughter. Therefore he calls her imarugo pega or imarugo pega-rogu if she is still a child. *601 A man will always address his wife's mother formally, i.e., imarugo, but if she is so old that any possible involvement between the two is unthinkable, he may address her affectionately imarugo pega. 606 An old woman from the opposite moiety who has many daughters

*601 with whom one may flirt, will be jokingly referred to as
606 pajarugo pega-rogu, meaning in this case "our poor little mother-in-law." Also the father of the girls will be called payedaga pega-rogu "our poor little father-in-law," while the women will use this same expression only for a very old man close to death. The term for the wife's true father, and for one's namegiver who is not very old, will remain iyedaga without an adjective.

Another good example of manipulation of the available contrastive set can be seen in the relation between a woman and her daughter-in-law. If a child marriage was contracted, the woman will call her small daughter-in-law irago rogu. When the girl grows up and gradually takes over her responsibilities toward her husband and his mother, she will call her daughter-in-law irago pega if the two women are on good terms and the mother-in-law is satisfied by the attentions paid to her. If, on the other hand, their relations are not so good, she may show her dissatisfaction by calling her only irago. Finally when the mother-in-law is called to assist a daughter-in-law in labor, she will express her affection and concern for the girl by calling her irago pega-rogu.

*601 Another final distinction expressed through the use of
593 adjectives is that made between true siblings and "siblings" arrived at by extragenealogical, social extensions. In the first case rogu will be added to the respective term, but will be omitted in the second instance. The following di-

The following di-
*601 agram presents the summary of semantic analysis of the ad-
602 jectives as they are suffixed to Ego's senior and junior kinsmen:

	Senior	Junior
ø	Formality Addressee relatively young	Formality Addressee relatively old
Pega	Old addressee (Affection)	Affection
Rogu	True kinsman	Young Addressee (True kinsman)
Pega-rogu	Very old addressee Compassion	Very young addressee Compassion

The Bororo, however, do not use the combinations illustrated in the diagram for all theoretically possible kin
[606] types. For example, HB, who may be a young child, will be
[593] always addressed formally, as will the class of <u>inodowu</u> ("stepfather"). The diagram on page 59 illustrates the matchings of kin terms with the different adjectives that
*601 are normally used. The diagram does not include some spe-
602 cial cases related to changes of kinship terms in connection
768 with death. For example, if the living representative of one's dead son is older than Ego, he may be addressed as
*601 <u>itonaregedu</u> <u>pega</u>. An ironic use of <u>imuga</u> <u>rogu</u> and <u>imarugo</u> <u>pega-rogu</u> will be taken up later in discussing kinship terminology used for joking.

593 provides and cares for him "father," a broader term which
*601 does not have this derogatory connotation.

All these considerations show that the equivalence rule is correct, and that the classes of "father" and "mother's husband" should be included in a hypothetical superclass "FATHER," which can in turn be broken down into the subclasses of "father" and "stepfather" by componential definitions.

The kin types "father's wife" and "father's brother's wife" are not in our list of kin terms. The Bororo do not consider them as relatives: one's stepmother is not regarded as a relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: a woman's stepchild is not regarded as a relative. In symbolic notation:

$$FW \rightarrow \emptyset \qquad\qquad Hc \rightarrow \emptyset$$

Thus far we have accounted for most consanguineal and step types. The Bororo kinship terminology does not have any separate "in-law" terms, therefore the next step is to see how the in-laws are merged with consanguineal categories.
[603] In addition an alternative classification of mother's brother and mother's mother's brother as "grandfather" (<u>iyedaga</u>) should be discussed.

582 6. <u>Naming Rule</u>. Bororo ideology places emphasis on the positive prescription to marry in the opposite moiety rather than on the negative proscription not to marry in the same moiety, i.e., on the alliance between moieties rather than on a prohibition of "incest." Marriage should ideally

*601 brother's wife should be called imarugo ("grandmother"), a man's younger brother's wife should be called itonaregedu ("child"). By similar derivations a woman's older sister's husband would be reduced to iyogwa ("father"), and a woman's *601 younger sister's husband to ivagedu ("grandson"). But only 607 one of these designations is correct: a woman refers to her younger sister's husband as ivagedu, while she refers to her older sister's husband as inodowu ("stepfather"). And a man refers to his brothers' wives as irago ("granddaughter"). It is obvious that in affinal domain, the same sex siblings are not equivalent. To bring them to their focal kintypes we need yet other rules.

*601 Expansion of Rule 3: the Equivalence of a Woman's Sister and her Mother. A woman's older sister's husband is classified as "stepfather." Her younger sister's husband as [593] [603] "grandson." The rule necessary to account for this classification requires that a woman's older sister, in this context, be equivalent to that woman's mother, and that a woman's younger sister be equivalent to that woman's daughter. This rule and the rule of equivalence of mother's sister and own sister show fundamental similarities. They can be combined and written together, specifying the equivalence of a woman's sister and her mother.

$$(\overline{♀S} \rightarrow \overline{♀M}) = (\overline{♀S} \rightarrow \overline{♀d})$$

This rule and its corollary should not be applied to the same context. The applicability of the upward and downward equivalence should be restricted as follows: if "♀" is M,

*601 561 ipebutojagiwu ("the one born after me"), or koduirekodajiwu ("the one who follows me"). The first-born is designated boetojiwu ("the first one"), while the last-born is designated boigoduwu ("the last"). When there are three brothers, the oldest will be described as etumanareu ("their older brother"), the second as boyadadawu ("the one in the middle"), and the youngest one as etuviyereu ("their younger brother"). Further, any young sibling also can be ad-
*601 304 dressed as imedregedu. Finally there is a special term for a man's first born son, ikenojiwu ("the one on my nose," which alludes to the custom of piercing a man's nasal septum on the same occasion when his first-born son is given a name).

*601 There are still a few more alternative terms that should be mentioned here. These are mostly those related to actual
607 differences in relationships among kinsmen. If a man quar-
*601 rels with his sister's husband, he will call the latter otogududogedu ("the one to whom pity was shown," meaning that the brothers gave their sister as wife to him out of pity). He will be called in return by his proper name instead of imedu. Two men married to sisters, if on good terms, may choose to call each other reciprocally either ito inowu ("the one like me") or imeduya ("my companion") instead of iyedaga and ivagedu. Similarly two women married to the same man, will call each other reciprocally either itoydo ("the one
*601 like me") or imedago ("my companion"). There are also some
● 593 conventional expressions used when two people speak about a third person to whom both of them are related. For example,

*601 one parent speaking to the other about their child will say
593 akonaregedu ("your child"), while a woman speaking to another about their common husband will say akoredu (your husband). A mother speaking to her sons about their father will say tameduya (your companion), while a father speaking to his daughter about their mother will say tamedago (your com-
*601 panion). Finally, in some cases it is considered more polite
576 to refer to kinsmen descriptively instead of mentioning the class to which they belong. Thus if a man is looking for his sister-in-law and he is a polite person he will ask, "Where is my brother's wife (imana oreduje pa, or kaiba imana oreduje kodure)?"

Choice among Alternative Designations

*601 As a general rule it may be said that: 1. When a per-
611 son is doubly related to Ego, both matrilaterally and patrilaterally, the relationship traced through the mother takes precedence over the one traced through the father. In case FSs is also MBc then itonaregedu (MBc) takes precedence over
*601 imarugo (FSd) and iyogwa (FSs). 2. The term traced through
593 marriage of a person or one of his kinsmen takes precedence over the one traced through parents: in case that MBs is also SH, inodowu (SH) takes precedence over itonaregedu (MBs).

*601 In the case of sister exchange and marriage, where two
607 men are at the same time "wife's brother" and "sister's husband" to each other they will call each other either inodowu or itonaregedu. I did not have the opportunity to personally observe this kind of relation.

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.
768
616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 A different set of terms, which are considered more po-
533
765 etic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:
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Birth

842 A child may have many fathers. Any man who has had sexual relations with the child's mother before or during pregnancy is considered one of the genitors, and is designated a "father" of the child. Both father (or fathers) and mother are equally responsible for the physical and mental characteristics of the child. Often the Bororo make comments about children saying that they are pretty or ugly, good or bad, some taking after their father, some after their mother. Different characteristics may have been taken from different fathers. As the chief of the village where I worked once told me: "I had two fathers, from the first I received my stature, and that is why I am so short. From my second father I received my heart." His second father had been a big chief and a knowledgeable man from whom he had learned the traditions and songs of the tribe. For the Bororo there is no such thing as a fatherless child. Everyone has a father, and the more fathers one has the better it [115] is for him. The knowledge of my informant was great because, as the Bororo explained to me, he was the son of the village wanton. Therefore all his fathers, all the men from the op- • 513 posite moiety, taught him songs and stories. It is the duty *601 of the child's mother to inform the boy or the girl when grown up enough to understand who his biological fathers are, and to teach him the kinship terms he should use for them and for their brothers, mothers and sisters.

000 Even now the ideal marriage is one contracted between a

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
819
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[844] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffo-
[846] cate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
[226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
[261] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
[276] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
[545] not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
593 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
827 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from
846 the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[826] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
[854] this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
[856] speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of conti-
[302] nence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
* [601] attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand
593 against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
[835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
[522] tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
[578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
593 affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
[539] uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider
the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[594] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After
marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal
extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a
member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by
virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular
names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing
of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may
be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and
others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a
female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is
emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent;
where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo
type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equiv-
alence rule, which were required to account for the kinship
system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fra-
ternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of
her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of
her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers"
are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and
their wives.

000 their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on marriage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a 582 593 normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of [835] specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often [837] does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual relations with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native 842 theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father. [593] It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as 181 legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [533] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [201] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere- [723] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[776] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 men is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226
264 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will of the others.)

881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
593 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

596 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and
855 even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family, he can move his family to another village. This movement of the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people but does not affect the structure of the new group, which will be very much like the one left behind. The man will live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will de-
591 pend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's
596 mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom occur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women, the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing. The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that her children will be looked after when she goes into the woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she received from her mother.

593 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the
461 fields to do some work together that would be difficult for a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the extraction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a
593 couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man,
484 his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

593 success from the economic point of view, but what is more
484 important seems to be the pleasure that the couple derive from being alone, away from their families, and free from continuous observation of the rules of public conduct.

593 There are advantages in having brothers and sisters:
[578] the brothers will be a support during quarrels, and the sis-
[431] ters will send their siblings gifts of food, part of what they collect in the woods, or pieces of the game their hus-
[607] bands kill. A man will receive food from his brother's wife if he does not have any closer relative. On the other hand, a man finds some disadvantages in having many brothers: the competition in asserting oneself in ceremonies is much stronger, especially if the knowledge and ability of the brothers is comparable. There will be a lot of tension and envy among ambitious brothers in competing for the honor of being called on as a performer by the yorubodare lineage
593 from the other moiety. A wife who has many brothers can
607 also be a handicap. One will have to hunt and fish not only for the wife's mother and father, but he will have to send part of the food to her brothers too. They may frequently come to ask for ornaments and artifacts, for hunting and fishing tools, all of which the husband is supposed to give to his brothers-in-law without showing any sign of dissatisfaction. He cannot even ask for recompence, mori, as he would do with anybody else, because, as the Bororo say, "he is living with his compensation" (mori tabo rugaduye tumugure oino kodi)—with the sister that they have given him in marriage.

868 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with
562 small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as
868 adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is
[822] his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

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> If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will will die but you will be here in his place, you will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With this in mind he instructed you in all these things.
>
> But suppose you do not listen to your father's

868 829 593

words. He wants to teach you but you do not care and as a consequence you remain ignorant. The people will say, "It may be that his father was ignorant, and because of this he does not know anything." I know things and thus the people do not gossip about my father. People say about me, "With him is his father's knowledge and reason."

Another example. The people do not quarrel with your father or with your mother, nor do they quarrel with you; they will say, "Yes, he is the true child of his parents, he is just like they are." But if you fight and quarrel with people, they will say: "He is not the child of his parents; they are different."

However, if your father does not know things, you will kill some animal, you will catch some fish, and you will give them to someone who knows things, and he will teach you. The people will then say, "The father is no good, and yet his son speaks so well. He is not stingy with meat and fish and feathers. He is knowledgeable, because he is not stingy. So after having been an orphan, he is not an orphan anymore."

1

Ao yoruduwa rakã-guragare, boe eimejerare aoche. Jorudu iwa rakã-guragare toro. Du tabore ichare ure awodudo. Kodire aidure awo nono turyeore. Aerudu iwawo tuyorudu iwa rakã-guraga du uryeore. Rudumi tu vi mode ma aki akagurure tumugato kodi. Akiwo boe eimejerare aki tumugato. Kodire ure aerudu iwado tumearudae jamẽdu boeji. Oino.

Mare aki amearu toru kare ao boe eimejera bataruji. Aidure aerudu iwado, mare amearu toru kare bataruji. Kodire ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Kodire boe egore: 'ao rabora yoruduwa bokware kodiba ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Oino. Imire paga karega iyorudu iware oino. Kodire boe emago kare toro iyogwaji. Boe egore apore uwo jorudae, mearudae meture. Iya pugeje. Boe kori kare aoji, acheji. Du boe kori kare ai, arugodu kare, ako ki kare. Du boe ego mode: 'u, onaregedu rugadu rabode. Kodire ichare ure nono tuje, tuwo uryeore. Iya keje ao pega kare, ache pega kare, akire ichare apegare. Boe kori barikare ai, arugodu kigodure, ako ki kigodure boei. Ao, ache onaregedu karega ure aki kodi. Aore tuginoi.

Mare ao yorudu iwa bokwa iya boeji, mare nonore ure. Kodire a mode iya karo, iya barogo a mode bito. Du a mode iya rogu maku t jorudu iwarewu mearudu iwarewu ai. Du tabore ichare u mode aerudu iwado. Du tabore boe ego mode: 'Uwo pega, jorudu iwa bokwa kodi karega, akore oino. Mare jetori kare t iya ture bitowu karo, barogo, nabure kuido ikodo aro

597 When a child loses his parents, he is not left alone. Usually one of his mother's true or classificatory sisters or his father's true mother or sister will take care of him. 737 Old or disabled persons also can count on a large range of 736 relatives for some help and food. In Pobojari there was a blind man living in the men's house. When the "meal of the spirits" was held, his pots and pans were filled up so that he would have enough food for the next day. Normally eight women of the village saw to it that he was not without food. The man was a classificatory brother to three of the women. He was the mother's brother (a "brother") to an unmarried girl who was also an orphan and was living with her father's sister. She did not have food of her own, but she made a fire for the blind man when it was cold, and occasionally she washed his dishes. To another of the three women he was "father's son" (uwo onaregedu), and to the third he was "father's brother's son" (uwo umana onaregedu). Two other women addressed him as "grandfather" (iyedaga): he was "husband's brother" (oredu umana) to one and "husband's father's son" (Oredu uwo onaregedu) to the other. Still another called him "father" (iyogwa). He was "father's brother" (uwo uviye) to her. Finally there were two women who considered themselves his "mother." Each had taken the role of mother for different dead belonging to the same

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[869] bu keje, kodire ichare jorudu iware oino, jetori bokware kodi.
[829] Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje.
[593] Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

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Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

593 However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (ere mitotuje, "they are just one"; e kare tuginoi, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

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593 like to stress that <u>they are not really</u> the same person:
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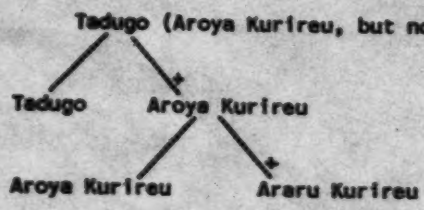
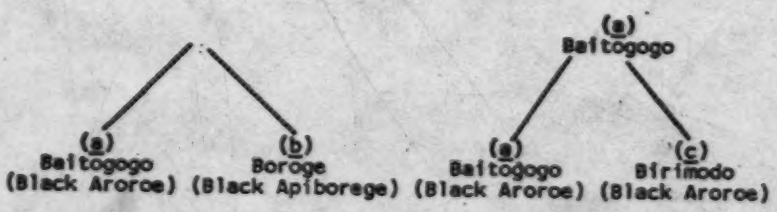


613 The Bororo also express the relation between two lin-
829 eages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother--younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:



Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

772 181 A. Equality of like items, or the relationships of equivalence,[1]

B. Inequality of like items, or the relationships of proper inequality,

C. Equality of unlike items, or the relationships of symmetrical reciprocity.

I did not find the fourth possibility expressed in the Bororo social structure: inequality of unlike items; though the work of other researchers indicates that certain forms of hierarchical relationships may exist even between moieties (see page 186).

[61] All three kinds of relationships are expressed most clearly through the idiom of kinship, and all three are necessary to understand the Bororo social and cosmological universe. In previous chapters we have already had the opportunity to see some of these relationships at work. In this chapter I will present the case in greater detail.

A. Relationships of Equivalence

593 The first kind of relationship originates in that between a woman and her child, and by successive extensions includes the relationships between sister and brother (= child), sis-

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[1] Equality should be distinguished from equivalence. I consider two items to be equal if they have the same value in respect to some attribute (here it is social status). Equivalent items, in addition to having the same value in regard to the relevant attribute, are also like each other and substitutable for each other.

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvagedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong [421] to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge 614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu- 825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a 821 fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and repre-
616 sentatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

571 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije
613 Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the
539 head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also baku-
773 gumee eimejera (the chief of the bakugumee, a kind
616 of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo iwararege eimejera (the chief of the iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."

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1 "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumee eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

Chapter XI

CULTURE AND NATURE: AROE AND BOPE

593 Many of the relationships between older and younger
772 brothers show the older brother associated with culture and the younger brother associated with nature. Since older and younger brothers are hierarchically related as superior and inferior, we would expect culture and nature to stand in similar hierarchical relationship. Instead, as will be shown in this chapter, culture and nature are not valued as superior and inferior. Their characteristics can be compared, their features can be contrasted, but in most cases culture and nature are not directly related and do not interact with each other.

772 The opposition between culture and nature does not af-
616 fect the relationship of reciprocity between yorubodare, i.e., between moieties. Neither of the two moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature. As we shall see in greater detail later, both moieties can claim some cultural characteristics, and both moieties can claim some natural characteristics.

772 Finally, culture and nature, though not in hierarchical relationship, remain in sharp opposition; and yet from another perspective they could be regarded as equivalent: they

841
787
764 denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into
787 the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the
772 meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature;
533 it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It
is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially
302 the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child
237 is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries.
593 She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of
152 them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is
534 also there, playing the <u>ika</u>: the Aroe are acknowledging the
775 arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the
Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo
304 can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are
593 done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given
614 to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society.
787 After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams
were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to
533 put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya
764

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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[1] "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
482 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/134 cont./

616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty, and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in public, even though not so scrupulously: it will, however, be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to be together, except when they leave the house and both go to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forests this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal), while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

/135 cont./

573 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents'
[512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not
[354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the
[603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother
[855] nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are
836 evident from the following indications of the same explorer
431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls
[411] in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love
[602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the
[421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to
224 which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over
602 "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
593 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that
114 her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should
not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of
this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation
of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already
found out "that any look or smile between persons of different
sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral."
Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom
and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

562 We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
(Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c.,
p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner:
"When the contention within the hut reached the culminating
point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running
out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one.
Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three
women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One
of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to
meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce
fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center
of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned
in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass
/148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing,
the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure,
the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries
held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the
hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines
of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the
front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and
try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
521 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing
152 this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me: "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not
593 going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
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/149 cont./

562 the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this
114 opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced
797 of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man,
a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy
[593] of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same
state of mind, the man is "lord in the house": and the apostles
in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have
now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the
Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in
the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever
by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the
individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity
of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his
natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already
born with him, a composition by which only the individual
is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes
himself from all the other individuals. Although the social
position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way,
seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it
seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the
relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage
is given its own and true configuration, or, said better,
its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals
who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very
pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in
the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the
boundary between the social and the individual being. How
many men are there among us who would like to be dominated
by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and
master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer
with his individuality the influence of the conventions created
by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/154 cont./

301 562 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care. [237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment" [836] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally [593] adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both [171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first [171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting [613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 797 533 776 The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow." 114

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity. 114 123 [276] [262] [685]

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents 302 [142] 302 593

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

502 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the taton canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

8:Cook • M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

226 251 433 savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee. [593] She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The 302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in 593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum 301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, 586 especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêda*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

/463 cont./

872 after the other, the boys had to recite after him. For hours they practiced, gaily waving their paper, "bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul." In several months they had not gone beyond this. Caldas himself seemed impatient, and during the short time that we were able to endure the performance he asked three times what time it was. Two Bororó fathers were sitting in the /464/ corner and occasionally also murmured absent-mindedly bal, bel, bil, bol, bul. Among my linguistic notes I find that the Bororó told me, "he is teaching the boys to read"; the sentence in literal translation corresponds exactly to the situation: "he is
876 teaching the boys to look at the paper." Caldas hoped, however, that there would soon be progress; he said the boys were an ill-behaved lot who first had to learn obedience. Up to now he had hit their fingers with a ruler if they did not pay attention. Now, however, he had an improved system of "palmatorios," two specimens of which he showed us. They looked like wooden spoons, except that they had a circular, flat end-piece, and this -- here was the improvement -- was perforated with holes like a sieve. The air whistles through the holes and this increases the pain. Well, I hope the new palmatorios stood the test and that the boys have meanwhile progressed at least as far as xal, xel, xil, xol, xul. In our day the entire result was always just dal, del, dil, dol, dul.

578 The hostile brothers. On 9 April Arateba, in his drunkenness,
[273] again put on one of his sensational performances. Burning with rage, he tears down the house of a widow who would not let him have his way. He is quickly finished with this work, even though he threatens to fall over backwards with each jerk. His brother and two sensible friends hoist him on their shoulders and take him to his hut. There he has the weeping blues for a quarter of an hour, but after cold water has been poured over him he pulls himself together again and appears in front of headquarters. He
593 strides up and down like a roaring lion in a cage and challenges his brother, upon whom he heaps abuse in front of all the people, to a fight. His brother leaps at him and, crouched over, hops back and forth in front of him for a while; then they clutch each other with furious holds. Arateba is thrown to the ground four times.

/464 cont./

593 Then Maria, their sister, steps in with determination and clasps him so firmly that he is unable to move. The brothers are led off in different directions. From Arateba's hut comes the sound of ugly quarreling; again the swaying drunkard appears -- he has a regular criminal's face and, to top it off, a smoothly shorn head -- and forces his way into the hut where his brother is hidden. Resounding blows, blustering voices, a general scuffle. The excited crowd, in the center of which Moguyokuri's figure towers, comes outside, several wrestle with each other, Arateba again lies on the ground, the women now throw themselves heavily into the fray, Maria overpowers the drunken one, and he is dragged away. Everyone is laughing; they go back to the ranchão [273] and several of them say, not unjustly: "piga* pega," "whiskey

* = Portuguese pinga, drop. Vulgar expression for alcohol.

is a bad thing."

000 Discipline. Where such scenes were the order of the day, how could it have been otherwise but that a harmful reaction upon the soldiers /Pl. XXVI appears here/ /465/ would result? The men [648] were embittered because the Indians were idle and they had to do all the work, because the Indian obtained free alcohol to the point of the most flagrant abuse, and they had to pay two milreis for a bottle or five times as much as in the city, because the Indian was permitted to say a contemptuous filho da puta /bastard/ to the faces of the officers without punishment, and they were obliged to go into the xadrez* for their offences. Good-natured Eliseo,

* The detention room. Literally, "chessboard."

however, who was unable to change the system, was guiltless -- indeed, he was lenient enough, for example, to pardon a man who went for him with a knife. Of course, their pay was wasted in card-playing. When payday came, one of them had lost 100 milreis in vinte e um or trinta e um. If they had no money, they would sell their household utensils for a song.

[Text Continues on P. 576]

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones;
[437] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
● 593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/503 cont./

855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about 854 their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head • 593 between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú [114] from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure 765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

/134 cont./

616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty, and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in public, even though not so scrupulously: it will, however, be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to be together, except when they leave the house and both go to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest: this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal), while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

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177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden
737 products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. p. 17--Analyst]

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuiawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[237] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

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582 These identifications permit us to conclude that the matri-
601 monial system is as follows:

A male individual may contract two types of marriage. He will marry either his father's younger sister or his father's elder sister's daughter. In the first case, his father's father is at the same time his father-in-law, and his father's mother, his mother-in-law. In the second case, his father's elder sister is his mother-in-law.

[616] This same individual's sister may not, symmetrically, marry her mother's brother, as they both belong to the same phratry. Her uncle hence enters the category of men whom she cannot marry, and she has only one name to designate her mother's brothers and her own brothers (elder). The combinations open to her are: her mother's brother's son and her elder brother's son. The maternal uncle and the elder brother are thus identified by the young girl as providers of possible spouses. The result is that the men have wives their own age or older, whereas the women have husbands their own age or younger. This is confirmed by [595] experience: the marriage of a woman and of her daughter by a previous marriage to a new husband constitutes the typical case of bigamy[1] among the Bororo.

In addition, three categories of men exist for a woman: those older than she whom she cannot marry (mother's brothers, elder brothers); those younger than she whom she cannot marry (her father's brother's sons, younger brothers); and finally, those of her own age or younger, with whom she can contract marriage.

The Bororo have hence had, at least in the past, two forms of marriage, namely: the cross marriage and the marriage of a nephew with his aunt. It is not possible to say, given the present state of our information, whether these marriages are always rigorously practiced, whether they are contemporaneous, or whether one of these forms represents, in relation to the other, an evolved stage. But with the exception of the typical cross marriage, it is not the mother's brother who is identified with the father-in-law, but the mother's brother's father.

[1] [Cf. analyst's footnote on p. 10--Analyst]

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836 Marriage.—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and 582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage 144 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as 585 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous 591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is 763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk 602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors 764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's [622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve 224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he [616] has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (arce). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him 881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for 764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread 764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

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614 A consequence of the matrilineal organization, which, at the same time, characterizes the preponderant social importance of the woman, is the fact that a clan is destined to become extinct as soon as the women are missing. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50) also refers to that.

• 595 In general the Bororo are monogamous. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 57) observes in this respect: "The few sporadic cases of polygamy that are found are disapproved by all. The case of latent polygamy takes place, ordinarily, when a man marries a woman who has /137/ a young daughter, or when he marries a young girl whose mother, a widow or without a husband, is still young. In this case polygamy is easy, even though hidden, because officially the man will be the husband of the mother or of the daughter and never of the daughter and mother."

The Bororo spoke to me of such cases of bigamy, which is confirmed by the following observation by Karl von den Steinen [622] (o.c., p. 501): "In Thereza Christina, apparently only Moguyokuri (the chief) lived in polygamy. His wives were a woman of a certain age and a daughter of her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and when the mother became ugly and the daughter became pretty, he "married" the daughter also."

Von den Steinen (ibidem) adds, however: "But, in the aldeias, polygamy of the elders is generally the rule." This author seems to assume this, basing himself only on the report by Waehneldt about the Bororo on the Jaurú (mentioned on the same page), because he did not visit the aldeias personally. If we were inclined to establish a connections between the fact that in general monogamy exists among the Bororo and only in rare cases bigamy with mother and daughter, and the institution according to which the daughter lives with the mother all her life, the husband goes to live in her house

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

[121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliny are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliny is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiago Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely, been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

121 One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has
582 fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and
591 patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted
[586] in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children
586 remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the wife.

121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to him- 582
self he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver 583
her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu whenever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families. They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an [595]
old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The pros- 844
pective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born, and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. It is common for children, espe- 862
cially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases. The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts, works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry 582
a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the 173
Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men, now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them. There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not 586
abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights 578
between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged husband berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men, women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
554 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *Ta Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *Ta Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
•595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[594] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent; where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equivalence rule, which were required to account for the kinship system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fraternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers" are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and their wives.

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their unmarried children. After initiation the sons move into the [88] [422] men's house, but all their belongings remain in their mother's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their [264] [588] natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their [591] mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind, 5% in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman [264] cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared. 596 They also help each other care for the children. If a woman 855 is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

596 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and
855 even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family, he can move his family to another village. This movement of the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people but does not affect the structure of the new group, which will be very much like the one left behind. The man will live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will de-
591 pend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's
596 mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom occur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women, the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing. The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that her children will be looked after when she goes into the woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she received from her mother.

593 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the
461 fields to do some work together that would be difficult for a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the extraction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a
593 couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man,
484 his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

597 When a child loses his parents, he is not left alone. Usually one of his mother's true or classificatory sisters or his father's true mother or sister will take care of him. 737 Old or disabled persons also can count on a large range of 736 relatives for some help and food. In Pobojari there was a blind man living in the men's house. When the "meal of the spirits" was held, his pots and pans were filled up so that he would have enough food for the next day. Normally eight women of the village saw to it that he was not without food. The man was a classificatory brother to three of the women. He was the mother's brother (a "brother") to an unmarried girl who was also an orphan and was living with her father's sister. She did not have food of her own, but she made a fire for the blind man when it was cold, and occasionally she washed his dishes. To another of the three women he was "father's son" (uwo onaregedu), and to the third he was "father's brother's son" (uwo umana onaregedu). Two other women addressed him as "grandfather" (iyedaga): he was "husband's brother" (oredu umana) to one and "husband's father's son" (Oredu uwo onaregedu) to the other. Still another called him "father" (iyogwa). He was "father's brother" (uwo uviye) to her. Finally there were two women who considered themselves his "mother." Each had taken the role of mother for different dead belonging to the same

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[868] bu keje, kodire ichare jorudu iware oino, jetori bokware kodi.
[829] Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje.
[593] Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"

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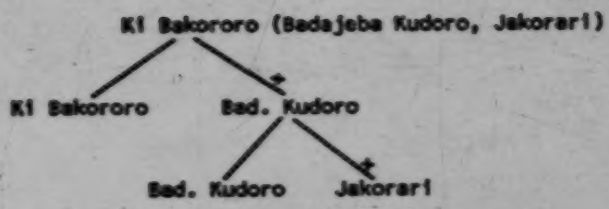

Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

593 However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (ere mitotuje, "they are just one"; e kare tuginoi, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

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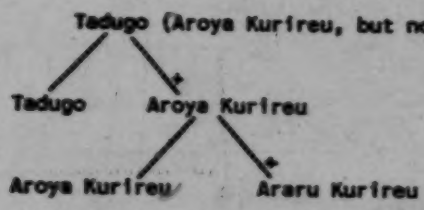
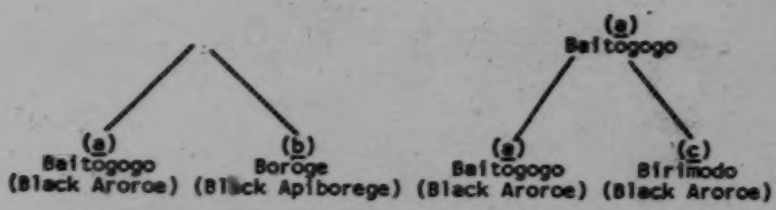
like to stress that they are not really the same person:



The Bororo also express the relation between two lineages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother—younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:



Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

their tribe, and always responding *parduku?*—I do not know, 551
who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony 553
is not performed for a female child.

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind 855
to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents [841]
seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should [597]
whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives.

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by 198
this means to communicate with one another at a distance with
surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, 516
moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand.

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four; 802
therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands."

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mêdo* [262]
at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around.

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582 614 five clans contract marriage with three clans. These are: /281/

Bādejeba (Apibore, Ewāguddu, Ārōre)
Bakoro (Paiwe, Apibore, Ārōre)
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Paiwe, Apibore, Ewāguddu)
Apibore (Bādejeba, Bakoro, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)
Ewāguddu (Bādejeba, Ki, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)

two clans contract marriage with two clans:

Paiwe (Bakoro-Bokodori)
Ārōre (Bādejeba-Bōro)

one clan marries with only one clan:

Ki (Ewāguddu)

601 [582] The study of kinship terminology permits us to state precisely this system of preferential union. The native vocabulary distinguishes, in fact, for most degrees of kinship, between the elder and younger. Thus:

ogwa umanna: father's elder brother
ogwa uie: father's younger brother
mugā vuri: mother's elder brother
mugā uie: mother's younger brother
ogwa utuge: father's elder sister
ogwa uie: father's younger sister
māna: elder brother
uie: younger brother (or sister)
utuge: elder sister.

On the other hand there is only one term to represent several kinship relations in the following cases:

marúga: ancestor, father's elder sister, mother-in-law (man speaking)
ure: mother's brother, elder brother (woman speaking)
uie: younger brother, male cousin
iędaga: father-in-law, father's father
mugā pega: mother-in-law, father's mother (literally: bad mother).

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582 These identifications permit us to conclude that the matri-
601 monial system is as follows:

A male individual may contract two types of marriage. He will marry either his father's younger sister or his father's elder sister's daughter. In the first case, his father's father is at the same time his father-in-law, and his father's mother, his mother-in-law. In the second case, his father's elder sister is his mother-in-law.

[616] This same individual's sister may not, symmetrically, marry her mother's brother, as they both belong to the same phratry. Her uncle hence enters the category of men whom she cannot marry, and she has only one name to designate her mother's brothers and her own brothers (elder). The combinations open to her are: her mother's brother's son and her elder brother's son. The maternal uncle and the elder brother are thus identified by the young girl as providers of possible spouses. The result is that the men have wives their own age or older, whereas the women have husbands their own age or younger. This is confirmed by [595] experience: the marriage of a woman and of her daughter by a previous marriage to a new husband constitutes the typical case of bigamy[1] among the Bororo.

In addition, three categories of men exist for a woman: those older than she whom she cannot marry (mother's brothers, elder brothers); those younger than she whom she cannot marry (her father's brother's sons, younger brothers); and finally, those of her own age or younger, with whom she can contract marriage.

The Bororo have hence had, at least in the past, two forms of marriage, namely: the cross marriage and the marriage of a nephew with his aunt. It is not possible to say, given the present state of our information, whether these marriages are always rigorously practiced, whether they are contemporaneous, or whether one of these forms represents, in relation to the other, an evolved stage. But with the exception of the typical cross marriage, it is not the mother's brother who is identified with the father-in-law, but the mother's brother's father.

[1] [Cf. analyst's footnote on p. 10--Analyst]

/282 cont./

582 601 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] [614] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewaguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuẽawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out. [241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

4: Levak

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[Information on kinship terminology may be found in category 116, pp. 9-34, 39-40, 43-74, 77, 80-81, 93, 96-97, 172-173, and 198-221.]

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the wife, who will receive and will place everything in order, [601] while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment on they will live together, they will call each other by the names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two [304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
831 young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502): [302] "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buritĩ palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokapa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

● 601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

601 sister (*ashimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *manandó*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other families. After marriage a young man lives 591 with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys [606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were [627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabéla* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabéla* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*uwasé*), and out of the other, the *abusé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[p. 108 (1)]

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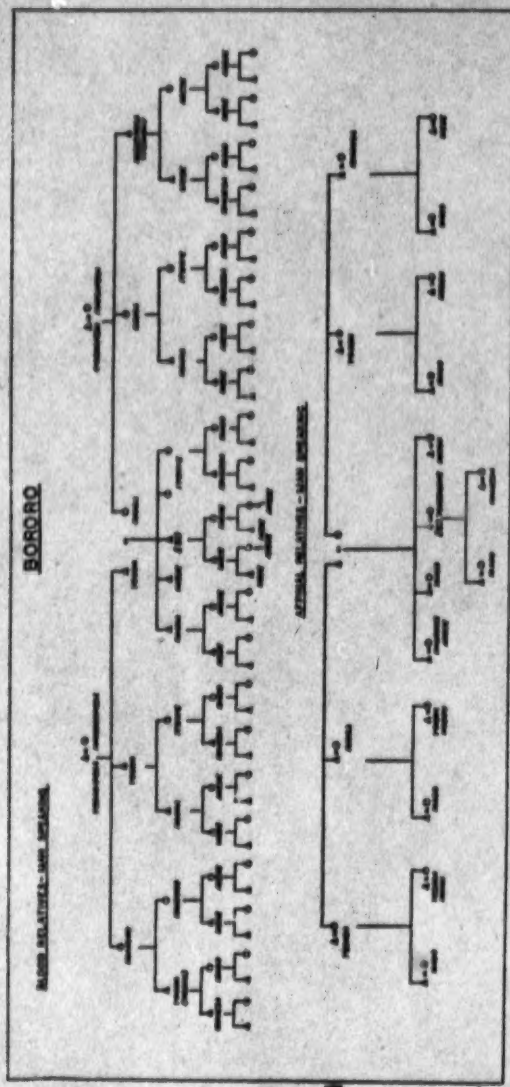

CHART 12.—Bororo, unedited. (See Appendix 2.)

[p.121]

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Bororo SP8

601
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[p. 122]

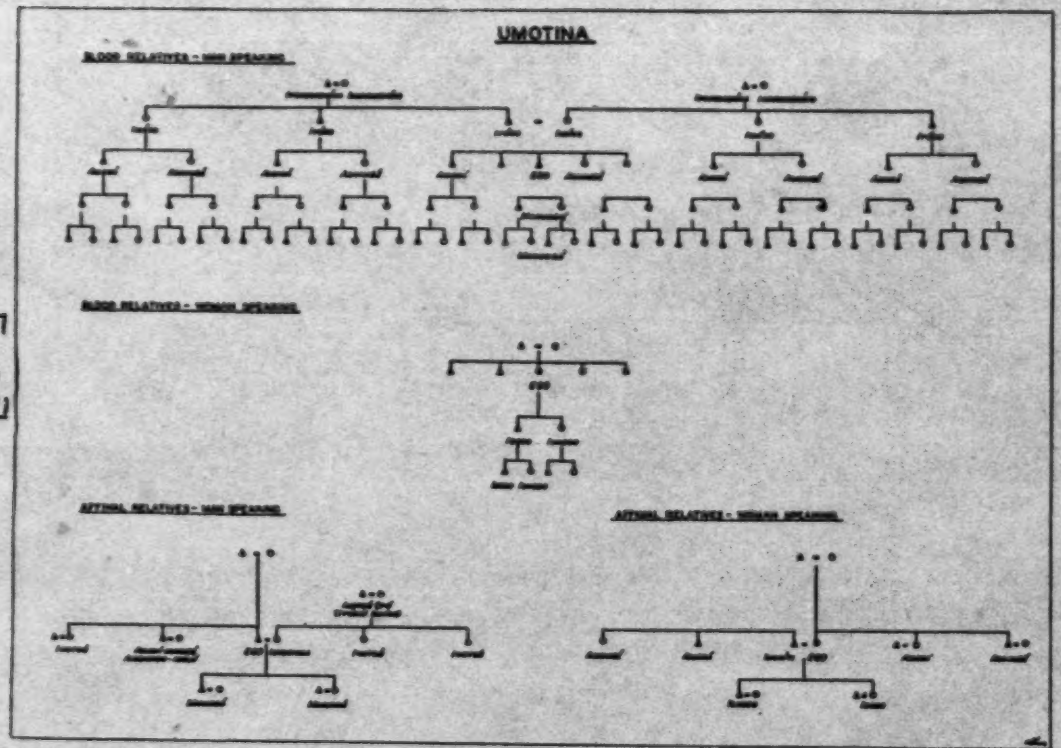

CHART 12.—Umotina, related to Bororo. *AM* (brother) is considered more respectful than *Amand*. *Amiondo* is used to designate younger brothers. *Amiéde* and *Akié* designate younger sisters. *Parepe* is added to *Mesendé* to designate son or grandson. *Omenté* is added to *Mesendé* to designate daughter or granddaughter.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

601 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties—*Cherdíde* and *Tugarégede*.
616 A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*. He calls men of the *Cherdíde* moiety *cherdi* and women *cherdre*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubúdare*, or if they are small children, *yorubúdarédrogo; drógo* meaning little.

601 There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

[582] Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If
601 old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's
616 father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imána*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imánapega* or *yedága*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedágapega;* mother's brothers are *yedága;* father's sister's

[p. 127 (B)]

601 daughter's husband is also *yeddga*. Boys are *mede*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's
616 sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *inúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwíye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

601 Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety.
[304] After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

Cheráide clans

616 1. Bokodóri.
614 2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Boróteberá.
6. Ócbera.

Tugaréde clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tehibú-giwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kúdjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]

[P. 121]

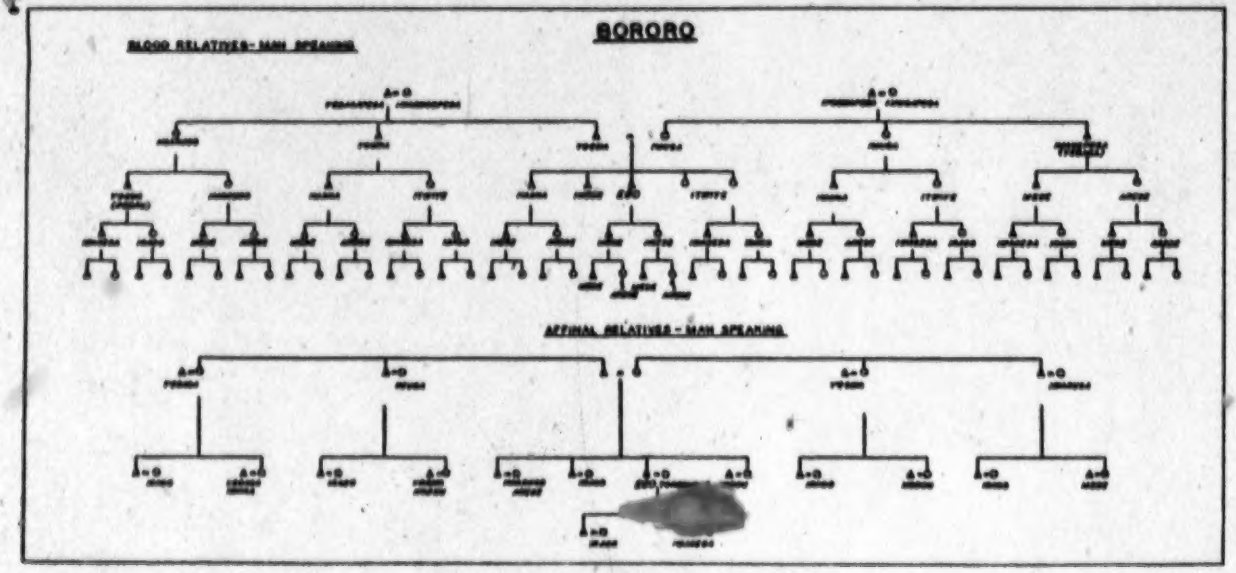

CHART 11.—Bororo, unrelated. (See Appendix 2.)

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP1
[P.127-A]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

616 601 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties—*Cherdíde* and *Tugarégede*. A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*. He calls men of the *Cherdíde* moiety *cherdi* and women *cheráre*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubúdare*, or if they are small children, *yorubúdarédrogo; drógo* meaning little.

There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imána*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imánapega* or *yedága*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedágapega;* mother's brothers are *yedága;* father's sister's

[P.127-B]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

616 daughter's husband is also *paddgu*. Boys are made
601 girls are *arède*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iesapéde*, moiety-son; and *irdgo*, moiety-daughter. *Iesapéde* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *iesége*; sisters before puberty, *iberége*; and sisters after puberty, *irdge*.

[P.P1] Children before puberty are just *made* (boy) and *arède* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iesapéde* and *irdge*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *arède*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[P.P1] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iesapéde*. After the
[P.W] ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irdgo*.

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614

Cherédé clans	*Tugurédé clans*
1. Bokodéri.	1. Arári.
2. Bakóro.	a. Arurécha bógi wógi.
3. Badéjebage.	b. Arurécha tebibé-giwógi.
4. Kiédo.	2. Iwagudodgi.
5. Borétcherá.	a. Tobdero.
6. Ócherá.	b. Kééjagurere.
	3. Apibówogi.
	4. Ipayédo.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and
582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage
144 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as
595 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous
591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

763 **Death observances.**—A dying person (das Garças group) is smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk
● 602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors
764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's
[622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve
224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he
[616] has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him
881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for
764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread
764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

Table IV

*601
● 602

Male Ego's Uterine Kin:

Male Ego's Filial and Fratrifilial Kin:

Collateral				
Lineal				
♀	♀	♂	♂	
MMS "sister"	MM "gm."		MMB "brother"	MMBd "child" / MMBs "child"
MS "sister"	M "mother"		MB "brother"	MBd "child" / MBs "child"
Z, MSd "sister"		♂ Ego	B, MSs "brother"	d, Bd "child" / Bs, s "child"
Sd "sister"			Ss "brother"	Ssd "child" / Sss "child"
Sdd "sister"			Sds "brother"	

All of these "sisters" are like mothers when Ego reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are his "brothers" and "sisters". [This covert equivalence is common to Crow-type systems, in relation to male Ego, except that it does not normally apply to MS and MMS, who are normally "mother" and "grandmother" rather than "sister", because the equivalence of parallel siblings (the merging rule) usually takes priority over the equivalence of sister to mother (the skewing rule)]

All of these "brothers" are like Alter Egos to male Ego when he reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are also his "children", and he is a "father" to them. [This is a usual equivalence in Crow-type systems of types II and IV]

Table V

*601
• 602

Female Ego's Uterine Kin:

Female Ego's Patrifilial Kin and Non-uterine grandchildren:

Collateral				
Lineal				
♀	♀	♂	♂	
MMS "sister"	MM "gm."		MMB "brother"	MMBd "gd." / MMBs "gs."
MS "sister"	M "mother"		MB "brother"	MBd "gd." / MBs "gs."
S, MSd "sister"	♀ Ego		S, MSs "brother"	Sd "gd." / Ss "gs."
Sd "sister"	d "child"	s "child"	Ss "brother"	Sd "gd." / Ss "gs."
Sdd "sister"	dd "gd."	ds "gs."	Sds "brother"	Sdd "gd." / Sds "gs."

All of these "sisters" are like mothers, even to female Ego, when Ego reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are her "brothers" and "sisters". [This equivalence is a rarity in Crow-type systems in relation to female Ego, because the equivalence of parallel siblings (the merging rule) usually takes priority over the equivalence of sister to mother (the skewing rule). The Bororo system reverses the priorities.]

All of these "brothers" are like sons to female Ego when she reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are her "grandchildren", and she is a "grandmother" to them. [This is the usual equivalence in Crow-type systems of types III and IV.]

Table VI

*601
● 602

Father's Uterine Kin:

♀	♂
FM, FMS "grandmother"	FMB "father"
FS "grandmother"	F, FB "father"
FSd "grandmother"	FSs "father"
FSdd "grandmother"	FSds "father"

Father's Filial and Fratrifilial Kin:

FMBd "sister"	FMBs "brother"
S, Fd, FBd "sister"	B, Fs, FBs "brother"
FSsd "sister"	FSss "brother"

These equivalences are all common to the stronger varieties of Crow-type systems (types III and IV).

*601 clan as Birimodo

V is Ivagududogedu, i.e., he belongs to the same moiety as Birimodo.

Thus genealogically related persons are classified according to covert equivalences between particular genealogical positions, while the extension of kin terms to larger social groups is done by categorical extensions.

*601 It should be also pointed out that the degree of rights
• 602 and duties changes as the meaning of the terms becomes broader. The obligation to feed someone, to care for him, or mourn his death becomes less and less binding as the term is extended to persons further removed from the genealogical focus.

*601 To the preceding discussion it should be added that the term imana (older brother) is also used in reference to senior male members of one's own lineage to whom genealogical connections cannot be traced because they have lived in some distant village. (I am aware that a more appropriate term for Bororo-type lineages would be sub-sub-clan, but the term is too clumsy.) The reason for calling them brothers, the Bororo say, is because they belong to the same lineage. This is the same explanation as that which was given for subclan, clan and moiety "brothers" (Z, W, V). But for lineage brothers kinship terms are obligatory as they are for genealogically related persons (X and Y).

The following di-
*601 agram presents the summary of semantic analysis of the ad-
● 602 jectives as they are suffixed to Ego's senior and junior kinsmen:

	Senior	Junior
ø	Formality Addressee relatively young	Formality Addressee relatively old
Pega	Old addressee (Affection)	Affection
Rogu	True kinsman	Young Addressee (True kinsman)
Pega-rogu	Very old addressee Compassion	Very young addressee Compassion

The Bororo, however, do not use the combinations illustrated in the diagram for all theoretically possible kin
[604] types. For example, HB, who may be a young child, will be
[593] always addressed formally, as will the class of inodowu ("stepfather"). The diagram on page 59 illustrates the matchings of kin terms with the different adjectives that
*601 are normally used. The diagram does not include some spe-
602 cial cases related to changes of kinship terms in connection
768 with death. For example, if the living representative of one's dead son is older than Ego, he may be addressed as
*601 itonaregedu pega. An ironic use of imuga rogu and imarugo pega-rogu will be taken up later in discussing kinship terminology used for joking.

*601
602

	"grand-father" and "mother"	"sibling"	"grand-mother" and "father"	"grand-child" and "child"	
pega rogu	+	+	+		
pega	+	+	+		Senior
rogu		+			
0	+	+	+	+	
0	+	+	+	+	
rogu		+	+	+	Junior
pega			+	+	
pega rogu			+	+	

[562] The two subclasses "man" or "male" (imedu) and "woman" or "female" (aredu) are not included in the diagram because the application of the adjective to them follows the same rules as for "younger siblings" and "children."

*601 The kinship terms can receive further specifications.
561 The most important among these are those used in connection with relative age or the birth order of siblings. Ego will describe his or her sibling born before him either as itododaiwu ("the one before me"), or pebutoijagiwu ("the one born before me"), or ikodurekodaiiwu ("the one whom I follow"). He will describe his sibling born after him either as

*601 The rules mentioned above are not valid if the choice
602 is between a close and a more distant genealogical relation, or between a genealogically extended and a categorically extended kinship term. In this case precedence is given to the term traced through the closest genealogical link. Thus, for example, if Ego's true father's sister's daughter is married to his clan "brother" or moiety "brother," Ego will continue to call her imarugo. If the link in both positions are Ego's kinsmen only by social extensions, the choice of the term is arbitrary and left to the will of the parties involved.

*601 Another conflict may arise between a kin term and the
603 actual role that somebody plays towards a kinsman. The most frequent case is that of the father's mother or father's sister who is called imuga, "mother," instead of imarugo, "grandmother," by a child. This usually happens when the child's true mother dies and there is no other woman of her lineage who can take care of the child, or when the mother is living but the child feels more at home with his paternal relatives. In both cases the child is raised by his father's mother or by his father's sister, and he addresses them and refers to them and their husbands in accordance with the actual role they sustained with him. However, the use of the terms is regarded as a nice fiction. The child never becomes a clan or moiety member of his acquired mother and his actual genealogical connections are never obscured.

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.
768
616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 A different set of terms, which are considered more po-
533 etic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:
765
195

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

593 837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by 835 602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

587 606 There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him [585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but [43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

582 593 As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by 591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

/135 cont./

593 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' [512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house [354] and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not [603] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the [855] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest: 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

836 Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are
431 evident from the following indications of the same explorer
[411] /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was pres[illegible] once, I counted 18 such love [602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the [421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

224 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to
602 which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
114 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
603 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

The following passages of the account by Karl von den
765 Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower
[304] (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

Mr. Kosak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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128

All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152 304] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 226 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

by a teammate, who, as he in turn 526
tires, is relieved by a fresh teammate, [764]
and so on. The race is so exhausting
that no rituals are held the next day.

When the rituals are again resumed, 765
they continue with undiminished va-
riety and vitality until the repertory [535]
of dances is completed. Then, early
one morning, about a month after the
initial burial, the skeleton of the de-
ceased, now nearly free of flesh, is
disinterred. A few men take the bones
to a nearby swamp, wash them without
ceremony, and carefully remove all the
remaining flesh.

After being washed, the skull is set
by a small fire to dry. When thorough-
ly dry, it is put into a basket with the
other bones and carried back to the
village, escorted by a procession to
the accompaniment of cane flutes and [534]
gourd trumpets.

As the procession approaches the
village, it is met by the nearest female [602]

[p. 46-B]

relative of the deceased, who shoulders the basket and carries it to the men's house. As she sits outside the house, holding the basket in her lap, the other female kin of the deceased once more gash their arms and breasts, and allow their blood to run onto the basket. The men once again shake their gourd rattles and sing the songs and lamentations they intoned at the time of death.

765 [602] [301 152] [533]

MEANWHILE, several men begin to decorate the skull, which is placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it.

765 531

The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[p. 46-C]
[text continues on p. 48-A]

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones;
[437] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[802] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/517 cont./

802 The numbers go according to the pattern of the Bakaïrí: 1, 2, 2..1, 2..2, 2..2..1, 2..2..2. 1 is called mito; 2, pobe. If these appear in the following number expressions, however, they are given additions from which we can separate out the third person pronouns ema and au (this). In the 3 there is still the negation bókua, bokuáre: pobéma áu metúya (also metía) bokuáre, and it seems to mean: here I have 2, there no more than 1. 4 pobéma aúgüre pobe, here two, there also two; 5 pobéma aúgüre pobéma áu metúya bokuáre; 6. aúgüre pobéma aúgüre pobéma aúgüre póbe. With grains they made the little heaps of twos exactly as among the Bakaïrí, and they likewise consulted their fingers each time. My wish to learn the number words was always and without exception interpreted as meaning
[602] that I wanted an enumeration of their relatives. The person concerned struck himself on the chest, said "I," and counted mother, father, girl, boy, with or without the addition of 1 and 2, assigning a family member to each finger. Whether the fingers as such have names of relatives I was unable to learn; at first I believed the thumb was mother, but I became confused about this /518/ because each person said something different and referred to his particular family situation. This was quite obviously their chief interest in counting. I therefore imagine the development here, too, to be that they designated a number of persons on their fingers, using demonstratives or pronouns, which, after all, amounts to the same thing to start with, and that the limit for 2 was set, not on the hand, but on the objects by breaking one thing into two parts, this calculation was transferred to their fingers. /Chapter XVIII, pp. 519-521, is omitted in the translation. Page 522 is blank./

593 provides and cares for him "father," a broader term which
*601 does not have this derogatory connotation.

All these considerations show that the equivalence rule is correct, and that the classes of "father" and "mother's husband" should be included in a hypothetical superclass "FATHER," which can in turn be broken down into the subclasses of "father" and "stepfather" by componential definitions.

The kin types "father's wife" and "father's brother's wife" are not in our list of kin terms. The Bororo do not consider them as relatives: one's stepmother is not regarded as a relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: a woman's stepchild is not regarded as a relative. In symbolic notation:

$$FW \rightarrow \emptyset \qquad\qquad Hc \rightarrow \emptyset$$

Thus far we have accounted for most consanguineal and step types. The Bororo kinship terminology does not have any separate "in-law" terms, therefore the next step is to see how the in-laws are merged with consanguineal categories.
[603] In addition an alternative classification of mother's brother and mother's mother's brother as "grandfather" (<u>iyedaga</u>) should be discussed.

582 6. <u>Naming Rule</u>. Bororo ideology places emphasis on the positive prescription to marry in the opposite moiety rather than on the negative proscription not to marry in the same moiety, i.e., on the alliance between moieties rather than on a prohibition of "incest." Marriage should ideally

*601 in the ivegedu ("grandson") category: son's wife and a woman's younger sister's husband: (sW, ♀S⁻H)

in the irago ("granddaughter") category: daughter's husband and a man's brother's wife. (dH, ♂BW)

(It should be noted that some of these kin types represent not only these kin types themselves, but also others which are equivalent to them as a result of previous reductions. For example: husband's father's brother has been reduced to husband's father by the application of the rule stating the equivalence of brothers; husband's mother's brother has been reduced to husband's brother by the Crow skewing rule, etc.)

*601 583 While the terminology for affinal relatives suggests the necessity of a marriage prescription, in itself it does not lead to a unique specification, in genealogical terms, for such a prescription (although it may be noted that some, but not all, of the data would be consistent with a rule of bilateral (symmetrical) cross-cousin marriage).

*601 603 606 If, for the time being, we postpone consideration of parallel siblings' spouses and spouses' parallel siblings, we see that in the kin types wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father, and husband's mother, one's spouse's parents are terminologically equivalent to "grandparents," and also that in the kin types son's wife and daughter's husband, the spouses of one's children are terminologically equivalent to "grandchildren." Again, as it was the case in the discussion of naming, Ego's mother's brother whose

*601 daughter Ego marries should be, at least terminologically,
603 his "true lineage brother" i.e., related to him both matri-
604 laterally and patrilaterally. The Bororo say that they call iyedaga ("grandfather") that particular imana ("older brother") who gave them a name, and that particular imana whose daughter they marry.

*601 The equivalence rule, with necessary restrictions to
604 in-laws from different generations and taking into account
606 the patrilaterality of MB can be written as follows:

$$(SpF| \rightarrow MB| \rightarrow FFSs|) \equiv (|dcSp \rightarrow |♂Sc \rightarrow |♂MBsc)$$

$$(SpM| \rightarrow FS|) \equiv (|♀cSp \rightarrow |♀Bc)$$

i.e.: Ego's spouse's parent is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-uncle and cross-aunt. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocalsis: Ego's child's spouse is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-nephew and cross-niece. The straight vertical line indicates a context restriction. When it is prefixed it means "no preceding linkage," and when suffixed, "no following linkage" (Lounsbury 1965: 168).

*601 It should be noted that the "marriage rule" was posited
582 as a de facto state of affairs, regardless of whether or not such a prescription was positively stated by the Bororo. In fact, the Bororo do not say that a person should marry his cross-cousins. They emphasize that a man should marry
*601 in an allied lineage. But the women of this allied lineage are either his classificatory "grandmothers" (FS, FSd, etc.) or his classificatory "daughters" (d, MBd, etc.). Moreover,

*601 brother's wife should be called imarugo ("grandmother"), a man's younger brother's wife should be called itonaregedu ("child"). By similar derivations a woman's older sister's husband would be reduced to iyogwa ("father"), and a woman's *601 younger sister's husband to ivagedu ("grandson"). But only 607 one of these designations is correct: a woman refers to her younger sister's husband as ivagedu, while she refers to her older sister's husband as inodowu ("stepfather"). And a man refers to his brothers' wives as irago ("granddaughter"). It is obvious that in affinal domain, the same sex siblings are not equivalent. To bring them to their focal kintypes we need yet other rules.

*601 Expansion of Rule 3: the Equivalence of a Woman's Sister and her Mother. A woman's older sister's husband is classified as "stepfather." Her younger sister's husband as [593] "grandson." The rule necessary to account for this clas- [603] sification requires that a woman's older sister, in this context, be equivalent to that woman's mother, and that a woman's younger sister be equivalent to that woman's daughter. This rule and the rule of equivalence of mother's sister and own sister show fundamental similarities. They can be combined and written together, specifying the equivalence of a woman's sister and her mother.

$$(\overline{♀S} \rightarrow \overline{♀M}) = (\overline{♀S} \rightarrow \overline{♀d})$$

This rule and its corollary should not be applied to the same context. The applicability of the upward and downward equivalence should be restricted as follows: if "♀" is M,

Specific Terms

*601 The Bororo kinship terminology presented so far is defective with regard to the different shades of meaning possible within any particular kin class. These differences are communicated by the adjectives pega and rogu and their compound pega-rogu added to both referential and vocative terms. These adjectives are so much part of the common usage that even their absence is significant. In the Bororo language pega means "bad" or "old," and rogu means "small," but when suffixed to a kinship term they function as part of a special semantic domain. Some of these combinations of noun and adjectives are obligatory for particular kin types, while others are freely chosen by the speaker in order to convey the [593] desired feelings. For example, iyogwa without an adjective is the obligatory vocative term for one's own father, while iyogwa pega is the obligatory vocative term for one's moth- [603] er's father. However, women may address their mother's fa- [605] ther, if he is very, very old, as iyogwa pega-rogu. The use of adjectives with the term imarugo follows a similar pattern, the only difference being that the man is allowed to allude to possible intimacy with his father's sister's daughter. Therefore he calls her imarugo pega or imarugo *601 pega-rogu if she is still a child. A man will always ad- 606 dress his wife's mother formally, i.e., imarugo, but if she is so old that any possible involvement between the two is unthinkable, he may address her affectionately imarugo pega. An old woman from the opposite moiety who has many daughters

*601 The rules mentioned above are not valid if the choice
602 is between a close and a more distant genealogical relation, or between a genealogically extended and a categorically extended kinship term. In this case precedence is given to the term traced through the closest genealogical link. Thus, for example, if Ego's true father's sister's daughter is married to his clan "brother" or moiety "brother," Ego will continue to call her imarugo. If the link in both positions are Ego's kinsmen only by social extensions, the choice of the term is arbitrary and left to the will of the parties involved.

*601 Another conflict may arise between a kin term and the
● 603 actual role that somebody plays towards a kinsman. The most frequent case is that of the father's mother or father's sister who is called imuga, "mother," instead of imarugo, "grandmother," by a child. This usually happens when the child's true mother dies and there is no other woman of her lineage who can take care of the child, or when the mother is living but the child feels more at home with his paternal relatives. In both cases the child is raised by his father's mother or by his father's sister, and he addresses them and refers to them and their husbands in accordance with the actual role they sustained with him. However, the use of the terms is regarded as a nice fiction. The child never becomes a clan or moiety member of his acquired mother and his actual genealogical connections are never obscured.

855 Bororo fathers and mothers are very affectionate and
868 patient with their children. Both parents teach the child how to talk, and when the child grows up and starts asking questions, they try to explain everything they are asked.
603 The method of education is by advice and persuasion. In
868 the village where I worked, a three-year-old girl once was crying and screaming loudly at her grandmother. The woman seemed not to pay too much attention to her behavior and kept talking gently to her, saying that she should not be angry with her grandparents because they were not maltreat- her; they were teaching her so she would know how to do things and would behave correctly; that when she grew up she would go to collect ako (one kind of nut) and pick ari, boko, and jatugo (fruits of the forest); that for these
855 reasons they were talking to her. Sometimes, however, the
861 Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals, owls or wolves, will come and eat their sexual organs. Very seldom is a child beaten; when it happens, it is only for special transgressions. Only once did I see a mother strike her daughter with a stick. She had found the child eating clay, and the child had been previously warned several times not to do it. The children are never forced to do something they do not want to do. A mother can ask her young daughter to go to the spring to get some water, but if the girl says itaidu kare--"I do not want to do it"--the mother will take the container and go to the spring herself.
868 At three or four years of age a girl will start to play
562 with small baskets, straw trays, and fans that her mother

/135 cont./

593 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents'
[512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not
[354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the
[603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother
[855] nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are
836 evident from the following indications of the same explorer
431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls
[411] in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love
[602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the
[421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to
224 which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over
602 "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
114 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[147] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

593 converse can be expressed as:

$$(♂Bc \rightarrow ♂c) \equiv (FB \rightarrow F)$$

604 593 3. The Equivalence of Mother's Sister and Own Sister. It remains to be seen how a woman's sister's children are classified. If we examine the data we see that they are in the same class as a woman's siblings and her mother's siblings: any woman's sister's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that woman's sibling. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's sister is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sister. In symbolic notation this parallel-collateral skewing rule and its converse can be expressed as:

$$(♀Sc \rightarrow ♀B/S) \equiv (MS \rightarrow S)$$

It can be readily seen that this rule, together with the Crow-type IV skewing rule in the consanguineal domain, expresses the equivalence of a child and his, or her, mother in certain contexts. We could even combine these two rules into a collateral skewing rule which would affect both parallel and cross collateral kin types, stating the equivalence of a person's mother's siblings, with a person's own siblings. This form would be quite convenient if we had set as our task to account only for consanguineal kinship terms. But, since in dealing with affinal kin types we would have to introduce again the Crow-type skewing rule, it seems better to write the rules separately as we have done. Furthermore, unless one is a total 'relativist,' then typology is a legitimate and meaningful concern; in which case one

604 wants to recognize that this is a Crow-type system, and one
593 wants to bring out what kind of a Crow-type it is. However it should be clear that the alternative is not between different solutions, but only between two ways of expressing the same thing.

593 4. The Equivalence of Half Siblings and Full Siblings. The Bororo data indicate that half siblings and full siblings are classified together, thus the rule expressing structural equivalence between half siblings and full siblings, does not present any restriction: any person's parent's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sibling. In symbolic notation:

$$Pc \rightarrow B/S$$

With the four rules derived so far, all the Bororo consanguineal kin types, except some alternative designations, can be reduced to their primary meanings.

5. The Equivalence of Stepfather and Father; the Non-equivalence of Stepmother and Mother. A man's stepchild and his own are terminologically equivalent (itonaregedu). In symbolic notation:

$$Wc \rightarrow c$$

i.e., any man's wife's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that man's own child. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's husband is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's father:

$$MH \rightarrow F$$

582 be contracted with a woman who belongs to one of the lineages of the opposite moiety with which Ego's lineage, through exchange of cultural items and ceremonies, have established alliance in the mythical past. Theoretically one's father, one's wife, and one's son all belong to such a lineage.

613 In the light of the above prescription it is interesting to see the Bororo criteria for ascribing true lineage membership. In the Bororo view, in order to be a true member of a particular lineage a person should not only belong to that lineage, but should also be son of a man of an allied lineage. Allied lineages exchange ceremonial performances. The actors of such performances will preferentially be chosen among the "true" members of an allied lineage or, at least, among the "true" members of the opposite moiety, i.e., their mother and their father should be from different moieties.

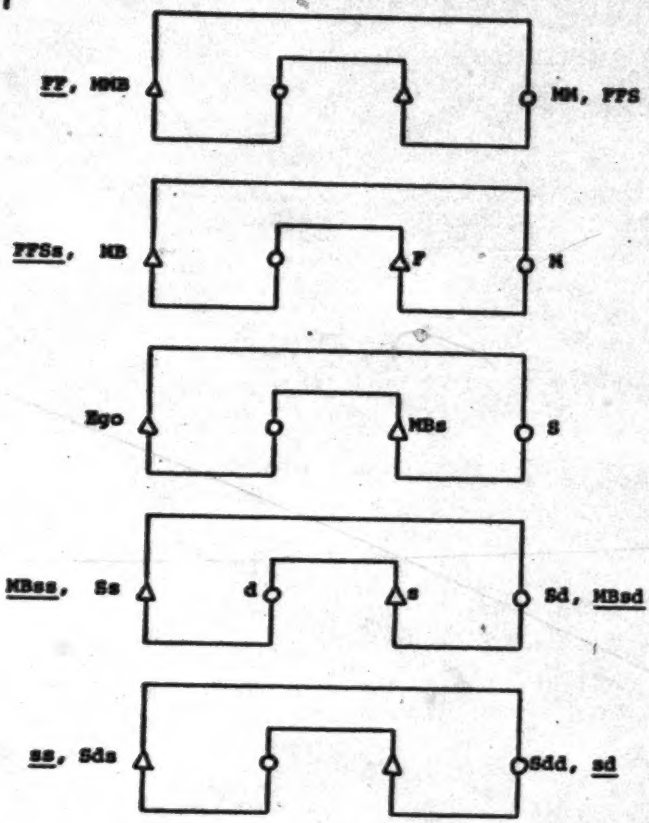
553 Similarly, one of a child's older "brothers" (MB, MMB)
604 should be his namegiver. It is essential that, at least terminologically, the namegiver and the namereceiver are related both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. This is the case only if, at least in theory, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was upheld in every generation. In this case a person's mother's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father, and a person's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father's sister's son (see Table VII). The first kin type (FF) is al-

[Text Continued On Page 43]

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table VII

553
604



553 ready "grandfather" (iyedaga) by definition, while the sec-
604 ond kin type (FFSs) is brought into the same class by equivalences already presented:

FFSs → FFHs (by the skewing rule)
→ FFB (by the half sibling rule)
→ FF (by the merging rule)
∴ iyedaga (by definition)

Thus the naming rule should be written as: any senior matrilateral relative who is Ego's namegiver should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's senior patrilateral relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any junior sororifilial relative to whom Ego gave a name should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's junior fratrifilial relative.

304 The same rule applies also to the senior "brother" (MB,
604 MMB) who pierces the ear lobe of Ego. The rule was written
553 without specifying the sex of the namegiver. On some very
604 rare occasions a child's "older sister" (MS, MMS) will pro-
*[601] pose the name for him (her). If her suggestion is accepted,
*601 the child will call her imarugo ("grandmother"). There is
604 still another instance in which a person calls his "older
[846] sister" imarugo, and that is when this "sister" cuts the umbilical cord when the child is born, in absence of a woman belonging to the lineage or clan of the child's father, who normally have this prerogative. Reductions applied to her are:

*601 MMS → FFS (by the naming rule)
• 604 → FFM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imarugo (by definition)

MS → FFSd (by the naming rule)
→ FFMd (by the skewing rule)
→ FFS (by the half-sibling rule)
→ FFM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imarugo (by definition)

*601 7. The restricted equivalence of spouses and cross-
[58] cousins. In discussing the naming Rule we have shown the necessity of a bilateral prescriptive marriage rule to account for alternative classifications of MB, and MMB. We also said that there are no affinal terms for affinal relations; consanguineal terms are applied to them. A "marriage rule" or "prescription" would thus seem to be necessary. First let us see which one of the kin types have not yet been accounted for:

in the iyedaga ("grandfather") category: wife's father, husband's father, and husband's brother (WF, HF, HH)

in the imarugo ("grandmother") category: wife's mother, husband's mother, and wife's older sister: (WM, HM, WS^+)

in the inodowu ("step-father") category: a woman's older sister's husband: ($♀S^+H$)

in the itonaregedu ("child") category: wife's younger sister: (WS^-)

*601 603 606 daughter Ego marries should be, at least terminologically, his "true lineage brother" i.e., related to him both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. The Bororo say that they call <u>iyedaga</u> ("grandfather") that particular <u>imana</u> ("older brother") who gave them a name, and that particular <u>imana</u> whose daughter they marry.

*601 604 606 The equivalence rule, with necessary restrictions to in-laws from different generations and taking into account the patrilaterality of MB can be written as follows:

$$(SpF| \rightarrow MB| \rightarrow FFSs|) \equiv (|dcSp \rightarrow |♂Sc \rightarrow |♂MBsc)$$

$$(SpM| \rightarrow FS|) \equiv (|♀cSp \rightarrow |♀Bc)$$

i.e.: Ego's spouse's parent is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-uncle and cross-aunt. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocalsis: Ego's child's spouse is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-nephew and cross-niece. The straight vertical line indicates a context restriction. When it is prefixed it means "no preceding linkage," and when suffixed, "no following linkage" (Lounsbury 1965: 168).

*601 582 It should be noted that the "marriage rule" was posited as a <u>de facto</u> state of affairs, regardless of whether or not such a prescription was positively stated by the Bororo. In fact, the Bororo do not say that a person should marry his cross-cousins. They emphasize that a man should marry *601 in an allied lineage. But the women of this allied lineage are either his classificatory "grandmothers" (FS, FSd, etc.) or his classificatory "daughters" (d, MBd, etc.). Moreover,

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[594] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent; where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equivalence rule, which were required to account for the kinship system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fraternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers" are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and their wives.

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member
614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of broth-
[604] ers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son)
[613] and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools,
616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had
621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the
613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

Specific Terms

*601 The Bororo kinship terminology presented so far is defective with regard to the different shades of meaning possible within any particular kin class. These differences are communicated by the adjectives pega and rogu and their compound pega-rogu added to both referential and vocative terms. These adjectives are so much part of the common usage that even their absence is significant. In the Bororo language pega means "bad" or "old," and rogu means "small," but when suffixed to a kinship term they function as part of a special semantic domain. Some of these combinations of noun and adjectives are obligatory for particular kin types, while others are freely chosen by the speaker in order to convey the [593] desired feelings. For example, iyogwa without an adjective is the obligatory vocative term for one's own father, while iyogwa pega is the obligatory vocative term for one's moth- [603] er's father. However, women may address their mother's fa- [605] ther, if he is very, very old, as iyogwa pega-rogu. The use of adjectives with the term imarugo follows a similar pattern, the only difference being that the man is allowed to allude to possible intimacy with his father's sister's daughter. Therefore he calls her imarugo pega or imarugo *601 pega-rogu if she is still a child. A man will always ad- 606 dress his wife's mother formally, i.e., imarugo, but if she is so old that any possible involvement between the two is unthinkable, he may address her affectionately imarugo pega. An old woman from the opposite moiety who has many daughters

*601 in the ivagedu ("grandson") category: son's wife and a woman's younger sister's husband: (sW, ♀S⁻H)

in the irago ("granddaughter") category: daughter's husband and a man's brother's wife. (dH, ♂BW)

(It should be noted that some of these kin types represent not only these kin types themselves, but also others which are equivalent to them as a result of previous reductions. For example: husband's father's brother has been reduced to husband's father by the application of the rule stating the equivalence of brothers; husband's mother's brother has been reduced to husband's brother by the Crow skewing rule, etc.)

*601 583 While the terminology for affinal relatives suggests the necessity of a marriage prescription, in itself it does not lead to a unique specification, in genealogical terms, for such a prescription (although it may be noted that some, but not all, of the data would be consistent with a rule of bilateral (symmetrical) cross-cousin marriage).

*601 603 606 If, for the time being, we postpone consideration of parallel siblings' spouses and spouses' parallel siblings, we see that in the kin types wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father, and husband's mother, one's spouse's parents are terminologically equivalent to "grandparents," and also that in the kin types son's wife and daughter's husband, the spouses of one's children are terminologically equivalent to "grandchildren." Again, as it was the case in the discussion of naming, Ego's mother's brother whose

*601 daughter Ego marries should be, at least terminologically,
603 his "true lineage brother" i.e., related to him both matri-
• 606 laterally and patrilaterally. The Bororo say that they call
iyedaga ("grandfather") that particular imana ("older broth-
er") who gave them a name, and that particular imana whose
daughter they marry.

*601 The equivalence rule, with necessary restrictions to
604 in-laws from different generations and taking into account
606 the patrilaterality of MB can be written as follows:

(SpF| → MB| → FFSs|) ≡ (|dcSp → |♂Sc → |♂MBsc)

(SpM| → FS|) ≡ (|♀cSp → |♀Bc)

i.e.: Ego's spouse's parent is to be regarded as structural-
ly equivalent to Ego's cross-uncle and cross-aunt. The cor-
ollary pertaining to the reciprocalsis: Ego's child's
spouse is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's
cross-nephew and cross-niece. The straight vertical line
indicates a context restriction. When it is prefixed it
means "no preceding linkage," and when suffixed, "no fol-
lowing linkage" (Lounsbury 1965: 168).

*601 It should be noted that the "marriage rule" was posited
582 as a de facto state of affairs, regardless of whether or not
such a prescription was positively stated by the Bororo.
In fact, the Bororo do not say that a person should marry
his cross-cousins. They emphasize that a man should marry
*601 in an allied lineage. But the women of this allied lineage
are either his classificatory "grandmothers" (FS, FSd, etc.)
or his classificatory "daughters" (d, MBd, etc.). Moreover,

613 Each man identifies himself with the lineage he belongs
*601 to, and the core of the lineage are the women. A woman who
• 606 marries "son" of the lineage is a "daughter-in-law" of the lineage. In this usage irago is a group-centered rather than Ego-centered term. This is corroborated by the fact that any woman who marries in the lineage is referred to by all the members of that lineafe as "our daughter-in-law" (parago--1st person plural inclusive.)

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*601 with whom one may flirt, will be jokingly referred to as
606 pajarugo pega-rogu, meaning in this case "our poor little mother-in-law." Also the father of the girls will be called payedaga pega-rogu "our poor little father-in-law," while the women will use this same expression only for a very old man close to death. The term for the wife's true father, and for one's namegiver who is not very old, will remain iyedaga without an adjective.

Another good example of manipulation of the available contrastive set can be seen in the relation between a woman and her daughter-in-law. If a child marriage was contracted, the woman will call her small daughter-in-law irago rogu. When the girl grows up and gradually takes over her responsibilities toward her husband and his mother, she will call her daughter-in-law irago pega if the two women are on good terms and the mother-in-law is satisfied by the attentions paid to her. If, on the other hand, their relations are not so good, she may show her dissatisfaction by calling her only irago. Finally when the mother-in-law is called to assist a daughter-in-law in labor, she will express her affection and concern for the girl by calling her irago pega-rogu.

*601 Another final distinction expressed through the use of
593 adjectives is that made between true siblings and "siblings" arrived at by extragenealogical, social extensions. In the first case rogu will be added to the respective term, but will be omitted in the second instance. The following di-

The following di-
*601 agram presents the summary of semantic analysis of the ad-
602 jectives as they are suffixed to Ego's senior and junior kinsmen:

	Senior	Junior
ø	Formality Addressee relatively young	Formality Addressee relatively old
Pega	Old addressee (Affection)	Affection
Rogu	True kinsman	Young Addressee (True kinsman)
Pega-rogu	Very old addressee Compassion	Very young addressee Compassion

The Bororo, however, do not use the combinations illustrated in the diagram for all theoretically possible kin
[606] types. For example, HB, who may be a young child, will be
[593] always addressed formally, as will the class of inodowu ("stepfather"). The diagram on page 59 illustrates the matchings of kin terms with the different adjectives that
*601 are normally used. The diagram does not include some spe-
602 cial cases related to changes of kinship terms in connection
768 with death. For example, if the living representative of one's dead son is older than Ego, he may be addressed as
*601 itonaregedu pega. An ironic use of imuga rogu and imarugo pega-rogu will be taken up later in discussing kinship terminology used for joking.

593 837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by 835 602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though 587 606 the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother than goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him [585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but [43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, 582 593 there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by 591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

601 sister (*ashimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *manundé*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other families. After marriage a young man lives
591 with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys
[606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were
[627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabála* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabála* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*uwasé*), and out of the other, the *abusé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[p. 108 (1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*púpurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The 768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured

[p. 110 (B)]

*601 brother's wife should be called imarugo ("grandmother"), a man's younger brother's wife should be called itonaregedu ("child"). By similar derivations a woman's older sister's husband would be reduced to iyogwa ("father"), and a woman's *601 younger sister's husband to ivagedu ("grandson"). But only 607 one of these designations is correct: a woman refers to her younger sister's husband as ivagedu, while she refers to her older sister's husband as inodowu ("stepfather"). And a man refers to his brothers' wives as irago ("granddaughter"). It is obvious that in affinal domain, the same sex siblings are not equivalent. To bring them to their focal kintypes we need yet other rules.

*601 Expansion of Rule 3: the Equivalence of a Woman's Sister and her Mother. A woman's older sister's husband is classified as "stepfather." Her younger sister's husband as [593] [603] "grandson." The rule necessary to account for this classification requires that a woman's older sister, in this context, be equivalent to that woman's mother, and that a woman's younger sister be equivalent to that woman's daughter. This rule and the rule of equivalence of mother's sister and own sister show fundamental similarities. They can be combined and written together, specifying the equivalence of a woman's sister and her mother.

$$(\overline{♀S} \rightarrow \overline{♀M}) = (\overline{♀S} \rightarrow \overline{♀d})$$

This rule and its corollary should not be applied to the same context. The applicability of the upward and downward equivalence should be restricted as follows: if "♀" is M,

*601 then the downward equivalence is the correct one:

MS → Md → S

This has the consequence for the reciprocal type:

♀Sc → ♀Hc → ♀B/S

if "♀" is Ego, and S is a link to H (rather than child), then both directions are appropriate, depending on the relative age of S with respect to Ego:

♀S⁺H → ♀MH

♀S⁻H → ♀dH

8. The Equivalence of a Man and his Mother, or Sister (or his Lineage) in One Affinal Relationship. The classification of a man's brother's wife as irago is the most unusual. It seemed so odd, that in the field I spent a month checking on this piece of data, but the Bororo were firm on this classification and finally I had to accept their explanation of [607] this unusual occurrence. They repeatedly said that either the man classifies his brother's wife as if he were a woman or that the man classifies her as his mother does, i.e. that in his relation to her, he takes the place of his mother: (imuga mugatowu imireo). Thus we must determine what it is that his mother or his sister call the woman in question. To Ego's mother, this woman is sW. To Ego's sister, this same woman is BW; but ♀BW → ♀sW. Thus, both to Ego's mother and to Ego's sister, this woman (Ego's BW) is irago. This, then, is what according to Bororo testimony ♂ Ego must call her. She then must call him by the reciprocal term for a male, viz. iyedaga.

613 Each man identifies himself with the lineage he belongs
*601 to, and the core of the lineage are the women. A woman who
606 marries "son" of the lineage is a "daughter-in-law" of the lineage. In this usage irago is a group-centered rather than Ego-centered term. This is corroborated by the fact that any woman who marries in the lineage is referred to by all the members of that lineafe as "our daughter-in-law" (parago—1st person plural inclusive.)

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835 placing brother's wife in the category of irago, the Bororo removed her from the category of sexual partners to which she previously belonged (as imarugo or itonaregedu), and so through the terminology, they express the ideal and the necessity of solidarity among brothers.

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609 sionally, if convenient, some Bororo may restrict or extend

*601 561 ipebutojagiwu ("the one born after me"), or koduirekodajiwu ("the one who follows me"). The first-born is designated boetojiwu ("the first one"), while the last-born is designated boigoduwu ("the last"). When there are three brothers, the oldest will be described as etumanareu ("their older brother"), the second as boyadadawu ("the one in the middle"), and the youngest one as etuviyereu ("their younger brother"). Further, any young sibling also can be ad-
*601 304 dressed as imedregedu. Finally there is a special term for a man's first born son, ikenojiwu ("the one on my nose," which alludes to the custom of piercing a man's nasal septum on the same occasion when his first-born son is given a name).

*601 There are still a few more alternative terms that should be mentioned here. These are mostly those related to actual
• 607 differences in relationships among kinsmen. If a man quar-
*601 rels with his sister's husband, he will call the latter otogududogedu ("the one to whom pity was shown," meaning that the brothers gave their sister as wife to him out of pity). He will be called in return by his proper name instead of imedu. Two men married to sisters, if on good terms, may choose to call each other reciprocally either ito inowu ("the one like me") or imeduya ("my companion") instead of iyedaga and iyagedu. Similarly two women married to the same man, will call each other reciprocally either itoydo ("the one
*601 like me") or imedago ("my companion"). There are also some
593 conventional expressions used when two people speak about a third person to whom both of them are related. For example,

*601 one parent speaking to the other about their child will say
593 akonaregedu ("your child"), while a woman speaking to another about their common husband will say akoredu (your husband). A mother speaking to her sons about their father will say tameduya (your companion), while a father speaking to his daughter about their mother will say tamedago (your com-
*601 panion). Finally, in some cases it is considered more polite
576 to refer to kinsmen descriptively instead of mentioning the class to which they belong. Thus if a man is looking for his sister-in-law and he is a polite person he will ask, "Where is my brother's wife (imana oreduje pa, or kaiba imana oreduje kodure)?"

Choice among Alternative Designations

*601 As a general rule it may be said that: 1. When a per-
611 son is doubly related to Ego, both matrilaterally and patrilaterally, the relationship traced through the mother takes precedence over the one traced through the father. In case FSs is also MBc then itonaregedu (MBc) takes precedence over
*601 imarugo (FSd) and iyogwa (FSs). 2. The term traced through
593 marriage of a person or one of his kinsmen takes precedence over the one traced through parents: in case that MBs is also SH, inodowu (SH) takes precedence over itonaregedu (MBs).

*601 In the case of sister exchange and marriage, where two
607 men are at the same time "wife's brother" and "sister's husband" to each other they will call each other either inodowu or itonaregedu. I did not have the opportunity to personally observe this kind of relation.

Use of Kin Terms in Joking

*601 522 One of the most frequent ways of joking among the Bororo is to use kin terms for unrelated persons, pretending that they are related. Most of the time in doing so the speaker implies that between him and the addressee there exists the kind of social relationship that is usually connoted by the [607] relevant kinship term. For example, inodowu, one's sister's husband, is not supposed to refuse any request of his brothers'in-law. Therefore, sometimes a Bororo asking for an object will say, "inodowu, give me that ...." The other, most of the times will answer, "I am not your sister's husband (akodowu). You do not have either an older sister (atuye), nor a younger one (aviye) that I could marry." But if the man who made the request is a powerful man things can go differently. There is a story about a strong man who went from one village to another calling everybody on his way inodowu. However, nobody objected to being called in this way because nobody dared--they were much too afraid of him.

At some other times the Bororo use kinship terms in an ironical or mocking sense. Parents will call a man flirting with their daughter ivagedu ("son-in-law"). A woman will address her brother's sweetheart as irago ("daughter-in-law"), and a man will address his sister's suitor as inodowu ("brother-in-law"). The women, speaking among themselves, will refer to the most successful lover of the village as chedoredu --our husband.

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [533] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [201] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere- [723] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

success from the economic point of view, but what is more important seems to be the pleasure that the couple derive from being alone, away from their families, and free from continuous observation of the rules of public conduct.

There are advantages in having brothers and sisters: the brothers will be a support during quarrels, and the sisters will send their siblings gifts of food, part of what they collect in the woods, or pieces of the game their husbands kill. A man will receive food from his brother's wife if he does not have any closer relative. On the other hand, a man finds some disadvantages in having many brothers: the competition in asserting oneself in ceremonies is much stronger, especially if the knowledge and ability of the brothers is comparable. There will be a lot of tension and envy among ambitious brothers in competing for the honor of being called on as a performer by the yorubodare lineage from the other moiety. A wife who has many brothers can also be a handicap. One will have to hunt and fish not only for the wife's mother and father, but he will have to send part of the food to her brothers too. They may frequently come to ask for ornaments and artifacts, for hunting and fishing tools, all of which the husband is supposed to give to his brothers-in-law without showing any sign of dissatisfaction. He cannot even ask for recompence, mori, as he would do with anybody else, because, as the Bororo say, "he is living with his compensation" (mori tabo rugaduye tumugure oino kodi)—with the sister that they have given him in marriage.

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these boundaries, but most of the time for genealogically more distant kin they will switch to extragenealogical extensions and apply criteria different from those used in referring to genealogically close kinsmen.

The test of the rules, i.e., the reduction of kin types to their class foci will be found in the Appendix.

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their <u>poari</u>, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into <u>nabure</u>, <u>kuido</u>, <u>kudoro</u> [varieties of macaws] <u>kurugugwa</u> [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into <u>tubore</u> [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated--separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1. "Aroeature mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet 609 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing [291] nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the [302] time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while 533 here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that 122
sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints 136
of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack.

All during the second day we continued to carve our way 122
through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling.

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au 609
Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidi*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity.

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, 361
and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open [621]
ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was [133]
between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, [103]
flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage 122
over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding 361
together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

000 despair, totally unfits himself for life's real duties and privileges and shortens his days.

We now began to entertain anxious thoughts as to how we should make land at the second Kogi au Paro village, which was a little below our point of embarkation, where we were to complete our arrangements for descending the river. We seemed to be afloat on a perpetual motion which we were powerless to stop. The edge of the river was lined with dangerous obstructions and we dared not go too near. How, then, were we to run our unwieldy float into the narrow opening in front of the village? But the Hand of Providence guided us as before, and we succeeded in making land without damage. At the last moment, two Bororó, plunging into [123] the water, seized our raft, and pulling with great force, enabled us to get it to shore.

When we had finally made fast to the root of a tree by means of a bark line, Senhor Guveia, who had become thoroughly frightened, sprang ashore, declaring that nothing would induce him to navigate further on such a craft.

Having fried for the seventh time our pot of boiled beef and eaten the last of it with some green corn-cakes, which, after baking in the ashes, had been fried, we further strengthened our raft with bark rope, made another paddle and other arrangements, then continued our novel voyage down the pretty little river. In place of Senhor Guveia, who had decided 123 609 to return through the forest, we took with us two Bororó who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro village. They were delighted with the prospect of returning home so easily, and by means of such a strange conveyance. The entire Kogi au Paro village came down to the river to gaze at our strange craft and to see us "sail," for this was a most unusual event in their lives; besides, they were more friendly toward us, and not so fearful and exclusive as the upper village.

000 Getting our craft once more in motion, we did not meet with any dangers until we were more than half-way home. We were therefore finding our trip very enjoyable. The

OOand ornaments or just chatting.

361 The village layout is a reflection of the Bororo social structure. The Bororo point around the village circle with their fingers to show the place of important social groups. It is not necessary that these social groups actually be present in a village; the ideal village plan is in Bororo minds.

The villages are always situated near rivers. In the part of Mato Grosso where the Bororo live, rivers flow from east to west, and the villages are oriented so that the east-
• 61 west axis divides them into two halves. The Echerae moiety occupies the southern half, the Tugarege moiety occupies the northern. Each moiety consists of four clans, each clan of two subclans, and each subclan of many lineages. A lineage consists of people who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor and carry the same family name, which is the ancestor's personal name. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said by the Bororo to be related as matrilineal descendants of
[553] brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, animals, and plants. Though the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within the moiety are treated as if their common ancestors had been broth-
62 ers. In a village it is desirable for the important lineages
61 to be represented so that the village can properly carry out

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[538] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[195] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

772 181 A. Equality of like items, or the relationships of equivalence,[1]

B. Inequality of like items, or the relationships of proper inequality,

C. Equality of unlike items, or the relationships of symmetrical reciprocity.

I did not find the fourth possibility expressed in the Bororo social structure: inequality of unlike items; though the work of other researchers indicates that certain forms of hierarchical relationships may exist even between moieties (see page 186).

[61] All three kinds of relationships are expressed most clearly through the idiom of kinship, and all three are necessary to understand the Bororo social and cosmological universe. In previous chapters we have already had the opportunity to see some of these relationships at work. In this chapter I will present the case in greater detail.

A. Relationships of Equivalence

593 The first kind of relationship originates in that between a woman and her child, and by successive extensions includes the relationships between sister and brother (≈ child), sis-

---

[1] Equality should be distinguished from equivalence. I consider two items to be equal if they have the same value in respect to some attribute (here it is social status). Equivalent items, in addition to having the same value in regard to the relevant attribute, are also like each other and substitutable for each other.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal 616 476 764

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [774] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 624 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
[622] the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
[554] connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
[611] eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
[613] the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
[539] songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
[533] rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
[788]
[552] Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
[121] missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

*601 one parent speaking to the other about their child will say
593 akonaregedu ("your child"), while a woman speaking to another about their common husband will say akoredu (your husband). A mother speaking to her sons about their father will say tameduya (your companion), while a father speaking to his daughter about their mother will say tamedago (your com-
*601 panion). Finally, in some cases it is considered more polite
576 to refer to kinsmen descriptively instead of mentioning the class to which they belong. Thus if a man is looking for his sister-in-law and he is a polite person he will ask, "Where is my brother's wife (imana oreduje pa, or kaiba imana oreduje kodure)?"

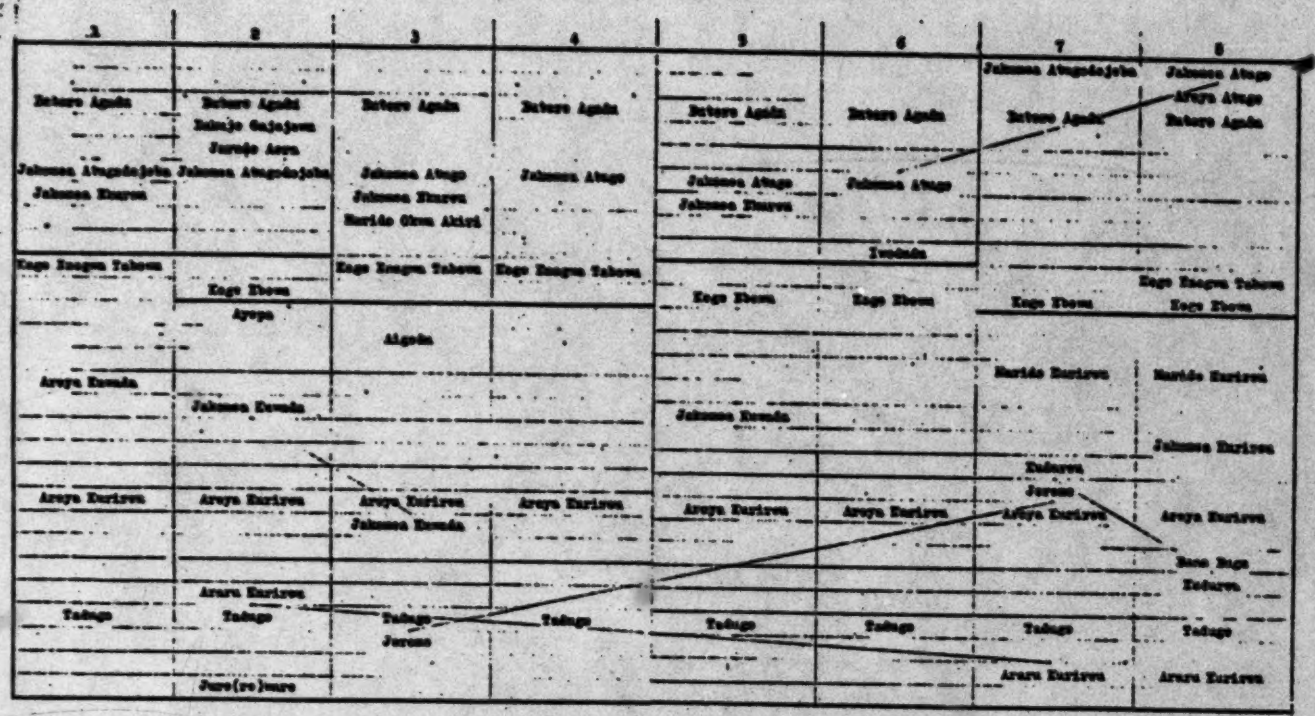
Choice among Alternative Designations

*601 As a general rule it may be said that: 1. When a per-
• 611 son is doubly related to Ego, both matrilaterally and patrilaterally, the relationship traced through the mother takes precedence over the one traced through the father. In case FSs is also MBc then itonaregedu (MBc) takes precedence over
*601 imarugo (FSd) and iyogwa (FSs). 2. The term traced through
593 marriage of a person or one of his kinsmen takes precedence over the one traced through parents: in case that MBs is also SH, inodowu (SH) takes precedence over itonaregedu (MBs).

*601 In the case of sister exchange and marriage, where two
607 men are at the same time "wife's brother" and "sister's husband" to each other they will call each other either inodowu or itonaregedu. I did not have the opportunity to personally observe this kind of relation.

613

Table IX



4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

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828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
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554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
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121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

582 be contracted with a woman who belongs to one of the lineages of the opposite moiety with which Ego's lineage, through exchange of cultural items and ceremonies, have established alliance in the mythical past. Theoretically one's father, one's wife, and one's son all belong to such a lineage.

613 In the light of the above prescription it is interesting to see the Bororo criteria for ascribing true lineage membership. In the Bororo view, in order to be a true member of a particular lineage a person should not only belong to that lineage, but should also be son of a man of an allied lineage. Allied lineages exchange ceremonial performances. The actors of such performances will preferentially be chosen among the "true" members of an allied lineage or, at least, among the "true" members of the opposite moiety, i.e., their mother and their father should be from different moieties.

553 Similarly, one of a child's older "brothers" (MB, MMB)
604 should be his namegiver. It is essential that, at least terminologically, the namegiver and the namereceiver are related both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. This is the case only if, at least in theory, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was upheld in every generation. In this case a person's mother's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father, and a person's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father's sister's son (see Table VII). The first kin type (FF) is al-

[Text Continued On Page 43]

613 Each man identifies himself with the lineage he belongs
*601 to, and the core of the lineage are the women. A woman who
606 marries "son" of the lineage is a "daughter-in-law" of the lineage. In this usage irago is a group-centered rather than Ego-centered term. This is corroborated by the fact that any woman who marries in the lineage is referred to by all the members of that lineafe as "our daughter-in-law" (parago—1st person plural inclusive.)

*601 This rule though strange, is yet another variant of general equivalence of a mother and her child which was expressed in different ways in the Crow rule (which equated mother's brother with brother), in female parallel collateral skewing rule (which equated mother's sister with sister), and it will be apparent again in the vocative system (where one's mother's parents are equated with one's own parents).

*601 Here also I would like to make an exception and antici-
607 page the social meaning of the present equivalence rule. By
835 placing brother's wife in the category of irago, the Bororo removed her from the category of sexual partners to which she previously belonged (as imarugo or itonaregedu), and so through the terminology, they express the ideal and the necessity of solidarity among brothers.

*601 With this, the analysis of the Bororo referential system is concluded. All the kin types have been accounted for and reduced to their focal kin types. The boundaries of the sys-
*601 tem coincide closely with the list on pages 11-18. Occa-
609 sionally, if convenient, some Bororo may restrict or extend

Extragenealogical Extensions of Kinship Terms

*601 613 On the most basic level of contrast, relatives from the same lineage, e.g., mother and siblings, are designated as "iwobe." The other kinsmen are not covered by any common term. One of my informants explained it to me in this way: "my mother is iwobe, my 'older brother' is iwobe, my 'older sister' is iwobe; all my 'younger siblings' are iwobe, but my 'father' is my 'father,' my 'grandfather' is my 'grandfather,' etc. Only my 'older brother' who gave me the name is the 'grandfather' who is my iwobe."

When contrasted on a higher level, all the lineages of a subclan can be considered iwobe in contrast to another subclan. For example, a man of the subclan Ivagududoge Choreu, the "Black Ivagududoge," will consider only the people who are Ivagududoge Choreu as iwobe, while he will consider as imedage, "companions," or "people like myself," those belonging to the other subclan Ivagududoge Kujagureu, the "Red Ivagududoge." But when the contrast is made between two different clans (rather than subclans), the same man would, for example, recognize as iwobe all the Ivagududoge, "Black" and "Red" alike, in opposition to the clan of Aroroe.

*601 614

The merging can be carried further including into iwobe the people of one's own moiety in opposition to those of the other moiety. The latter will be called cheyorubodarege, or cheyadumage (first person plural exclusive). The meaning of iyorubodare (fem. iyorubodaredu), on the basic level of contrast, is approximately "a person from the lineage with which

*601 616

*601 613

*601 my lineage is traditionally bound in reciprocal exchange of
613 spouses and ceremonial duties." I will translate yorubodare as "allié," and the relationship between yorubodare as "alliance." Members of the opposite sex of an allied lineage, e.g., potential or actual spouses, are also alternatively designated as ikoge ("my husbands") and ivire ("my wives"). Even if a person does not marry into an allied lineage he will continue to call its members by these terms. Also, one's "initiator" ideally should be chosen from such an allied lineage, but he will still be designated as yorubodare even if he was chosen from some other nonallied lineage. The definition of yadu, of which yadumage is the plural, is more
*601 controversial. When somebody dies his relatives from the
613 same lineage call the person chosen to represent the dead,
616 yadu. But, when speaking of yadumage as a group, the Bororo
768 have discordant opinions whether or not this term should be applied to: (a) all the people from the other moiety, part of whom are more specifically considered yorubodarege; (b) the members of the lineages which are not yorubodarege (in this case the moiety is conceived as being divided into yorubodarege and yadumage); (c) some specific lineages with which one's own lineage stands in a relationship of traditional exchange of representatives of the dead;[1] or (d) actual representatives of the dead, who preferentially should be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages.

---

[1] this is a theoretical supposition, since no Bororo can give any concrete example of this kind.

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[594] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent; where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equivalence rule, which were required to account for the kinship system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fraternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers" are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and their wives.

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
562 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other
[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to
* [601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called <u>iyedaga</u>, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That
613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father
582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

582 among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a per-
613 son might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's
881 yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen
[827] from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

881 While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of
[585] mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full anal-
[114] ysis cannot be given here. A good description of the cere-
mony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I,
[178] pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the vil-
lages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned
[563] it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member
614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of broth-
[604] ers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son)
[613] and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools,
616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had
621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the
613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

613 lineages have in contemporary Bororo rituals, and it is expressed in terms of seniority. Ki Bakororo is said to be the [796] older brother, the two others the younger brothers. Each of lineages (brothers) has to perform different functions in certain ceremonies, and the ancestral brothers have their own distinct personalities in the myths. However, the Bororo affirm that the three terms are only three different names of the same person: Ki Bakororo. He also has many other names, but these three are his most important ones. There is a way of reconciling these seemingly contradictory statements. Table VIII diagrams relationships which accommodate both of the above interpretations.

613 553 Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari are hierarchically ordered fraternal lineages. By the act of naming, every man and his mother's brother are equivalent: Ki Bakororo is equivalent to his mother's brother Ki Bakororo; Badajeba Kudoro is equivalent to his mother's brother Badajeba Kudoro; and Jakorari to his mother's brother Jakorari. 613 553 173 If we go far enough, we arrive at their common mother's brother, who, by the naming act, is equivalent to all three lineages: to Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. Thus the Bororo can logically say that the three names are only different names of the same person. The principal name of this person was Ki Bakororo, and this was the name that his eldest sister's son inherited from him. The name then continued to be used as the name of the principal lineage within the subclan by Ki Bakororo's matrilineal descendants.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

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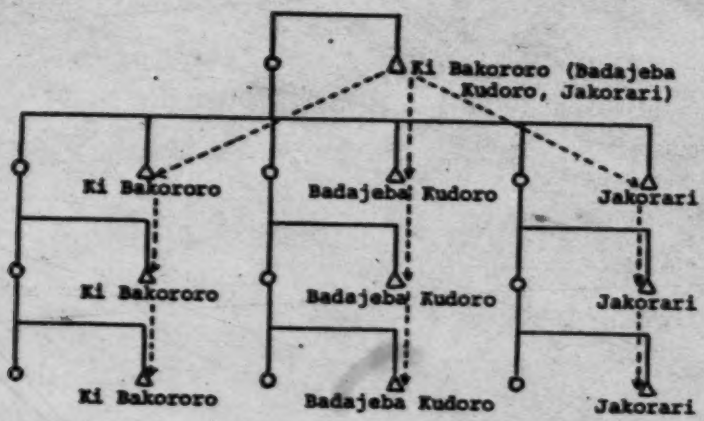
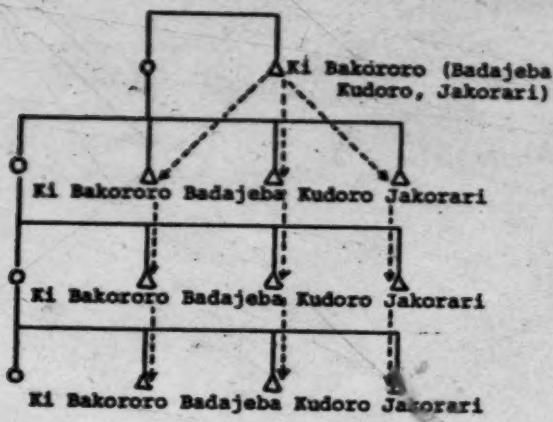
Table VIII





The broken lines represent name-giving relationships and the arrows indicate the direction from name-giver to name-receiver

613 553 173 It is not known if the other two names, Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari, were actually used by the original Ki Bakororo, but this is not important. It may have happened that ten generations after the original Ki Bakororo, two of his descendants with the nicknames of Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari made themselves famous and established their own separate lineages. But the relationship of equivalence is not directional, so the names Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are retroactive, and the Bororo can say that Ki Bakororo is Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari.

181 Western anthropologists may consider themselves structuralists, but they still sometimes need historical explanations to understand better the structure of a system. The Bororo do not have this historical bias; their view of the world is entirely structural. We have already seen evidence of this world view in the symmetry of relationships between father and son and husband and wife and in the relationship of equivalence between a man and his name-giver; now it is evident in the hierarchical relationship among brothers who are "really the same person."

000 Ki Bakororo could be considered the unmarked term of this set, while Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are marked. In this specific example, Badajeba Kudoro is also considered the unmarked member in opposition to Jakorari, because Badajeba Kudoro is his older brother, and the relationship is transitive.

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Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

593 However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be
593 substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to
597 have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who
653 named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (ere mitotuje, "they are just one"; e kare tuginoi, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

593 like to stress that <u>they are not really</u> the same person:
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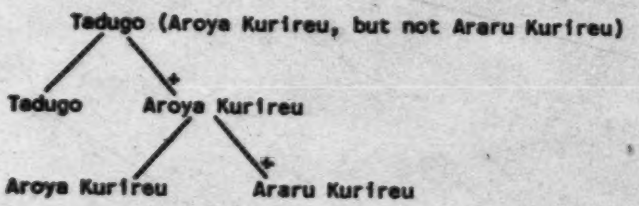
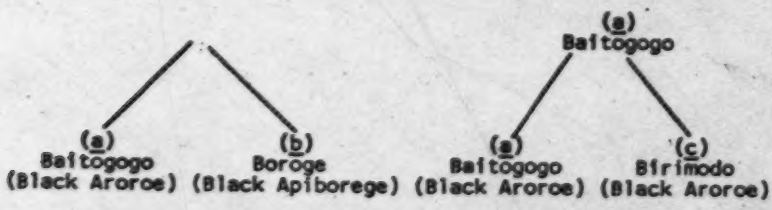


613 The Bororo also express the relation between two lin-
829 eages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother—younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:



Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation—employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense—gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

551 personal names, but some personal names may have never been
613 used as lineage names; and, finally, new names also can be made up by combining elements already existing. For example, marido is the buriti palm. It is also a big wheel used in the ceremony of the same name, and is made of cut pieces of an aquatic plant. It belongs to the clan Ivagududoge. The Bororo say: "Marido is the grandfather, the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Marido is their name, they sing about it in their clan songs and in the opening songs of their ceremonies." (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare, eparuyare oino maridoche.) Now, there are a great number of names which are made by adding some specification to the word marido:

1. Marido Aya
2. " Akadu
3. " Akiri
4. " Atugo
5. " Bororo
6. " Ekureu
7. " Jiwu
8. " Kaworu
9. " Kujaka
10. " Kurireu
11. " Mugu
12. " Okwa akiri
13. " Okwoda

551 14. Marido Paradu
613 15. " Ukiga

Of these fifteen personal names, eight (1,2,3,4,7,10, 12,13) have been recorded on several occasions as lineage names. Some of them (8,9,10) belong only to the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge (Older Brothers); others (2,4,5,6,7, 11,12,14,15) belong only to the subclan of the Red Ivagududoge (Younger Brothers); and alternative classification was recorded for 1,3, and 13.

614 Another item belonging to the clan Ivagududoge is the
551 spirit Jakomea. Twenty-two different specifications have been recorded for the name Jakomea. Nine of them were the same as those used for Marido: akadu, akiri, atugo, ekureu, jiwu, kaworu, kurireu, mugu, okwoda. We see that the Bororo can form a large number of names by adding various specifications to the name of an item which belongs to one clan. Some of these specifications are always connected with the more important subclan (Black, Older Brothers): kurireu, choreu, kaworu, are. Others are connected with the less important subclan (Red, Younger Brothers): ekureu, enawu, kuguri, oro, kujagureu, akadu. Still others, akiri, atugo, okwoda, may be used by either of the subclans, or, on some occasions, by only one of them. Which subclan will use the names cannot be predicted because some items could have been seen first by the Blacks, others by the Reds.

As we have seen, most of the names are formed in this way: Jakomea Akadu, Jakomea Akiri, Jakomea Atugo, etc., and Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc.

613 Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc. But there are
551 other names more specifically connected with particular lineages. For example, Tadugo, the name of one of the lineages of the Black Ivagududoge, cannot be provided with specifications and cannot be given to members of another lineage. Another name reserved to the members of the Tadugo lineage is Tore Ebowu, "the one who went with his sons" (in the name is an allusion to a very important Bororo myth). Other important lineages have long lists of exclusive names. For example, Mamuyawuge Echeba, a lineage of the clan Badajebage Chobugiwuge, is the owner of the following names: Bakugu Kuri, Echera Baru, Eigawa Are, Eigawa Enawureu, Ekoe Choreu, Ekoe Ekudu, Enogureu, Ka Iwara, Mamori Ekureu, Mamori Kurireu, Mamori Ore, Okoge Paiwareu, Paiwareu, Pariko Ekureu, Turugudu Pijiwu, and perhaps many others. Some names are exclusive to a particular lineage only when formed with a particular specification. For example, the name Aroya Kurireu is exclusive to one lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge, while the names Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo, and Aroya Ekureu can belong to a member of a lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge or to a member of the subclan Red Ivagududoge.

613 The list actually recorded for the clan Ivagududoge in-
614 cludes about 250 names. Adding up all the names reported by other authors (Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 441-446; Cruz, 1939: 1941; Horta Barbosa in Rondon, 1948: 8-10) and excluding all repetitions results in a total of 191 names. To this number should be added 60

613 more names which I recorded. The number of actual lineages
614 is much smaller. Horta Barbosa reports 37 lineages, while three of my informants for the same clan of Ivagududoge have specified 77, 32, and 24 lineages respectively.

613 However, the number of lineages considered important (e.g., lineages which are essential to the continuity of ceremonial life) by any one of my informants is much smaller. In Table IX are reported the names of the Ivagududoge lineages as I recorded them on eight different occasions from seven different informants. Columns 3 and 4 were given by the same man on two different occasions. Column 3 was supplied upon request. The names listed in column 4 were mentioned as part of a myth in which the lineages of the clan Ivagududoge are reestablished after a big flood which left only one Bororo alive. The places assigned to the two lineages and their similar forms show that the Bororo consider Jakomea Atugo and Jakomea Atugodojeba as one lineage, or at least as two lineages so close to each other that it is not necessary to mention both of them at the same time. The same thing happens with Koge Ebowu and Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The table shows that each person mentioned between five and twelve lineages as the important ones. In all, twenty-four lineages were mentioned, but only five of them were reported by every person. There are very few differences in the order of placement of these five important lineages. The two informants (No. 7 and 8) who put Jakomea Atugo before Butore Agadu were brothers, and since both of them included in the

[Text Continued On Page 120]

613 list some names that nobody else did, we must suppose that their family tradition was a little different from the rest of the community. The placement of Koge (Enogwa) Tabowu is very interesting. Some included it among the Red Ivagududoge, others among the Black, and one said that it was neither Red nor Black, it was in between: boyadadawu. Thus, the members of this lineage can choose their ornaments and songs from either of the subclans.

I did the same kind of analysis for the other clans, and the result was the following list (Table X) of the most im-
[124] portant Bororo lineages. It should be noted that no informant would give the same list, but the majority of them would include all of the lineages mentioned in the list.[1]

[128] [622] The order given to the lineages around the village circle (see table XI) follows the Bororo usage; and I started with Badajebage Chebegiwuge because this is the order followed by the chief in calling out clan members for the evening meeting on the village plaza. But when they talk about lineages or when they sing clan songs, the Bororo may start with whatever lineage or clan they prefer and then proceed either clockwise or counterclockwise until they have

[Text Continued On Page 123]

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[115] [128] [1] When I concluded my analysis and made the list, I asked my wife, whose primary interest in the field had not been Bororo social organization, to tell me the names of the lineages she considered to be most important. She mentioned 24 of them, all included in the list, leaving out Kurugugwari Pijiwu and Aturua. This shows how much these important lineages are part of the Bororo daily talk.

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Table X

Lineage:	Subclan:	Clan:	Moiety:
1. Arua	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Echerae
2. Bahorokudu			
3. Ocha Kudureu	Echerae		
4. Badajeba Kudoro	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Kiye	
5. Ki Bahororo			
6. Jahorari			
7. Kuruguywari Pijiwu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge		
8. Inokuri	Chebegiwuge	Bokodori Echerae	
9. Kaigu	Chobugiwuge		
10. Kamuyasuge Echeba	Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
11. Bokwarebo			
12. Akarwyo Bokodori			
13. Jerigi Otojiwu	O-Boro Echerae		
14. Aturua	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Paiwoe	Tugarege
15. Baiporo	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
16. Apuye Echeba	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Apihorege	
17. Kuruguwa			
18. Boroge	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
19. Baitogogo	Chobugiwuge, Choreuge	Aroroe	
20. Birinodo			
21. Batoro Agadu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Ivagududoge	
22. Jakomea Atugodojeba			
23. Koge Enogwa Tabovu			
24. Aroya Kurireu	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
25. Tadugo			
26. Mano Kurirou	Chebegiwuge, Kujagureuge	Aroroe	

613 made a complete circle. I did not find that one direction was preferred over the other. But whatever their starting point was, and whichever direction they took, they would complete the circle rather than make two opposite semicircles.

Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu may be considered separated lineages of closely related brothers. But, while most of the informants in the similar case of Ki Bakororo, Jakorari, and Badajeba Kudoro would enumerate all three of them, the informants in the case of Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu would say only one of the names, the one they preferred. And if asked about the other two names, they would say that those too are the same lineage as the first one. Following this usage, I put all of those names under one lineage.

Clan and Moiety

000 We now approach one of the most interesting and most discussed aspects of Bororo social organization, that is, the village plan and the division into moieties, clans, and sub-
616 clans. Two exogamous moieties are divided by an east-west axis. On the northern side are the Tugarege, on the southern the Echerae, Because of the lay of the land which the Bororo inhabit, east is at the same time upstream, and west
614 is downstream. In each moiety there are four clans arranged in a circle. As can be seen from the list on page 121, I did not find each clan to be divided into three subclans: upper, middle, and lower, as has been reported by others (Albisetti & Venturelli, 1962: 437; Crocker, 1969: 45). In my diagram

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table XI

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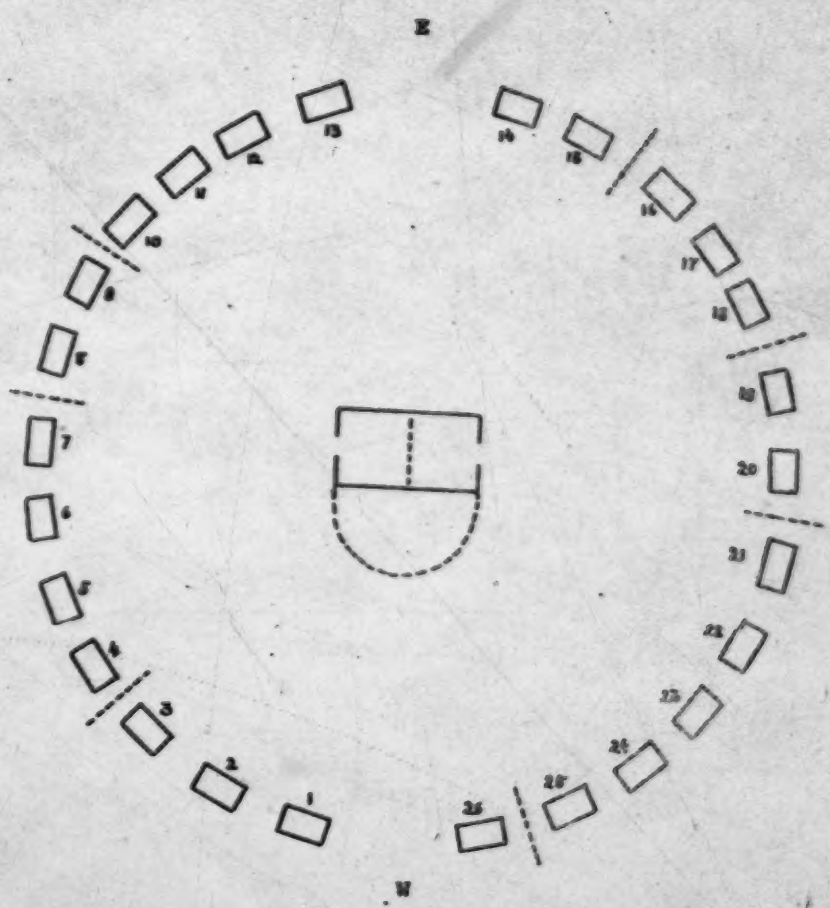

614 lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage,
823 which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one.
829 The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

613 The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied
614 similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu
613 within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned—and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important—they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[1] A few informants would object to this statement. They
[775] say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

613 There is still another context in which the Bororo use
571 the term boyadadawu, and in this case the term is used interchangeably with akuge. Akuge is another Bororo word which is difficult to render in English. The closest translation would be the Portuguese "criaçao dêles," their domestic animals, their pets, their foster children. In the present context an appropriate translation would be "their clients." The designation boyadadawu may be applied when a lineage within a clan is of so little importance that the Bororo are reluctant to call it either Black or Red. In this instance the term boyadadawu does not indicate the spatial position of the lineage between the two subclans, but rather it indicates that the lineage is attached to other lineages which can legitimately be considered Black or Red. An exception, however, is the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu, which was designated by one informant as boyadadawu. This lineage can be considered "in the middle" in two ways. It is in the middle between the Black and the Red Ivagududoge, and at the same time it is considered to be geographically the middle of the Tugarege moiety. A comparable lineage in the Echerae moiety is supposed to be a lineage situated between the two subclans of the Bokodori Echerae clan, but the informants do not agree on its name.

614 I will now discuss some clans that present certain pe-
613 culiarities in their subdivision.

The clan Bokodori Echerae is not divided into Blacks and Reds. The Bororo avoid making this division when talking

about this clan. In order to understand why, I will first give one of the more complete listings of the lineages within the clan:

Kaigu Magurereu Arigao Kocha Kiego Bicigedo Porireu Imorio Bokodori Akiri Bokodori Baru Barogo Bororo	Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge
Barame Chibae Edugo Koge Edugo Koge Ekureu Koiwo Kuri Echerae Etuviye Inokuri	Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge

Inokuri, the last in the list, is considered to be closely related to Kaigu, Magurereu, and Arigao Kocha, the first three of the list. In relation to them, he is their "younger brother while in relation to the other lineages within his own subclan, he is considered their "older brother" and included together with Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu among the "Older Brothers" (Etumanamage) or the "Big" (Kurireuge). On the other hand, the division of Blacks and Reds is based mainly on the presumed colors of the ancestors of each subclan and on the color of feathers and paint used for their ornaments in ceremonies. Inokuri and all his akuge ("clients"), Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge, use red feathers and red paint, while the Bokodori Echerae

614 Chobugiwuge use black feathers and black paint.[1] However,
613 it would be quite improper to call inokuri Red because, as
822 we have already seen, the Reds are identified with Younger Brothers and Small People, and inokuri is neither of them.
614 Thus, the Bororo evade the problem by applying to the
613 Bokodori Echerae only the topographical designation, and they talk only about upstream and downstream subclans. One of my informants did use the color division, but, when asked for clarification, he said: "The Bororo do not say in this way, but I do" (Boe ego kare ino, mare imire inagore).

Many variations exist in the denominations of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan. These variations are not arbitrary; they occur as alternative designations in different contexts (see Table XII).

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[1] It will be shown later that the color division is relative. When black and red are opposed, black is the color of the older brother and red that of the younger. When red and yellow are in opposition, red is the color of older brother, and yellow that of the younger.

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Table XII

	Set A	Set B	Set C	Set D
Clan "Badajebage Chobugiwuge" or "Bakoro Echerae"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae
Subclan II	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae Enogujeba Echerae
Clan "Badajebage Chebegiwuge"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge	Echerae	Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Subclan II	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

Set A

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba) →	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge → Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Bakorokudu (Badajeba) →	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge → Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

The lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and Bakorokudu are considered the badajebage ("formal chiefs") of a Bororo village. Their title, badajeba, is extended to their subclans and to their clans. The division in upstream (chobugi) and downstream (chebegi) distinguishes these subclans and clans from each other. The two remaining subclans have their names derived from their common ancestors o (a variety of heron) and boro (a variety of snail)/ they too are divided into upstream and downstream.

Set B

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Lineages	Subclans	Clans
Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)	O-Boro Echerae Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
	Echerae Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

Set B is the most frequently used in informal references to these two clans and their subclans. In this instance the clans keep the names which designate them as the clans of the "formal chiefs." One of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan, the one to which Akaruyo Bokodori belongs, is called Bakoro Echerae, an alternative name for the Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The Bakorokudu lineage does not have any alternative name, so its subclan continues to be called Badajebage. However, its specification chebegiwuge (downstream) is dropped because it is not needed to distinguish this subclan from its upstream counterpart, which has now a different name. The subclans O-Boro Echerae are distinguished by calling the one upstream by its full name, and the one downstream just Echerae.[1]

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[1] Whether the term Echerae in a particular case designates the whole moiety or just the subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan becomes clear only from the context in which the term is used. It must be stressed that the Bororo do not regard the Echerae subclan as being the Echerae par excellence.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8 Pobojari

613 614 Set B is the only one in which there are no polysemic designations. Every term is different. For this reason the Bororo prefer to use terms from this set whenever referring to a particular clan or subclan in isolation.

Set C

Subclans	Clans
Badajebage Chobugiwuge Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge or Bakoro Echerae
Echerae Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

In Set C the name Badajebage Chobugiwuge is implicitly applied to the upstream clan and its subclans. However, to distinguish one subclan from the other, the more important subclan is called Bakoro Echerae from the alternative name for Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The less important subclan, formerly called O-Boro Echerae, keeps the more generalized name Badajebage Chobugiwuge. The name Bakoro Echerae may also be used to designate the clan. The downstream clan and its subclans maintain the names they had in Set B.

4: Levak E-$ (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Set D

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
	O-Boro Echerae	
		Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Akaruyo Bokodori →	Bakoro Echerae	
Hamuyawuge Echeba →	Enogujeba Echerae	
	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
		Badajebage Chebegiwuge
	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	

It should be noted that the Bororo limit the usage of set D to a special occasion, perhaps to avoid any possibility of confusion between the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and that subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan which is also [796] called here Badajebage Chobugiwuge. On the evening before a ceremony the chief formally invites all the clans to participate in the following order:

Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Kiye Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae[1]

Enogujeba Echerae, Bakoro Echerae, O-Boro Echerae

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[1] Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae is alternative name for the Bokodori Echerae clan.

613 Paiwoe, Apiborege[1]
614 Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge
[796] Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge
[361] The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echerae (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Enogujeba Echerae (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

613 The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugi-
614 wuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Che-
571 begiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

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[1] The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
326 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
794 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

613 and Ocha Kudureu (a lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge
614 clan) was older than Bakorokudu, but the younger brothers
571 outgrew their older brothers, and the Bororo made them chiefs. Because of this, he said, the Bororo do not talk about the subclans of these two clans in the framework of older-younger brother relationship but give them special
183 names. It is my opinion that the function of this disagree-
571 ment is to avoid valuing one kind of activity more than the other. And if both kinds of activity are of equal importance, then the brothers who preside over them also have to be of equal importance.

614 goatsucker), kochaga (rail), okiwareu (mouse), arigaodoge
825 choreuge and kujagureuge (black and red dogs), Aroya (a
827 spirit), Jakomea (a spirit), butore (a rattle made with peccary hooves), tugo (arrow), Kuyade Tugojiriye (a spirit), maridogwarege (a bird), korao (parrot), kuje (curassow), piodudu (hummingbird), ivagudu (blue crow), and perhaps bokwaru (fog) and pobo (water). Certain lineages of the ivagududoge are more closely related to particular items:

613 "People say: Mano Kurireu is on the point of kitariga and
825 konorigi" (Boe egore: Mano kurireu emare jeture kitariga
827 otoji, konorigi otoji). That is, Mano Kurireu originated from kitariga (a variety of grasshopper) and konorigi (cicada). Similarly other lineages originated from other species:

"People say that:

Aroya Kurireu	originated	from	itubore mogodoge[1]
Tadugo	"	"	maridogwarege (a bird)
Araru Kurireu	"	"	beto kigadu maerewu (sprout of buriti palm)
Jakomea Kuwada	"	"	kowagije (an insect that lives on the water)
Koge Ebowu	"	"	bapore (a bird)
Jakomea Attugo	"	"	ruye (frog)."

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[1] My informant was not sure about the meaning of itubore mogodoge; he thought that maybe they meant marido (buriti palm) in poetic language.

613 827 The Bororo are very reluctant to talk about the ancestors of certain lineages because they are not proud to be the descendants of those ancestors. They are mentioned only in 124 quarrels as an insult. I was able to collect some of these 613 examples only by provoking one of my informants. He was from 827 the Kurugugwa lineage of the Apiborege clan, and I told him that there was a rumor that the true Kurugugwa had died long ago and the present members of the Kurugugwa lineage were just impostors. Furthermore, I said, the Bororo were saying that the Apiborege could not take care of one of their younger brothers, so the Ivagududoge (in which clan I was named) had had mercy upon him and accepted him as one of their own. My informant gave me his theory about what had really happened in this case and then went on to say that my own clan had a lot of things to hide. An example:

613 827

> "Meri defecated on some stones. His feces changed into a goatsucker (mokureabo), nay, a true Ivagududoge. Therefore their (Ivagududoge's) mouths are big, and their heads are big. And the[1] people say that their village lies on the rocks."

As we see from this example, alleged characteristics of people in the different clans are explained by relating them to traits of their animal ancestors. Another example:

[825]

> "People say that the Kiye originated from the monkeys; therefore their arms and legs are skinny; therefore their skin is black; their

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[1] "Awu meri pegodure pariri keje. Ure nowu pore mokureabodo pudumi. Boe kimorema iya Ivagududoge rabode. Duwugere eya kurichigore, etaya boa kurichigore. Duwugere boe egore 'ewororo paduye pariri keje'."

613
827
[825]

faces are black."[2]

613 At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in
827 which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is de-
578 scribed: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena pijiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

614 Most names of the clans are also derived from some of
827 the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

[825]

> "Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.
>
> "When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido). But then the Bororo made their name prettier."[2]

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1 "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekara, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

2 "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyedo Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

796 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are
613 exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Jakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red
[561] Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual
[562] pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, woman, and repre-
616 sentatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

571 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije
613 Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the
539 head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also baku-
773 gumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumae, a kind
616 of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo iwararege eimejera (the chief of the iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."[1]

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[1] "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

773 616 571 [776] Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[776] Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

[776] Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[614] The Aroroe entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 616 614 613 As a second example I list the lineages with which the clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

571 changed:
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Tadugo's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

Aroya Kurireu's yorubodare are:

Kuje Barujeba (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Hamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Boyari Pijiwu (Kiye Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge).

Butore Agadu's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Bokodori Baru (Bokodori Echerae Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

Yorubodare of the Small Ivagududoge are:

Small Bokodori Echerae

Small Kiye.

571 We see that there is a tendency for the most important
616 lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most
613 important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less important lineages to contract these relationships with lesser lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships existing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other relationship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu, and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro. Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororo at least one representation to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits
[582] Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lin-
[881] eages to intermarry and exchange initiators among themselves, though they are from the same moiety.

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies,
[574] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot
[881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator,
[582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should
[768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be
[773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe
and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo them-
selves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored
ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead
people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.
773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and
when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves
into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[614] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
614 lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare re-
lationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who
are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the
harpy eagle), kurugugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here,
613 allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase in population and consequent clustering of the members of the same lineage within a single village can motivate the less important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other places where they will be more appreciated and will have the chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies.
[362] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage
[591] sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can become more independent, but there is always the risk that she and her children will in time be classified as younger brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names
[36] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 With the decrease in population that has been going on
178 from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization,
361 the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-
613

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[551] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki
Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the vil-
lage of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many
Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e.,

613 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only
626 man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted
178 to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (ǫ) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was
[52] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 Another possibility open to a man without descendants
614 (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

/152 cont./ They say that this metal
301 was gold, news not very hard to accept
[135] because the Bororo occupied regions in
which gold appears frequently even to-
[306] day. Nowadays, the earrings reproduced
here in natural size are made of the metal
from cartridges. They are called
meriri-kiga-réu and are made firm by
means of an annular brass wire in the

• [613]

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

/152 cont./

301 hole pierced in both ear lobes, so that the individual wears a pair of these
301 earrings. The one represented in
• 613 Figure 1, which has a tooth above and one below, is peculiar to the clan of the Aroia; it was worn by Mario Bokodori Kudde, pictured in Plate 21, even though this man does not belong to said clan. /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ But he had killed an ounce and had given the cadaver to the Aroia, delivering with this, a recently deceased member of that clan from being
[431] incarnated in this beast. He then received, as it is the custom in such a case, gifts of honor from the Aroia, especially the bow splendidly decorated with plumes, and permission to make and to wear "without fear and shame" all the ornaments with which their clan distinguishes itself from the others. One can obtain this permission from any clan as soon as a dead ounce is handed over to it, delivering in this way one of their dead from incarnation in this feline. I still wish to observe that the wife of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Plates 19 and 20) was an Aroia and, therefore, owned earrings like those which the
[178] husband wore. The same man told me that in the past these earrings were worn the opposite way, that is with the points turned upward.

/154 cont./

301 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this
562 decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care.
[237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment"
[836] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of
[593] the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both
[171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first
[171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting
[613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy individuals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵘ, around 25 years old; 1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.

191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

1. The term võbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:

Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ārõre (Catepillar) clan
Ewāguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

/271/

616 Čera Phratry:
614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan
O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan
Ki (Tapir) clan
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan
Bakoro clan
Bŏro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates
621 the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big
[345] circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.
621 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation
616 to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves:
614 the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/: in the foreground the O Čera Čębege^{w}ō hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreŏ, Bokodori Čębege^{w}ŏ, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddadz huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure.
616 But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very
614 oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the
823 course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čābōge^{w}ōge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębege^{w}ōge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614 Ewãguddudõge čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Buriti
823 Ewãguddudõge čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaʷge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47 /).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokeje^ʷõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokeje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokeje^ʷo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewãguddudõge bo'pokeje^ʷõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewãguddudõge kurigeõ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/272 cont./

552 Thus we have (Fig. 15, No. 17 /see p. 6 /) Ewâguddudōge
592 eten'manaāge: those of the Elder Brothers of the Buriti, and (18)
614 Ewâguddudōge etu'ieemage: those of the Younger Brothers of the Buriti.

614 It is also possible that the adoption or division of emblems among the members of the same clan results in the creation of other secondary determinants. /273/ Several clans are divided in this manner into two subclans distinguished respectively by the colors red and black. Thus:

Apibore Čoreŏ: black (23)
Apibore kujagoreŏ: red (22)
Paiwe Čoreŏ (25)
Paiwe kujagoreŏ (26)
Ewâguddu Čoreŏ (15).
Ewâguddu kujagoreŏ (18).
/Figure 15 appears here./ /274/

Some groups of clans perhaps came from a single clan, as they seem to share emblems: the Bóro acquired an object associated with the legendary history of the Bakoro clan, of which they were no doubt formerly a part, in the same way as the O Čera, themselves also inheritors of a legendary animal of the clan. The Bokodori clan is subdivided into Kōge (gilthead) and Čiba (red arara); but it is not clear whether this is truly a question of subdivisions of a main clan or of a homogeneous clan designating itself by three emblems: "Bokodori and Kōge, Bokodori and Čiba," the natives say, "it's the same thing."

621 The number of terms used for the definition of the groups is
552 thus clearly more important than the number of houses of the
592 village. The result of this is, first, that different informants do not always designate the same houses by using the same adjectives; the same informant varies equally according to the time and the circumstances. In the second place, each house, or almost each, is found to have, if not always its own name, at least a set combination of the names of the clan, of the position, of the family, etc., which belong /sic/ to it alone. The Bororo village

[TEXT Continues on P. 7]

/273 cont./

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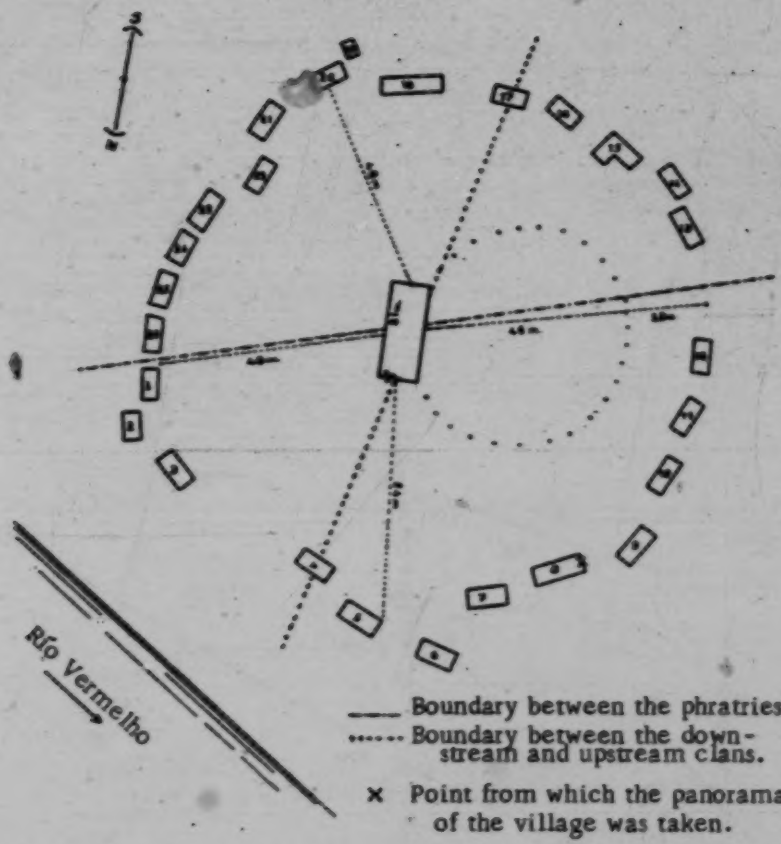

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čaboge$^{\omega}$ōge are on the left (upstream) and the Čębege$^{\omega}$ōge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddade$^{\pi}$ge.

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is,
552 of families or groups of families, living in the same house and
592 styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the
614 household always involves, among other things, the name of the
616 clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(čãbõgeʷõ half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori čãbõgeʷõ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddadaʷ

(čębegeʷõ half)
5. Bokodori Čera čębegeʷõ
6. Ki kujagoreõ
7. Ki
8. O Čera čębegeʷõ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ
11. Bãdejeba čębegeõ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddadaʷge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ bo'pokęjeʷõ

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
14. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
15. Ė́wāguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębege^{w}ō
16. Ė́wāguddu bo'pokeje^{w}ō čębege^{w}ō
17. Ė́wāguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaāge
18. Ė́wāguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čāboge^{w}ō (cāboge^{w} ō half)
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čāboge^{w}ō baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čāboge^{w}ō
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ė́wāguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose
[181] clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[735] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
556 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured
614 products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bōkodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre Čāböge^{w}öge, Ẻwåguddudoge Čāböge^{w}öge, and Ẻwåguddudoge bo'pokejewöge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Köge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ẻwåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O Čera clans.

The Bādejebage Čębege^{w}öge were given to us as especially poor.

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

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ON
NEXT FICHE

/279 cont./

Cera Phratry

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Clan	Name	Marries with
Bādejeba	Bakorokuddu (name of a legendary hero)	Āróre čābōgeʷō
	Iparečęba (id.)	Āróre baiaddadaᵃ
	Wapa (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Merit'awāra (The Path of the Sun)	Apibore bo'pokęjewo
O Čera	Uaboreč (?-Uabo: heart)	Ewāguddu
	At'ugoreč (The Painted Man)	Āróre čębegeʷō
Ki	Kibakororo (Bakororo, The Tapir)	Ewāguddu bo'pokęjewo
	Tu'goga (?-Tugo: arrow)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Māra (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
/280/		
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge	Kōge (Cilthead)	Ewāguddu čoreč
	Bokodori Baro (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Ariga Coča (?-Ariga: puma)	Ewāguddu čābōgeʷō
Bakoro	Nogujeba (legendary hero)	Apibore (Kru'guga uobę)
	ᵃKario Bokodori (legendary hero who named an extinct clan)	Apibore (Brogę)

/280 cont./

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Cera Phratry

Clan	Name	Marries with
Bóro	Bok'arebo (?)	Ārōre baiaddada
	Jerégi-čodo (Old Tortoise)	Apibore kujagoreŏ

Tugare Phratry

Paiwe	Baiporo (door?)	Bokodori Čera
	Meriri kurigeŏ (Big Light)	Bakoro Čera
Apibore	Broge (?-indicates wealth)	Bakoro Čera
	Kru'guga uobe (Relative of the Eagle-throat; indicates wealth)	Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge
Ewāguddu	Tad'ugo (?-indicates wealth)	Ki
	Aria kurigeŏ (Big Saucepan?)	Ki
	Butere-gāde (?)	Bokodori
Ārōre	Baitogógo (legendary hero)	Bādejeba

582 614 This table, which is no doubt incomplete, suggests the following conclusions:

/280 cont./

582 614 five clans contract marriage with three clans. These are: /281/

Bādejeba (Apibore, Ewāguddu, Āróre)
Bakoro (Paiwe, Apibore, Āróre)
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Paiwe, Apibore, Ewāguddu)
Apibore (Bādejeba, Bakoro, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)
Ewāguddu (Bādejeba, Ki, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)

two clans contract marriage with two clans:

Paiwe (Bakoro-Bokodori)
Āróre (Bādejeba-Bóro)

one clan marries with only one clan:

Ki (Ewāguddu)

601 [582] The study of kinship terminology permits us to state precisely this system of preferential union. The native vocabulary distinguishes, in fact, for most degrees of kinship, between the elder and younger. Thus:

ogwa umanna: father's elder brother
ogwa uie: father's younger brother
mugā vuri: mother's elder brother
mugā uie: mother's younger brother
ogwa utuge: father's elder sister
ogwa uie: father's younger sister
mána: elder brother
uie: younger brother (or sister)
utuge: elder sister.

On the other hand there is only one term to represent several kinship relations in the following cases:

marúga: ancestor, father's elder sister, mother-in-law (man speaking)
ure: mother's brother, elder brother (woman speaking)
uie: younger brother, male cousin
iędaga: father-in-law, father's father
mugā pega: mother-in-law, father's mother (literally: bad mother).

/282 cont./

582 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or
601 her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is
[614] probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewaguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuwawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out.
[241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[561] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[516] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact
[302] of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuǰawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuǰawa, the

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The

634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
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1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
535
824
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/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green
palm. Each rung is made of a
bundle of two (big marid'do) or three
(small marid'do) sections. Gradually
during the construction, the ladder
is rolled up on itself until it forms,
in the largest example, a disk 1.50
meters in diameter. The two sides
[283] are then decorated with green palm,
held in place by a net of cords made
of women's hair. The top of the
disk is decorated for a length of about
50 cm. with applications of down.
The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewãguddudoge corerõ marid'do; the
small one, Ewãguddudoge kujagorerõ
marid'do. But it is not necessarily
natives of this clan who have made
them. Some time before the festival
the two marid'do are solemnly taken
out of the men's house and taken to
the middle of the bororo, where they
are placed parallel, about two meters
apart, and on the axis separating the
phratries. The dance of the marid'do
lasts two days; each protagonist tries to
lift one of the disks at arm's end and
to hold it as long as possible while
running and jumping in the plaza.
Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony
(Pl. VIII, C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X,
B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:

535 ᵂure ᵂure	foot, foot
533 kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
čegu'ę	we others
čę	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
čęgiga	we joyous

764 of the Ewaguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bādejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewaguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage°, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:

the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;

the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

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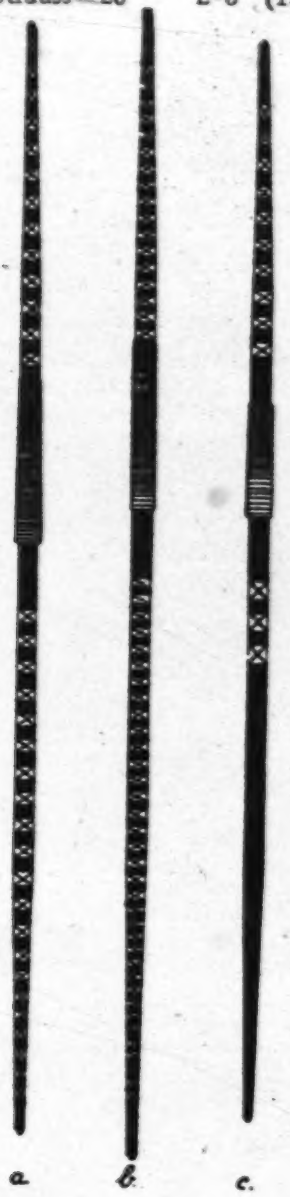

Fig. 16.—Bows for big hunting.

a: Ki clan (21/12)
b: Apibore clan (38/18)
c: Bādejeba clan (3/10)

/288 cont./

411 the ceremonial bow. As in the preceding type, /289/ the
531 central part is of bare wood, save for the protective rolling. All
237 the rest of the bow is covered with ornamentation which varies with different specimens: sheaths of glued on feathers, rings of feathers or fur, mosaics of feathers of different colors, etc.... All along the wood long feathers or throat feathers of the arara, in pairs or singly, are attached. Finally, some specimens show a bunch of varicolored feathers at the top end.

411 The origin of the bow can be deduced from the three follow-
531 ing elements: 1) nature and color of the casing of the wood;
237 2) number, distribution, nature, and color of the feathers adhering
614 to the wood; 3) nature of the feathers or insignia placed in the bunch at the top; thus, some bows of the Bakoro clan have, in the middle of the feathers at the end, a small wooden lath covered with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, this technique being its privilege.

Figure 17 /see p. 29/ gives four "formulas" for ceremonial bows:

a. Not identified; 1.52 meters long. Wood covered with small red /rouge/ feathers glued on with resin; on the sides two crests of white /blanc/ down broken in the middle.

br: blue and red arara feathers
vr: green and red arara feathers
bj: blue and yellow arara feathers
bn: throat feathers in alternate white and black bands
j: yellow toucan feathers.

b. Āróre clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with red feathers glued on. All the hanging feathers are attached in pairs. Top bunch of small red and yellow parrot feathers, with five long emblematic feathers.

b: blue —r: red
br, bj, bn: as above.

c. Āróre (čębegeʷõ) clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with alternate rings of black, yellow /jaune/, and red feathers glued on.

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Ewåguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:

harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;

"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;

bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;

ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

616 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the
531 Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
531 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. ᵃKario Bokodori — C. Ewåguddu (?) — D. Apibóre kujagoreö — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore — H. Bādejeba (Bakoro) — I. Āróre — J. Kōge Čera — K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Āróre.

237 Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

[Text Continues on p. 30]

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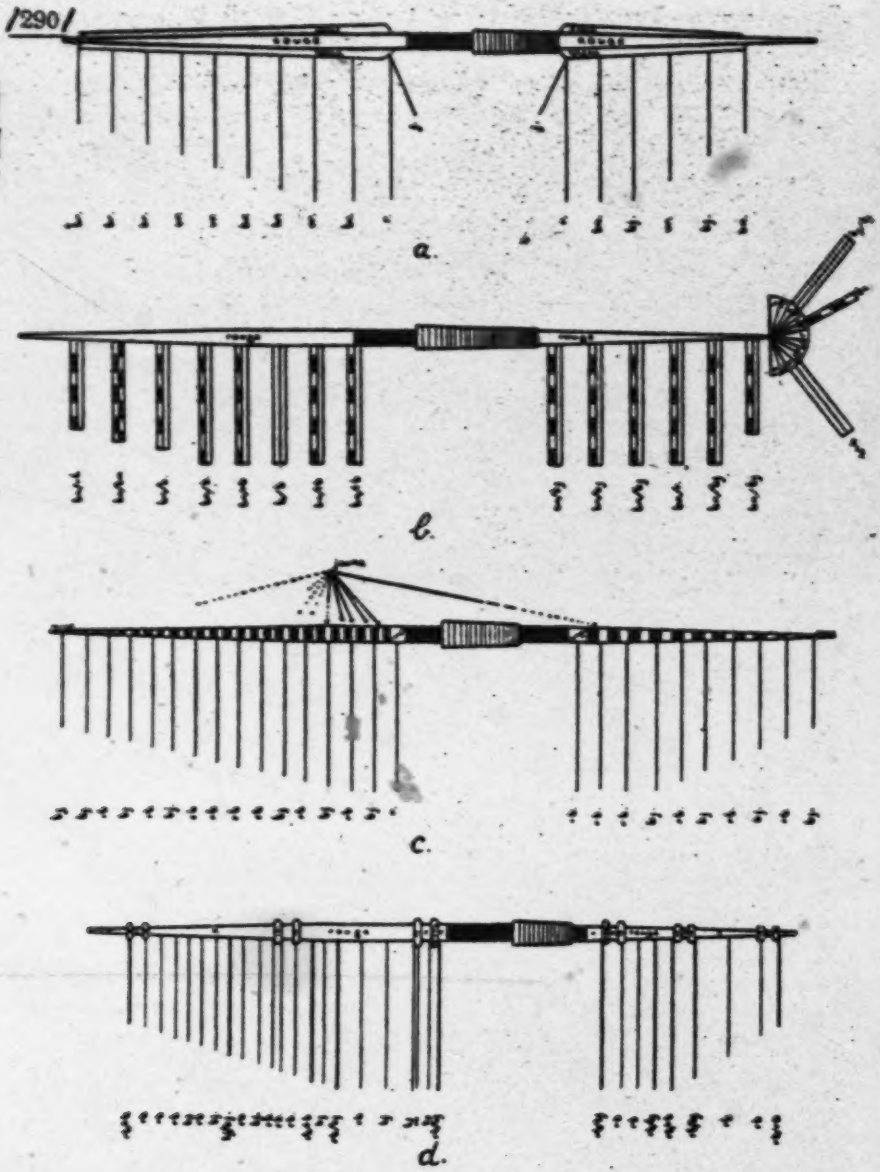

Fig. 17. Ceremonial bows.

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills,
[237] decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Āróre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[237] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -r. -b. -r. -B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the
000 loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

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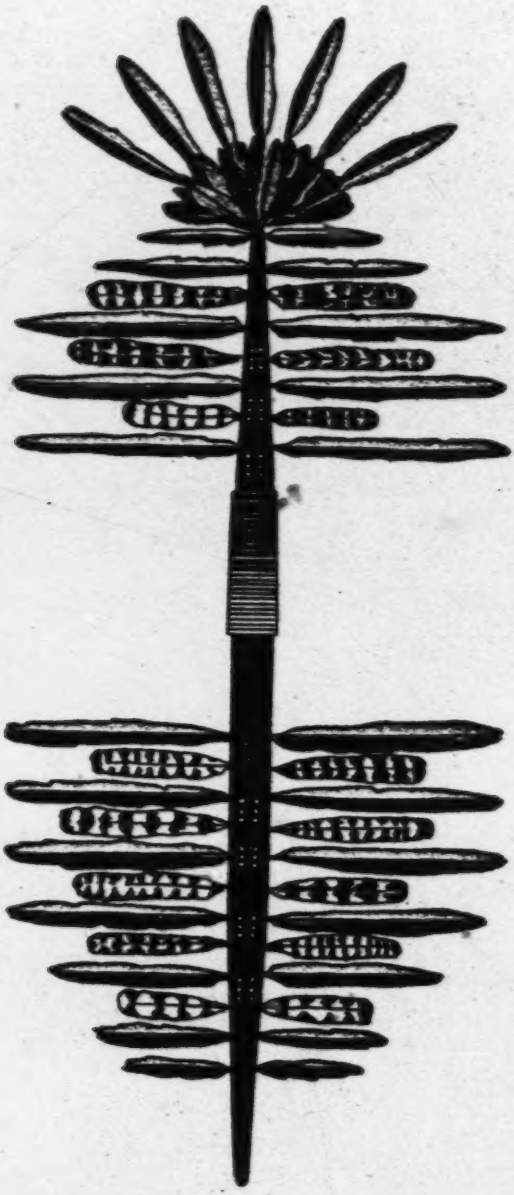

Fig. 18. —Ceremonial bow /in color in original/.

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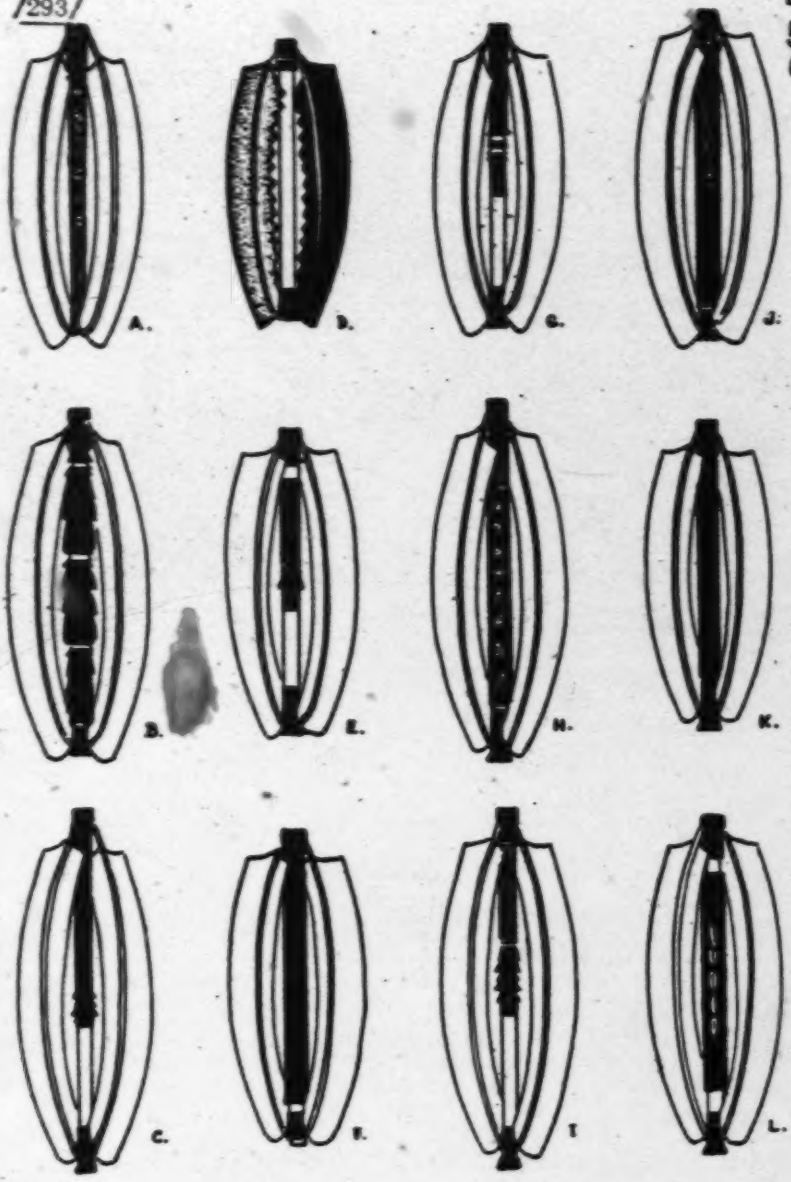

Fig. 19.—Arrows with emblems /in color in original/.

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial
292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kõge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreõ
G. Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjwo
H. Paiwe čoreõ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ẹwãguddu) Baiaddada
J. Āróre čẹbegeʷõ
K. Āróre
L. Ki
M. Ẹwãguddu čãbõgeʷõ
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Ạpibore
Q. Ẹwãguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucú seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bãdejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
301 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[435] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

/295 cont./

301 614 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round, pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 237 614 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows) on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C). The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are [534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po^{a}ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry, [534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers [973] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap- [302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per- 614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms 562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Āróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on P. 36]

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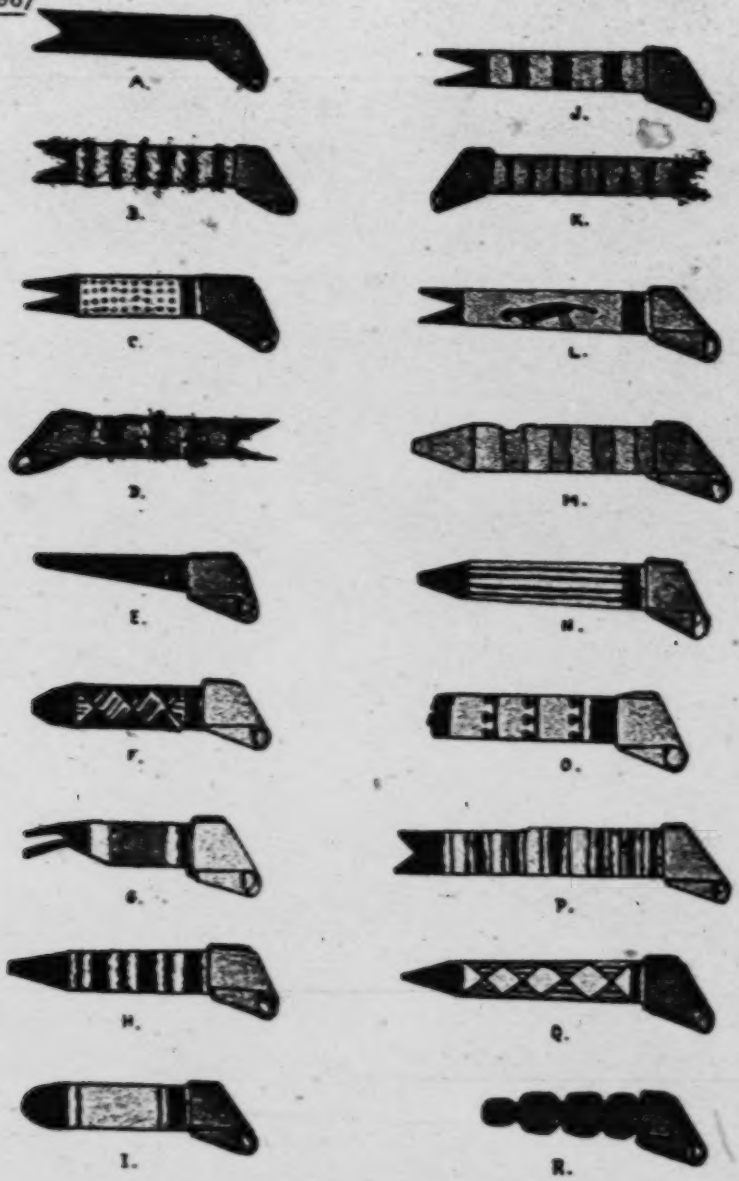

Fig. 20.—Penis bands /in color in original/.

/297 cont./

614 designate the Ãróre ̆ɛbegeʷõ (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Aréme, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

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562

1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive. [764] The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." [126] After interminable negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

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Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never observed spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

[283] [345] [283] [286]

/298/ Note I

614 779 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Čera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113]

1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage* and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should [775] still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awãra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeǔ," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bãdejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 773 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bãdejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 571 787 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin of the O Čera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to [E912] establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Čera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/) comes from a subdivision of Bãdejebage Čębegeʷõge: Iparečeba, of the Bãdejebage Čãbogẽʷõge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bãdejeba Čębegeʷõ had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement.

614 [787] Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/299 cont./ Colbacchini

614 [114] counts 18 names for the Paiwe, four for the Bokodori, six for the Ki, three for the Bãdejeba, seven for the Ãróre, five for the Ewãguddu, eight for the Apibore, etc.... We did not arrive at an equal /300/ number, but as those which we collected on the Río Vermelho are most often not the same as those which he obtained on the Garças River, it is probable that the true number, expressing the combined whole of different local traditions, is much higher. Moreover, among these names, all do not express rigorously identical traditions. If the Paiwe make use of the names corn, cotton, resin, and tobacco, it is that these plants were born from the ashes of a miraculous child, who in the form of a serpent was conceived by a Paiwe woman. One is hence really in the presence of a commemoration of magical events, in the most general sense of the term.

After this, it is futile to search for another explanation for the origin of the clan eponym than that which is applicable to the collection of names and clan emblems. The eponym is not of a special nature. It only recalls the most striking event, and this is why one finds an illustrious hero just as well as an animal, a plant, or an object. One clan is proud of having brought tobacco to the collectivity, as another recalls that its ancestor was the inventor of the labial pendant. Moreover: this event is not always sufficiently striking to create unanimity among the clan members or among fellow citizens of other clans. Hence the utilization in one village of a name not used elsewhere; hence the secondary divisions of clans.

[775] [787] The maximal expression of the system then would be the following: a philosophical doctrine, based on belief in the reincarnation of the soul in animal form, which took on the quality of a personal revelation for certain individuals, celebrated by their descendants in the form of a commemorative name. It is possible that the Čiba Čera, for example, may have been led to extend to all their descendants the experience of an illustrious ancestor, and may have begun to think that they were all destined to live again in the form of the red arara. But it has not been

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ewãguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
773 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
[262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character.
[614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

571 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
[115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from the beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

[115] constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[597] years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bãdejeba—one Bãdejeba Čãboge^{w}õ or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ, however, held a pre-eminent place.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębege^{w}ōge and Čãbōge^{w}ōge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bãdejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bãdejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the ^{a}Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bãdejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

/302 cont./

571 side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the
614 Bādejebage Čābōgeʷōge. The existence, the name, and the
616 localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained.
621 While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them,
[634] we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷō from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge found themselves completely stripped.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tuǰawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[773] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębege^{w}ōge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

080 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

Plate VII

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

1:Lévi-Strauss--47 E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--47a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The men's house, door of the Tugare.
B. Dance of the Paiwe clan.
C. Dance of the buriti clan.

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Plate X

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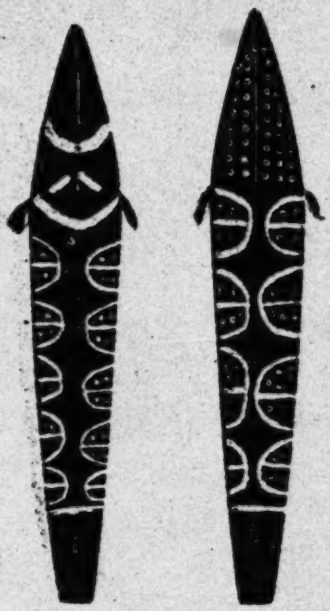

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the
southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho
River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[851] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

342 How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
184 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[881] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[614] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

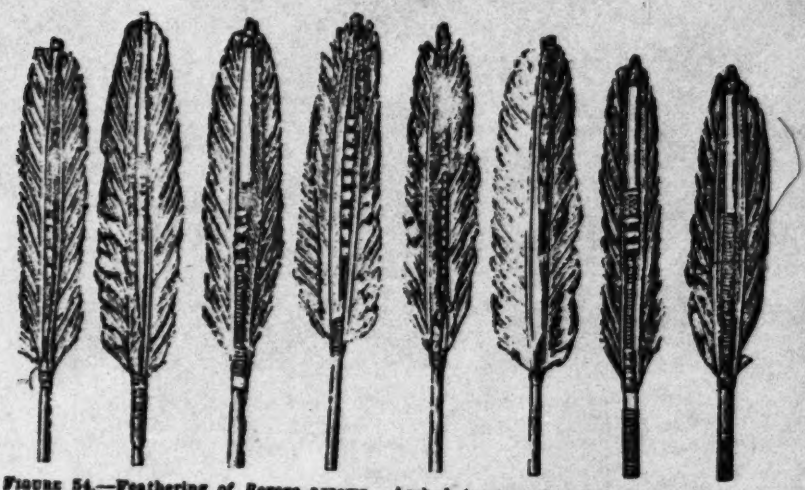

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (½ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [794] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [552] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-rearer (figs. 52, *o*; 55) and to attend rites from which 881

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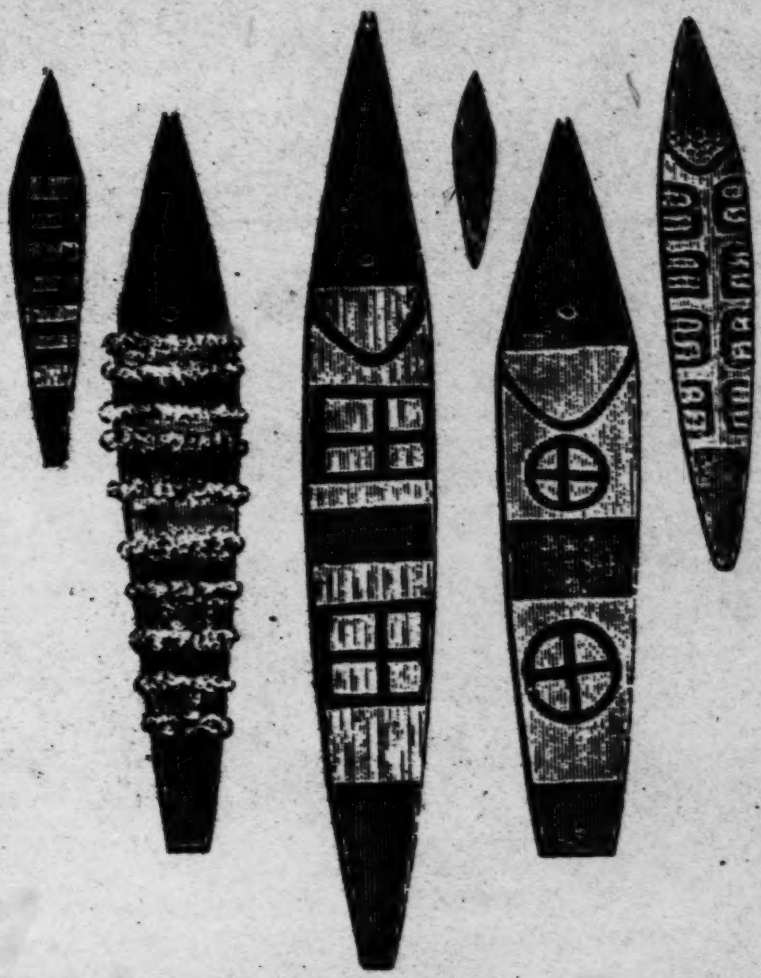

FIGURE 52.—Bull-rearers with various clan designs. (Approximately ⅙ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him. 881 [616] [827]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 528

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

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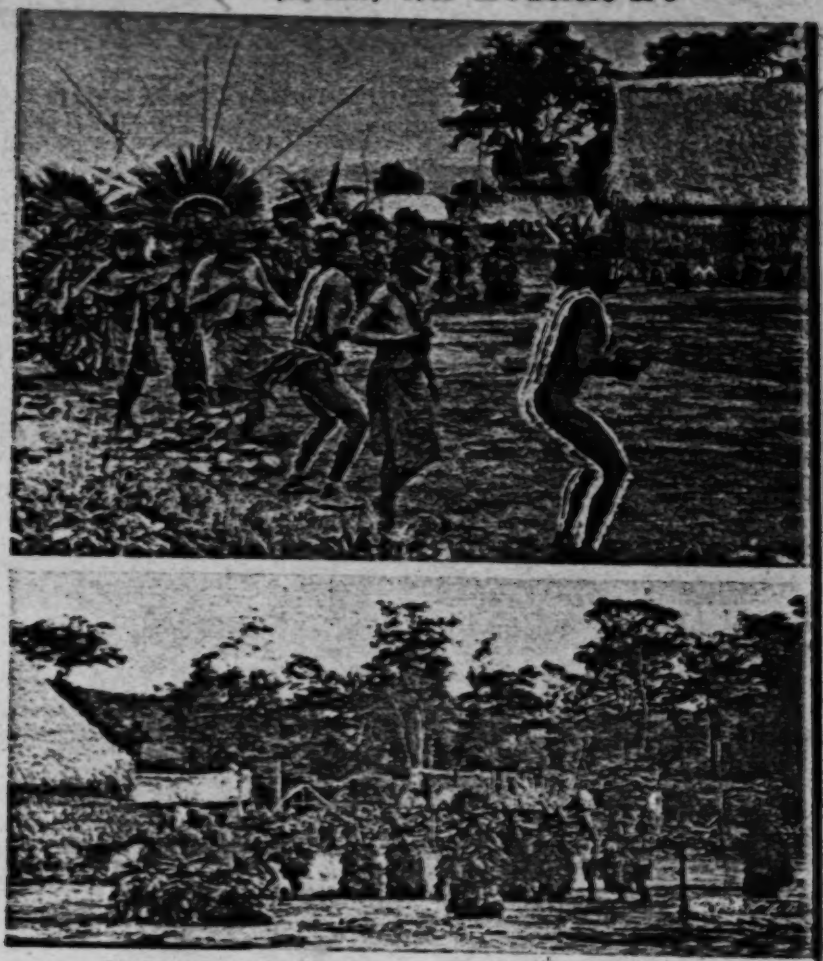

PLATE 18.—Bororo funeral ceremony. Dancers of the Exequiable clan, some dancers in leaf costumes, others decorated with down. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-F]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 775 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 775 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 174

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [775]

Extragenealogical Extensions of Kinship Terms

*601 613 On the most basic level of contrast, relatives from the same lineage, e.g., mother and siblings, are designated as "iwobe." The other kinsmen are not covered by any common term. One of my informants explained it to me in this way: "my mother is iwobe, my 'older brother' is iwobe, my 'older sister' is iwobe; all my 'younger siblings' are iwobe, but my 'father' is my 'father,' my 'grandfather' is my 'grandfather,' etc. Only my 'older brother' who gave me the name is the 'grandfather' who is my iwobe."

When contrasted on a higher level, all the lineages of a subclan can be considered iwobe in contrast to another subclan. For example, a man of the subclan Ivagududoge Choreu, the "Black Ivagududoge," will consider only the people who are Ivagududoge Choreu as iwobe, while he will consider as imedage, "companions," or "people like myself," those belonging to the other subclan Ivagududoge Kujagureu, the "Red Ivagududoge." But when the contrast is made between two different clans (rather than subclans), the same man would, for example, recognize as iwobe all the Ivagududoge, "Black" and "Red" alike, in opposition to the clan of Aroroe.

*601 614

*601 616 The merging can be carried further including into iwobe the people of one's own moiety in opposition to those of the other moiety. The latter will be called cheyorubodarege, or *601 613 cheyadumage (first person plural exclusive). The meaning of iyorubodare (fem. iyorubodaredu), on the basic level of contrast, is approximately "a person from the lineage with which

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
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Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member
614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of broth-
[604] ers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son)
[613] and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools,
616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had
621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the
613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

551 14. Marido Paradu
613 15. " Ukiga

Of these fifteen personal names, eight (1,2,3,4,7,10, 12,13) have been recorded on several occasions as lineage names. Some of them (8,9,10) belong only to the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge (Older Brothers); others (2,4,5,6,7, 11,12,14,15) belong only to the subclan of the Red Ivagudu-doge (Younger Brothers); and alternative classification was recorded for 1,3, and 13.

614 Another item belonging to the clan Ivagududoge is the
551 spirit Jakomea. Twenty-two different specifications have been recorded for the name Jakomea. Nine of them were the same as those used for Marido: akadu, akiri, atugo, ekureu, jiwu, kaworu, kurireu, mugu, okwoda. We see that the Bororo can form a large number of names by adding various specifica-tions to the name of an item which belongs to one clan. Some of these specifications are always connected with the more important subclan (Black, Older Brothers): kurireu, choreu, kaworu, are. Others are connected with the less important subclan (Red, Younger Brothers): ekureu, enawu, kuguri, oro, kujagureu, akadu. Still others, akiri, atugo, okwoda, may be used by either of the subclans, or, on some occasions, by only one of them. Which subclan will use the names cannot be predicted because some items could have been seen first by the Blacks, others by the Reds.

As we have seen, most of the names are formed in this way: Jakomea Akadu, Jakomea Akiri, Jakomea Atugo, etc., and Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc.

613 Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc. But there are
551 other names more specifically connected with particular lineages. For example, Tadugo, the name of one of the lineages of the Black Ivagududoge, cannot be provided with specifications and cannot be given to members of another lineage. Another name reserved to the members of the Tadugo lineage is Tore Ebowu, "the one who went with his sons" (in the name is an allusion to a very important Bororo myth). Other important lineages have long lists of exclusive names. For example, Mamuyawuge Echeba, a lineage of the clan Badajebage Chobugiwuge, is the owner of the following names: Bakugu Kuri, Echera Baru, Eigawa Are, Eigawa Enawureu, Ekoe Choreu, Ekoe Ekudu, Enogureu, Ka Iwara, Mamori Ekureu, Mamori Kurireu, Mamori Ore, Okoge Paiwareu, Paiwareu, Pariko Ekureu, Turugudu Pijiwu, and perhaps many others. Some names are exclusive to a particular lineage only when formed with a particular specification. For example, the name Aroya Kurireu is exclusive to one lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge, while the names Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo, and Aroya Ekureu can belong to a member of a lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge or to a member of the subclan Red Ivagududoge.

613 The list actually recorded for the clan Ivagududoge in-
614 cludes about 250 names. Adding up all the names reported by other authors (Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 441-446; Cruz, 1939: 1941; Horta Barbosa in Rondon, 1948: 8-10) and excluding all repetitions results in a total of 191 names. To this number should be added 60

613 more names which I recorded. The number of actual lineages
614 is much smaller. Horta Barbosa reports 37 lineages, while three of my informants for the same clan of Ivagududoge have specified 77, 32, and 24 lineages respectively.

613 However, the number of lineages considered important (e.g., lineages which are essential to the continuity of ceremonial life) by any one of my informants is much smaller. In Table IX are reported the names of the Ivagududoge lineages as I recorded them on eight different occasions from seven different informants. Columns 3 and 4 were given by the same man on two different occasions. Column 3 was supplied upon request. The names listed in column 4 were mentioned as part of a myth in which the lineages of the clan Ivagududoge are reestablished after a big flood which left only one Bororo alive. The places assigned to the two lineages and their similar forms show that the Bororo consider Jakomea Atugo and Jakomea Atugodojeba as one lineage, or at least as two lineages so close to each other that it is not necessary to mention both of them at the same time. The same thing happens with Koge Ebowu and Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The table shows that each person mentioned between five and twelve lineages as the important ones. In all, twenty-four lineages were mentioned, but only five of them were reported by every person. There are very few differences in the order of placement of these five important lineages. The two informants (No. 7 and 8) who put Jakomea Atugo before Butore Agadu were brothers, and since both of them included in the

[Text Continued On Page 120]

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Table X

Lineage:	Subclan:	Clan:	Moiety:
1. Arua	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Echerae
2. Bakorokudu			
3. Ocha Kudurou	Echerae		
4. Badajeba Kudoro	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Kiye	
5. Ki Bakororo			
6. Jakorari			
7. Kuruguwari Pijiwu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge		
8. Inokuri	Chebegiwuge	Bokodori Echerae	
9. Kaigu	Chobugiwuge		
10. Mamuyamuge Echeba	Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
11. Bokwarebo			
12. Akaruyo Bokodori			
13. Jerigi Otojiwu	O-Boro Echerae		
14. Aturua	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Paiwoe	Tugarege
15. Baiporo	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
16. Apuye Echeba	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Apiborege	
17. Kurugugua			
18. Boroge	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
19. Baitogoço	Chobugiwuge, Choreuge	Aroroe	
20. Birimodo			
21. Butoro Agadu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Ivagudodoge	
22. Jakomea Atugodojeba			
23. Koge Enogwa Tabowu			
24. Aroya Kurireu	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
25. Tadugo			
26. Mano Kurirou	Chebegiwuge, Kujagureuge	Aroroe	

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table XI

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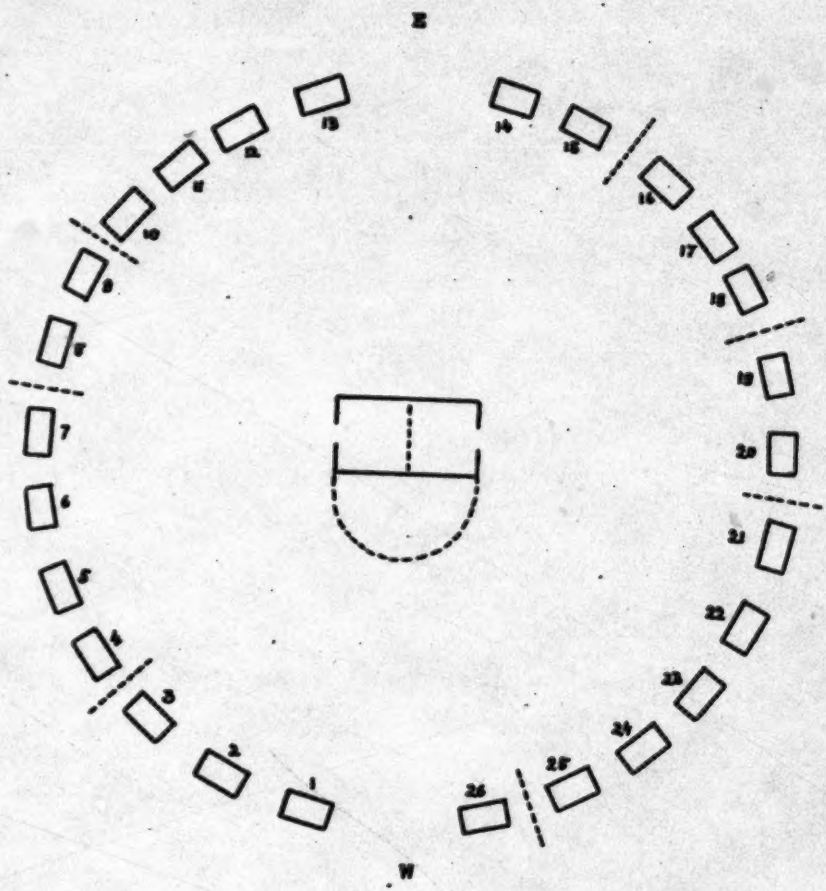

613 made a complete circle. I did not find that one direction was preferred over the other. But whatever their starting point was, and whichever direction they took, they would complete the circle rather than make two opposite semicircles.

Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu may be considered separated lineages of closely related brothers. But, while most of the informants in the similar case of Ki Bakororo, Jakorari, and Badajeba Kudoro would enumerate all three of them, the informants in the case of Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu would say only one of the names, the one they preferred. And if asked about the other two names, they would say that those too are the same lineage as the first one. Following this usage, I put all of those names under one lineage.

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Clan and Moiety

000 We now approach one of the most interesting and most discussed aspects of Bororo social organization, that is, the village plan and the division into moieties, clans, and sub-
616 clans. Two exogamous moieties are divided by an east-west axis. On the northern side are the Tugarege, on the southern the Echerae, Because of the lay of the land which the Bororo inhabit, east is at the same time upstream, and west
614 is downstream. In each moiety there are four clans arranged in a circle. As can be seen from the list on page 121, I did not find each clan to be divided into three subclans: upper, middle, and lower, as has been reported by others (Albisetti & Venturelli, 1962: 437; Crocker, 1969: 45). In my diagram

614 each clan is divided into two subclans, and the terms used
[823] for the subclans are not the same in each case. Some subclans are termed chobugiwu (upstream), some chebegiwu (downstream). And, at the same time, some of them are called choreu (black), or kujagureu (red). One lineage (Koge Enogwa Tabowu) belongs to both the red and black subclans, and four subclans are designated by special terms. These inconsistencies in the designation of subclans reproduce the way in which the Bororo talk about their subclans.

614 The relationship between the subclans within a clan is
829 regarded as being that between older and younger brothers. One of the subclans is called Etumanamage (Older Brothers); the alternative names for Older Brothers are Choreu (Black) and Kurireu (Big). The other subclan is called Etuviyemage (Younger Brothers), with Kujagureu (Red) or Kugurireu (Small) being alternative names for Younger Brothers.

614 This division does not correspond to the division of
823 the two subclans in chobugiwuge (upstream) and chebegiwuge
829 (downstream), which is solely related to the position of each subclan toward the flow of the river. The choreuge can be downstream and the kujagureuge upstream, as among the Kiye, Paiwoe, Apiborege, and Ivagududoge; but their position can be the reverse, as among the Aroroe. Being downstream or upstream in itself does not say anything about the importance of the subclan. Besides, the terms chobugiwuge and chebegiwuge can be used to indicate the relative position of units in other contexts. Within each subclan one

614 lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage,
823 which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one.
829 The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

613 The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied
614 similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu
613 within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned—and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important—they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[1] A few informants would object to this statement. They
[775] say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

613 There is still another context in which the Bororo use
571 the term boyadadawu, and in this case the term is used interchangeably with akuge. Akuge is another Bororo word which is difficult to render in English. The closest translation would be the Portuguese "criaçao dêles," their domestic animals, their pets, their foster children. In the present context an appropriate translation would be "their clients." The designation boyadadawu may be applied when a lineage within a clan is of so little importance that the Bororo are reluctant to call it either Black or Red. In this instance the term boyadadawu does not indicate the spatial position of the lineage between the two subclans, but rather it indicates that the lineage is attached to other lineages which can legitimately be considered Black or Red. An exception, however, is the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu, which was designated by one informant as boyadadawu. This lineage can be considered "in the middle" in two ways. It is in the middle between the Black and the Red Ivagududoge, and at the same time it is considered to be geographically the middle of the Tugarege moiety. A comparable lineage in the Echerae moiety is supposed to be a lineage situated between the two subclans of the Bokodori Echerae clan, but the informants do not agree on its name.

614 I will now discuss some clans that present certain pe-
613 culiarities in their subdivision.

The clan Bokodori Echerae is not divided into Blacks and Reds. The Bororo avoid making this division when talking

614 about this clan. In order to understand why, I will first
613 give one of the more complete listings of the lineages within the clan:

Kaigu Magurereu Arigao Kocha Kiogo Birigedo Porireu Imorio Bokodori Akiri Bokodori Baru Barogo Bororo	Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge
Barame Chibae Edugo Koge Edugo Koge Ekureu Koiwo Kuri Echerae Etuviye Inokuri	Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge

Inokuri, the last in the list, is considered to be closely related to Kaigu, Magurereu, and Arigao Kocha, the first three of the list. In relation to them, he is their "younger brother while in relation to the other lineages within his own subclan, he is considered their "older brother" and included together with Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu among the "Older Brothers" (Etumanamage) or the
614 "Big" (Kurireuge). On the other hand, the division of Blacks
613 and Reds is based mainly on the presumed colors of the an-
822 cestors of each subclan and on the color of feathers and paint used for their ornaments in ceremonies. Inokuri and all his akuge ("clients"), Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge, use red feathers and red paint, while the Bokodori Echerae

614 Chobugiwuge use black feathers and black paint.[1] However,
613 it would be quite improper to call Inokuri Red because, as
822 we have already seen, the Reds are identified with Younger Brothers and Small People, and Inokuri is neither of them.
614 Thus, the Bororo evade the problem by applying to the
613 Bokodori Echerae only the topographical designation, and they talk only about upstream and downstream subclans. One of my informants did use the color division, but, when asked for clarification, he said: "The Bororo do not say in this way, but I do" (Boe ego kare ino, mare imire inagore).

Many variations exist in the denominations of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan. These variations are not arbitrary; they occur as alternative designations in different contexts (see Table XII).

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[1] It will be shown later that the color division is relative. When black and red are opposed, black is the color of the older brother and red that of the younger. When red and yellow are in opposition, red is the color of older brother, and yellow that of the younger.

Set A

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba) →	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge →	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Bakorokudu (Badajeba) →	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge →	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

The lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and Bakorokudu are considered the badajebage ("formal chiefs") of a Bororo village. Their title, badajeba, is extended to their subclans and to their clans. The division in upstream (chobugi) and downstream (chebegi) distinguishes these subclans and clans from each other. The two remaining subclans have their names derived from their common ancestors o (a variety of heron) and boro (a variety of snail)/ they too are divided into upstream and downstream.

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Table XII

	Set A	Set B	Set C	Set D
Clan "Badajebage Chobugiwuge" or "Bakoro Echerae"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae
Subclan II	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae Enogujeba Echerae
Clan "Badajebage Chebegiwuge"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge	Echerae	Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Subclan II	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

Set B

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614

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)	O-Boro Echerae Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
	Echerae Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

Set B is the most frequently used in informal references to these two clans and their subclans. In this instance the clans keep the names which designate them as the clans of the "formal chiefs." One of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan, the one to which Akaruyo Bokodori belongs, is called Bakoro Echerae, an alternative name for the Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The Bakorokudu lineage does not have any alternative name, so its subclan continues to be called Badajebage. However, its specification chebegiwuge (downstream) is dropped because it is not needed to distinguish this subclan from its upstream counterpart, which has now a different name. The subclans O-Boro Echerae are distinguished by calling the one upstream by its full name, and the one downstream just Echerae.[1]

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[1] Whether the term Echerae in a particular case designates the whole moiety or just the subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan becomes clear only from the context in which the term is used. It must be stressed that the Bororo do not regard the Echerae subclan as being the Echerae par excellence.

613 Set B is the only one in which there are no polysemic
614 designations. Every term is different. For this reason the Bororo prefer to use terms from this set whenever referring to a particular clan or subclan in isolation.

Set C

Subclans	Clans
Badajebage Chobugiwuge Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge or Bakoro Echerae
Echerae Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

In Set C the name Badajebage Chobugiwuge is implicitly applied to the upstream clan and its subclans. However, to distinguish one subclan from the other, the more important subclan is called Bakoro Echerae from the alternative name for Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The less important subclan, formerly called O-Boro Echerae, keeps the more generalized name Badajebage Chobugiwuge. The name Bakoro Echerae may also be used to designate the clan. The downstream clan and its subclans maintain the names they had in Set B.

Set D

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Lineages	Subclans	Clans
	O-Boro Echerae	
		Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Akaruyo Bokodori →	Bakoro Echerae	
Mamuyawuge Echeba →	Enogujeba Echerae	
	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
		Badajebage Chebegiwuge
	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	

It should be noted that the Bororo limit the usage of set D to a special occasion, perhaps to avoid any possibility of confusion between the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and that subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan which is also [796] called here Badajebage Chobugiwuge. On the evening before a ceremony the chief formally invites all the clans to participate in the following order:

Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Kiye Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae[1]

Enogujeba Echerae, Bakoro Echerae, O-Boro Echerae

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[1] Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae is alternative name for the Bokodori Echerae clan.

613 Paiwoe, Apiborege[1]
614 Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge
[796] Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge
[361] The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echerae (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Enogujeba Echerae (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

613 The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugi-
614 wuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Che-
571 begiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

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[1] The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
716 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8 Pobojari

613 and Ocha Kudureu (a lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge
614 clan) was older than Bakorokudu, but the younger brothers
571 outgrew their older brothers, and the Bororo made them chiefs. Because of this, he said, the Bororo do not talk about the subclans of these two clans in the framework of older-younger brother relationship but give them special
183 names. It is my opinion that the function of this disagree-
571 ment is to avoid valuing one kind of activity more than the other. And if both kinds of activity are of equal importance, then the brothers who preside over them also have to be of equal importance.

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvagedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong [421] to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge 614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu- 825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a 827 fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

614 goatsucker), kochaga (rail), okiwareu (mouse), arigaodoge
825 choreuge and kujagureuge (black and red dogs), Aroya (a
827 spirit), Jakomea (a spirit), butore (a rattle made with peccary hooves), tugo (arrow), Kuyade Tugojiriye (a spirit), maridogwarege (a bird), korao (parrot), kuje (curassow), piodudu (hummingbird), ivagudu (blue crow), and perhaps bokwaru (fog) and pobo (water). Certain lineages of the Ivagududoge are more closely related to particular items:

613 "People say: Mano Kurireu is on the point of kitariga and
825 konorigi" (Boe egore: Mano kurireu emare jeture kitariga
827 otoji, konorigi otoji). That is, Mano Kurireu originated from kitariga (a variety of grasshopper) and konorigi (cicada). Similarly other lineages originated from other species:

"People say that:

Aroya Kurireu	originated	from	itubore mogodoge[1]
Tadugo	"	"	maridogwarege (a bird)
Araru Kurireu	"	"	beto kigadu maerewu (sprout of buriti palm)
Jakomea Kuwada	"	"	kowagije (an insect that lives on the water)
Koge Ebowu	"	"	bapore (a bird)
Jakomea Attugo	"	"	ruye (frog)."

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[1] My informant was not sure about the meaning of itubore mogodoge; he thought that maybe they meant marido (buriti palm) in poetic language.

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[825] faces are black."[2]

613 At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in
827 which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is de-
578 scribed: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena pijiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

614 Most names of the clans are also derived from some of
827 the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

[825]

> "Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.
>
> "When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido). But then the Bororo made their name prettier."[2]

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1 "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekera, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

2 "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyedo Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

614 The story goes similarly for every clan: the Aroroe Chobugi-
827 wuge originated from aroro imedu (male butterfly larva), the
825 Aroroe Chebegiwuge from aroro aredu (female butterfly larva).
The ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge was keao-keao aredu (female crow), the ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge was keao-keao imedu (male crow), but the true name of
614 keao-keao is ivagudu. Badajebage is the only clan name
827 which is not supposed to be derived from an ancestral item.

> "The Badajebage traveled with the Bororo. Thus, the people (the Bororo) called them 'ba dodu epage' (masters of the camp: the Badajebage as chiefs of the village decide when and where camp should be made during the trips). But then the Bororo improved their name and called them Badajebage."[1]

614 The ancestor of the Bokodori Echerae was bokodori (giant
827 armadillo). Kiye Kurireuge originated from ki choreu (black
825 tapir), the Kiye Kugurireuge from ki bu kujagureu (tapir with red fur).

616 The names of the moieties are explained a little differently. A name which originally belonged to the Ivagududoge was extended to include all the Tugarege:

> "These Tugarege, all of the Tugarege are called Tugarege by the Bororo. The Ivagududoge were first to come across the arrow (tugo). Then they cut the string of the bundle of arrows for their companions (they divided the arrows among

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ure chaje. Apido Arege oinore eyere kodi karega. Ichare boere pemegado."

1 "Badajebagere eture boebo. Du kodire boe egore 'ba dodu epage' oino ei. Ma ichare boere ichare enogwa pemegaguragare eyeji. Kodire ichare boe egore Badajebage ino ei."

616 their companions), for their companions Aroroe, their companions Paiwoe, their companions Apiborege. Thus the name of all these people is Tugarege."

Tugo (arrow) is the ancestor par excellence of the Ivagududoge, but by dividing the arrows among their moiety "brothers," the Ivagududoge shared their ancestor with the other clans of their moiety.

The name of the other moiety, Echerae, is not derived from any ancestral item. Meri (the sun) is supposed to have given the name to the Echerae in one song. My informants said that the word did not have other denotations. "Owners of the songs," the meaning given in the Enciclopédia Bororo (p. 438), also has to do with singing, and this fits well with the general characteristics of the Echerae moiety, as will be shown later.

827 The equivalence of ancestors and descendants explains the old controversy about whether or not the Bororo believe they are macaws (Von den Steinen, 1894: 512; Levy-Bruhl, 1966: 62; Vygotski, 1962: 71-72; Geertz, 1966: 37-38; Barnes, 1969: 614 98). Red macaws (nabure), with which, according to Von den 616 Steinen, the Bororo claim identity, are the ancestors of the 827 Aroroe. On the other hand, one myth tells how the Bokodori Echerae threw themselves into the fire and became red macaws

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1 Awu Tugarege, Tugarege eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Awu Ivagududoge emagere etogeadure tugoji chaje. Eigoyare ichare ere tugo kogu kado tumedagei, tumeduya Aroroei, tumeduya ʔaiwoei, tumeduya Apiboregei. Du kodire ichare eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Oino."

614 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red
616 macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the
827 Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after
561 the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger
[192] brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo lan-
[773] guage. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger.
844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever be-
[773] ing born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have al-
571 ready been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963:
114 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities, participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into subclans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and subclans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In reporting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ancestors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers. The division is not restricted only to animals; many other beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differentiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

(black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea); ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female[A] and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodare (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

A, [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

822 796 237 302 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented 614 with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, 822 then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. [825] For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: merido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
825 is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
796

619 796 Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge, the female tapir is played by Baitogogo, a lineage of the Black Aroroe, and the baby tapir by Aroya Kurireu, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. This is a very interesting case which seems to differ from the normal pattern. Baitogogo, one of the most important if not the most important of the lineages of the Bororo tribe, impersonates the female tapir, while Butore Agadu, the least prominent of the three lineages, impersonates the male tapir. This is not an isolated incident. There are a few other cases in which important items are impersonated by less important clan members. But in each of these cases the Bororo can give a reasonable explanation for the exception. In this example, at the time when Ki Bakororo and Jakorari were distributing the representations of the tapirs among their yorubodare (alliés), Butore Agadu was having an affair with Baitogogo's wife, who herself belonged to the Kiye clan. In giving the representation of the male tapir to Butore Agadu, Ki Bakororo acknowledged him as a true male and at the same time shamed Baitogogo, who could not take proper care of his wife, Ki Bakororo's sister. The yorubodare relationship between Baitogogo and Ki Bakororo was not spoiled by this act. They exchanged many other items and representations. It was just one of Ki Bakororo's many jokes, for which he is quite famous.

A good example of things going according to the rules is the ceremonial performance of okoge (a fish similar to salmon). Kaigu, a lineage of the subclan of the older broth-

614 796 ers of the Bokodori Echerae, owns all okoge kurireuge (big okoge). Kaigu gives the representation of one okoge eimejera (one chief of okoge) to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge; the representation of the other okoge eimejera is given to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge; the representation of okoge aredu (female okoge) is given to Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The lineage of Koge Enogwa Tabowu, as we know, was alternately classified as belonging to the subclans of the Black, the Red, and the "in the middle" Ivagududoge. The younger brothers Bokodori Echerae own the rest of okoge, all okoge kugurireuge (small okoge), and give their representation to all less important lineages of the Ivagududoge.

614 301 [561] Differences between the subclans of older and younger brothers are also expressed through the medium of ornaments. The Bororo love to talk about ornaments, and examples of subclan differences are numerous. I will mention only few of them.

The Ivagududoge own a labret called ararureu. It is a string of regularly cut pieces of shell. The ararureu of the Black Ivagududoge is long and is made with large pieces of shell, while the ararureu of the Red Ivagududoge is short and the pieces of shell are small.

The festive bow of the Apiborege, called ikuye ika, is ornamented with painted rings made of leaves of babassu palm. The rings on the bow of the Big Apiborege are broad and widely spaced, the rings on the bow of the Small Apiborege

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

614 choreu - kujagureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kurugugwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kurugugwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities are differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (Boroge rore ino jamedu). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujagureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

614 gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one
621 commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on
181 the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

622 When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say
[173] that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they
[224] themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the
[701] center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer
[728] of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

773 616 571 [776] Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[776] Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

[776] Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[614] The Aroroe entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 616 614 613 As a second example I list the lineages with which the clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8 Pobojari

571 changed:
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Tadugo's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

Aroya Kurireu's yorubodare are:

Kuje Barujeba (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Boyari Pijiwu (Kiye Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge).

Butore Agadu's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Bokodori Baru (Bokodori Echerae Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

Yorubodare of the Small Ivagududoge are:

Small Bokodori Echerae

Small Kiye.

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for their actions. I could not detect any great concern over what had happened.

Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe
and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo them-
selves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored
ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead
people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.
773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and
when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves
into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[616] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
[614] lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare re-
lationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who
are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the
harpy eagle), kurugugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Hugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
[361] Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the <u>Enciclopedia</u> <u>Bororo</u> show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

613 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only
626 man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted
178 to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (♀) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was
[52] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 Another possibility open to a man without descendants
614 (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

/117 cont./

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Each clan has its special ornaments. The Bororo Mario Bokodori Kudde, in Sangradouro, described to me, for example, the ornaments illustrated by Padre Colbacchini in his book I Bororos Orientali, pp. 48 and 49, as belonging to the following clans: 1 -- akario bokodori baaddageba; 2 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and manna; 3 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and vie; 5 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae tchebegiugue; 6 -- kie; 7 -- bakorokuddu baaddageba; 1' -- paiwe kujaguréugue; 2 -- apiburegue; 3' -- aorore kujaguréugue; 4' -- iwaguddudogue kujaguréugue; 6' -- aorore tchoréugue. Each one of these ornaments belongs to the following clans designated by the numbers above:

/118/

Colbacchini, p. 48:

```
        7 1 1
      6 3 5 2 1
          1
  1 1 1 1 7 1 6' 2' 4' 6'
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Colbacchini, p. 49:

```
        6 6 6          |  6
      2     6          |
    2   2   2          |  1
7 6 7 7 1 2 2          |
-----------------------|-----
      1' 7 7           |  7
                       |-----
                       |
      1 and 7          |  3' and 6'
```

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the
[614] daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P. W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri,
551 and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many
others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooáa.
Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the
names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the
names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they
belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same
custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names
of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example:
the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take
the following proper names for members of their families:
Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for
their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara,
Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the
Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the
name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not
for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor
will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity.
The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."
854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
855 the mother.
000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female
predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient
Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior
was observed among some South American tribes: let there be
mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland
Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912,
pp. 86-90).

/136 cont./

614 A consequence of the matrilineal organization, which, at the same time, characterizes the preponderant social importance of the woman, is the fact that a clan is destined to become extinct as soon as the women are missing. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50) also refers to that.

595 In general the Bororo are monogamous. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 57) observes in this respect: "The few sporadic cases of polygamy that are found are disapproved by all. The case of latent polygamy takes place, ordinarily, when a man marries a woman who has /137/ a young daughter, or when he marries a young girl whose mother, a widow or without a husband, is still young. In this case polygamy is easy, even though hidden, because officially the man will be the husband of the mother or of the daughter and never of the daughter and mother."

The Bororo spoke to me of such cases of bigamy, which is confirmed by the following observation by Karl von den Steinen [622] (o.c., p. 501): "In Thereza Christina, apparently only Moguyokuri (the chief) lived in polygamy. His wives were a woman of a certain age and a daughter of her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and when the mother became ugly and the daughter became pretty, he "married" the daughter also."

Von den Steinen (ibidem) adds, however: "But, in the aldeias, polygamy of the elders is generally the rule." This author seems to assume this, basing himself only on the report by Waehneldt about the Bororo on the Jaurú (mentioned on the same page), because he did not visit the aldeias personally. If we were inclined to establish a connections between the fact that in general monogamy exists among the Bororo and only in rare cases bigamy with mother and daughter, and the institution according to which the daughter lives with the mother all her life, the husband goes to live in her house

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SPP
[P.127-B]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

616 daughter's husband is also *yeddga*. Boys are *mede*,
601 girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúga;* sisters before puberty, *iwíye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

[881] Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the
[904] ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

616
614

Cherúide clans

1. Bokodóri.
2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Klédo.
5. Borótcherá.
6. Óebera.

Tugaréde clans

1. Aríri.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tehibú-giwúgi.
2. Iwúgudodgi.
   a. Tobóreu.
   b. Kódjagureu.
3. Apíbóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

601 616 daughter's husband is also *yedága*. Boys are *mede*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwíye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

601 Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. [304] After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

Cheráide clans

616 1. Bokodóri.
614 2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Borótcherá.
6. Óchera.

Tugaréde clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tchibúgiwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kúdjagureu.
3. Apíbóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy indi-
viduals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵕ, around 25 years old;
1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are
those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear
traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.
191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent
Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and
write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a
few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language
at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan
Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera
are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

1. The term vóbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:

Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ārōre (Catepillar) clan
Ewāguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

/271/

616 Čera Phratry:
614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan
O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan
Ki (Tapir) clan
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan
Bakoro clan
Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates
621 the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big
[345] circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.
621 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation
616 to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves:
614 the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/: in the foreground the O Čera Čębege^{w}ō hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreŏ, Bokodori Čębege^{w}ō, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddada hut). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure.
616 But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very
614 oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the
823 course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čåbōge^{w}ōge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębege^{w}ōge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
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Ewãguddudõge čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewãguddudõge čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaʷge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47 /).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokeje̤ʷõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokeje̤, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokeje̤ʷo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewãguddudõge bo'pokeje̤ʷõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewãguddudõge kurigeõ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/273 cont./

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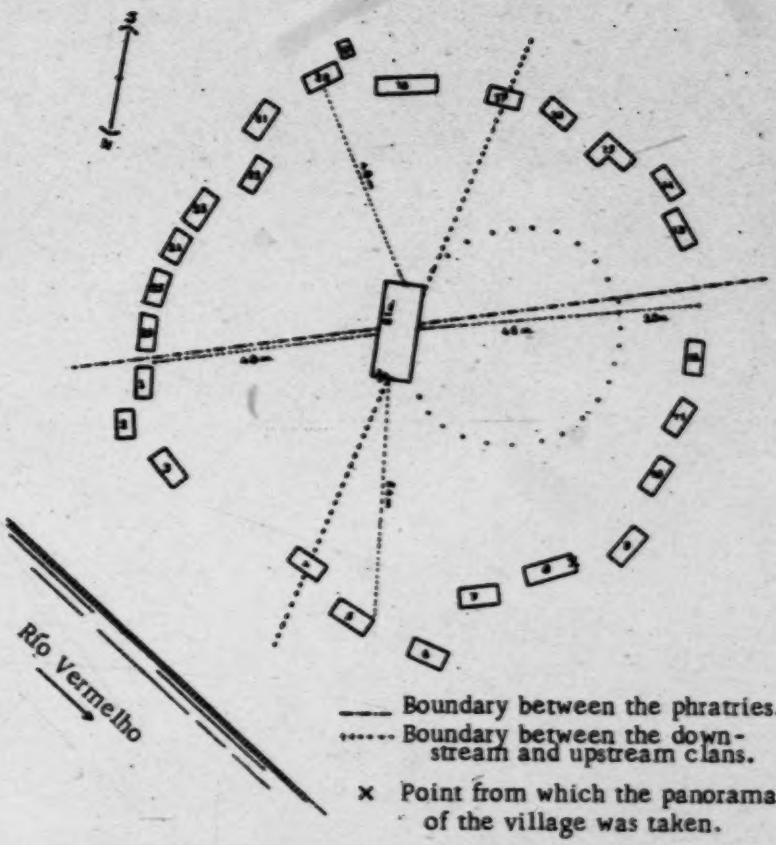

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čãbõgeʷõge are on the left (upstream) and the Čębegeʷõge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddaďeᵀge.

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 552 592 614 616 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is, of families or groups of families, living in the same house and styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the household always involves, among other things, the name of the clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(čãbõgeʷõ half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori čãbõgeʷõ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddadaʷ

(čębegeʷõ half)
5. Bokodori Čera čębegeʷõ
6. Ki kujagoreʷ
7. Ki
8. O Čera čębegeʷõ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ
11. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddadaʷge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ bo'pokęjeʷõ

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Ārórę čębegeʷõ
14. Ārórę čębegeʷõ
15. Ęwāguddu čereõ kurigeõ čębegeʷõ
16. Ęwāguddu bo'pokęjeʷõ čębegeʷõ
17. Ęwāguddu baiaddadaᵃ eten'manaāge
(cābōgeʷõ half) 18. Ęwāguddu kujagoreõ etu'ieemage čābōgeʷõ
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Ārórę čābōgeʷõ baiaddadaᵃ (1)

[128] 1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Ārórę čābōgeʷõ
22. Apibore kujagoreõ
23. Apibore čoreõ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreõ
26. Paiwe kujagoreõ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Ārórę clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ęwāguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

177 178 433 It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

177 178 511 114 2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/279 cont./

Cera Phratry

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Clan	Name	Marries with
Bādejeba	Bakorokuddu (name of a legendary hero)	Āróre čąbōgeʷō
	Iparečęba (id.)	Āróre baiaddadaᵃ
	Wapa (?)	Ewąguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Merit'awąra (The Path of the Sun)	Apibore bo'pokęjewo
O Čera	Uaboreõ (?-Uabo: heart)	Ewąguddu
	At'ugoreõ (The Painted Man)	Āróre čębegeʷõ
Ki	Kibakororo (Bakororo, The Tapir)	Ewąguddu bo'pokęjewo
	Tu'goga (?-Tugo: arrow)	Ewąguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Māra (?)	Ewąguddu baiaddadaᵃ

/280/

Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge	Kōge (Cilthead)	Ewąguddu čoreõ
	Bokodori Baro (?)	Ewąguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Ariga Coča (?-Ariga: puma)	Ewąguddu čąbōgeʷō
Bakoro	Nogujeba (legendary hero)	Apibore (Kru'guga uobę)
	ᵃKario Bokodori (legendary hero who named an extinct clan)	Apibore (Broge)

/280 cont./

582
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Cera Phratry

Clan	Name	Marries with
Bóro	Bok'arebo (?)	Ārŏre baiaddada
	Jerégi-čodo (Old Tortoise)	Apibore kujagoreŏ

Tugare Phratry

Paiwe	Baiporo (door?)	Bokodori Čera
	Meriri kurigeŏ (Big Light)	Bakoro Čera
Apibore	Broge (?-indicates wealth)	Bakoro Čera
	Kru'guga uobe (Relative of the Eagle-throat; indicates wealth)	Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge
Ewāguddu	Tad'ugo (?-indicates wealth)	Ki
	Aria kurigeŏ (Big Saucepan?)	Ki
	But'are gāde (?)	Bokodori
Āróre	Baitogógo (legendary hero)	Bādejeba

582
614 This table, which is no doubt incomplete, suggests the following conclusions:

/282/

582 These identifications permit us to conclude that the matri-
601 monial system is as follows:

A male individual may contract two types of marriage. He will marry either his father's younger sister or his father's elder sister's daughter. In the first case, his father's father is at the same time his father-in-law, and his father's mother, his mother-in-law. In the second case, his father's elder sister is his mother-in-law.

[616] This same individual's sister may not, symmetrically, marry her mother's brother, as they both belong to the same phratry. Her uncle hence enters the category of men whom she cannot marry, and she has only one name to designate her mother's brothers and her own brothers (elder). The combinations open to her are: her mother's brother's son and her elder brother's son. The maternal uncle and the elder brother are thus identified by the young girl as providers of possible spouses. The result is that the men have wives their own age or older, whereas the women have husbands their own age or younger. This is confirmed by
[595] experience: the marriage of a woman and of her daughter by a previous marriage to a new husband constitutes the typical case of bigamy[1] among the Bororo.

In addition, three categories of men exist for a woman: those older than she whom she cannot marry (mother's brothers, elder brothers); those younger than she whom she cannot marry (her father's brother's sons, younger brothers); and finally, those of her own age or younger, with whom she can contract marriage.

The Bororo have hence had, at least in the past, two forms of marriage, namely: the cross marriage and the marriage of a nephew with his aunt. It is not possible to say, given the present state of our information, whether these marriages are always rigorously practiced, whether they are contemporaneous, or whether one of these forms represents, in relation to the other, an evolved stage. But with the exception of the typical cross marriage, it is not the mother's brother who is identified with the father-in-law, but the mother's brother's father.

[1] [Cf. analyst's footnote on p. 10--Analyst]

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, the
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to [616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
535
824
284

/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:
535 wure̤ ure̤ foot, foot
533 kaia kaia pestle, pestle
manó marid'do dance of the marid'do
čegu'e̤ we others
čę we burn
uoro buriti wine
hu hu yes, yes
čęgiga we joyous

764 of the Ewãguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bãdejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewãguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Ewãguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:

harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;

"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;

bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;

ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

[616] 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the
[531] Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
531 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. ᵃKario Bokodori — C. Ewãguddu (?) — D. Apibore kujagoreb — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore — H. Bãdejeba (Bakoro) — I. Āróre — J. Kõge Čera — K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Āróre.

[237] Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

[Text Continues on p. 30]

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po^{a}ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

• 616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers
[993] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates, at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Ãróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on P. 36]

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
616
621
622

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

[115] constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[797] years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bãdejeba—one Bãdejeba Čãboge^{w}õ or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ, however, held a pre-eminent place.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębege^{w}õge and Čãbõge^{w}õge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bãdejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bãdejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the ^{a}Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bãdejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

/302 cont./

571 614 616 621 [634]

side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the Bādejebage Čabōgeʷōge. The existence, the name, and the localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained. While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them, we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷō from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge found themselves completely stripped.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
●616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tušawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębegeʷõ clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[713] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge.

127
128

Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

ooo /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

1:Lévi-Strauss--47 E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

345
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A

535
614

B

C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--47a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The men's house, door of the Tugare. 345
B. Dance of the Paiwe clan. 535
C. Dance of the buriti clan. 614
616

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

only the Cabocass

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
342 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to
[881] the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[74] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
[illegible] the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[614] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅙ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

● 616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [714] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [552] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-roarer (figs. 52, *o*; 55) and to attend rites from which 881

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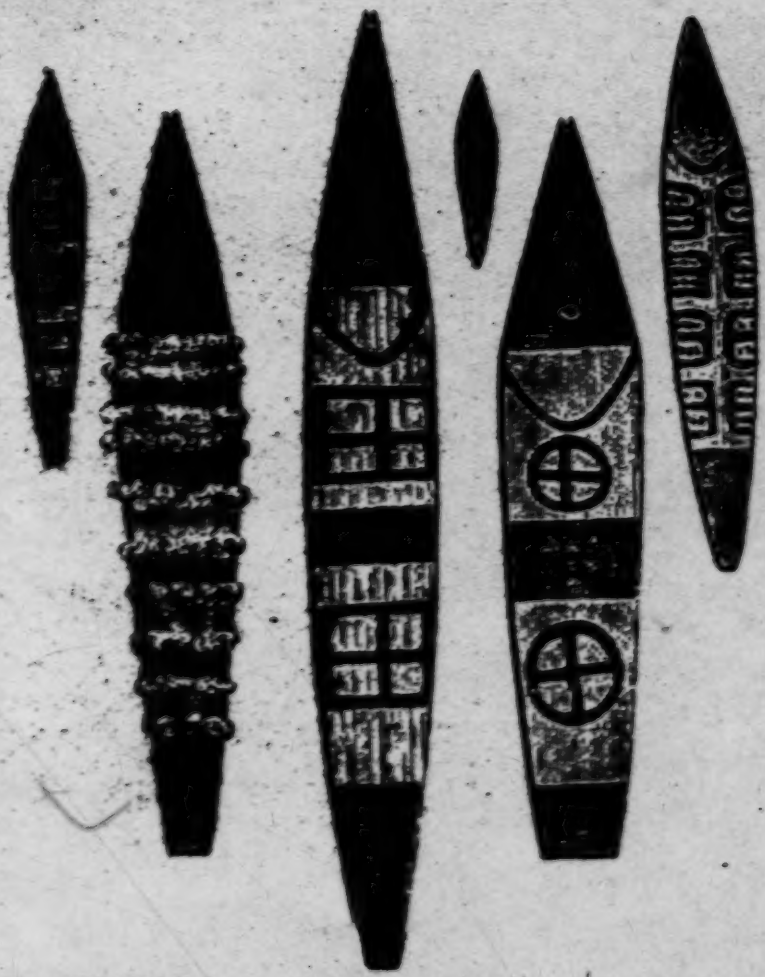

FIGURE 55.—Bull-roarers with various clan designs. (Approximately ½ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him. 881 [616] [27]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 Marriage.—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and
582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage
144 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as
595 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous
591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

763 Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk
602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors
764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's
[622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve
224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he
[616] has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him
881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for
764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread
764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

Extragenealogical Extensions of Kinship Terms

*601 613 On the most basic level of contrast, relatives from the same lineage, e.g., mother and siblings, are designated as "iwobe." The other kinsmen are not covered by any common term. One of my informants explained it to me in this way: "my mother is iwobe, my 'older brother' is iwobe, my 'older sister' is iwobe; all my 'younger siblings' are iwobe, but my 'father' is my 'father,' my 'grandfather' is my 'grandfather,' etc. Only my 'older brother' who gave me the name is the 'grandfather' who is my iwobe."

When contrasted on a higher level, all the lineages of a subclan can be considered iwobe in contrast to another subclan. For example, a man of the subclan Ivagududoge Choreu, the "Black Ivagududoge," will consider only the people who are Ivagududoge Choreu as iwobe, while he will consider as imedage, "companions," or "people like myself," those belonging to the other subclan Ivagududoge Kujagureu, the "Red Ivagududoge." But when the contrast is made between two different clans (rather than subclans), the same man would, for example, recognize as iwobe all the Ivagududoge, "Black" and "Red" alike, in opposition to the clan of Aroroe. *601 614

*601 616 The merging can be carried further including into iwobe the people of one's own moiety in opposition to those of the other moiety. The latter will be called cheyorubodarege, or *601 613 cheyadumege (first person plural exclusive). The meaning of iyorubodare (fem. iyorubodaredu), on the basic level of contrast, is approximately "a person from the lineage with which

*601 my lineage is traditionally bound in reciprocal exchange of
613 spouses and ceremonial duties." I will translate yorubodare as "allié," and the relationship between yorubodare as "alliance." Members of the opposite sex of an allied lineage, e.g., potential or actual spouses, are also alternatively designated as ikoge ("my husbands") and ivire ("my wives"). Even if a person does not marry into an allied lineage he will continue to call its members by these terms. Also, one's "initiator" ideally should be chosen from such an allied lineage, but he will still be designated as yorubodare even if he was chosen from some other nonallied lineage. The definition of yadu, of which yadumage is the plural, is more
*601 controversial. When somebody dies his relatives from the
613 same lineage call the person chosen to represent the dead,
• 616 yadu. But, when speaking of yadumage as a group, the Bororo
768 have discordant opinions whether or not this term should be applied to: (a) all the people from the other moiety, part of whom are more specifically considered yorubodarege; (b) the members of the lineages which are not yorubodarege (in this case the moiety is conceived as being divided into yorubodarege and yadumage); (c) some specific lineages with which one's own lineage stands in a relationship of traditional exchange of representatives of the dead;[1] or (d) actual representatives of the dead, who preferentially should be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages.

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[1] this is a theoretical supposition, since no Bororo can give any concrete example of this kind.

*601 it will be considered the person's father or grandmother.
82 If a Bororo killed a bird and brought it into the village, it is quite common to hear another Bororo jokingly tell the hunter: "Alas! You killed my poor little grandfather" (Aru! Ichare are iyedaga pega-rogu bitto).

*601 Change of Kinship Terms on the Occasion of Death
768 Another important transfer of terms is connected with
• 616 funeral ceremonies. On this occasion, the terms that are normally used only for people of one's own moiety are extended to the people of the other moiety. Every person who dies must have a living mother who will continue to take care of him, cooking for him the food for the festive "meal of the spirits" which takes place in the plaza of the village.
[765] If the true mother is already dead, some other woman of her lineage will take her place and the new mother will be called "mother" by all the people who slash themselves to express their sorrow, without regard to whether they are from one or the other moiety. The husband of this woman will be called "father." Thus somebody may acquire a "mother" of the other moiety and a "father" who was a "brother" before that. The new terms are used both referentially and vocatively and the previous designations are dropped. Every person who dies should also have his living representative chosen from the male members of the opposite moiety. This man will take the place of the dead person within the lineage, and he will be addressed by the kinsmen of the dead person by the same term they used for the dead. Necessary adjustments are made for

*601 768 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.

● 616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [598] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 533 765 195 A different set of terms, which are considered more poetic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member
614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of broth-
[604] ers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son)
[613] and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools,
616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had
621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the
613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
616 the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation—employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense—gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.

626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
773 quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
181 ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.

124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

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Table X

Lineage:	Subclan:	Clan:	Moiety:
1. Arua	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Echerae
2. Bakorobadu			
3. Ocha Eudurea	Echerae		
4. Badajeba Eudoro	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Kiye	
5. Ki Bakororo			
6. Jakorari			
7. Eurugugwari Pijiwu	Chobugiwuge, Eujagureuge		
8. Inokuri	Chebegiwuge	Bokodori Echerae	
9. Kaigu	Chobugiwuge		
10. Mamuyaeuge Echeba	Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
11. Bokwareho			
12. Akaruyo Bokodori			
13. Jarigi Otojiwu	O-Boro Echerae		
14. Aturua	Chobugiwuge, Eujagureuge	Paiwoe	Tugarage
15. Baiporo	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
16. Apuya Echeba	Chobugiwuge, Eujagureuge	Apiborage	
17. Eurugagua			
18. Boruge	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
19. Baitogoço	Chobugiwuge, Choreuge	Aroroe	
20. Birimodo			
21. Batoro Agadu	Chobugiwuge, Eujagureuge	Ivagudodoge	
22. Jakomas Atugodojeba			
23. Koge Enogwa Tabovu			
24. Aroya Eariren	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
25. Tadugo			
26. Mano Eariroa	Chebegiwuge, Eujagureuge	Aroroe	

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table XI

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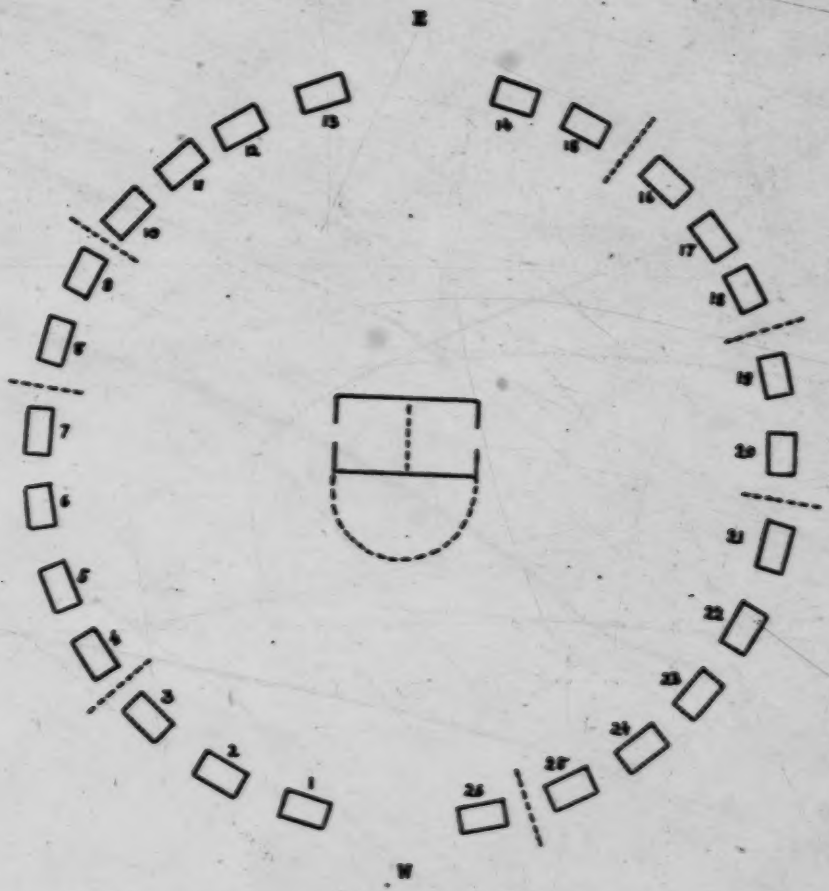

613 made a complete circle. I did not find that one direction was preferred over the other. But whatever their starting point was, and whichever direction they took, they would complete the circle rather than make two opposite semicircles.

Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu may be considered separated lineages of closely related brothers. But, while most of the informants in the similar case of Ki Bakororo, Jakorari, and Badajeba Kudoro would enumerate all three of them, the informants in the case of Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu would say only one of the names, the one they preferred. And if asked about the other two names, they would say that those too are the same lineage as the first one. Following this usage, I put all of those names under one lineage.

Clan and Moiety

000 We now approach one of the most interesting and most discussed aspects of Bororo social organization, that is, the village plan and the division into moieties, clans, and sub-
616 clans. Two exogamous moieties are divided by an east-west axis. On the northern side are the Tugarege, on the southern the Echerae, Because of the lay of the land which the Bororo inhabit, east is at the same time upstream, and west
614 is downstream. In each moiety there are four clans arranged in a circle. As can be seen from the list on page 121, I did not find each clan to be divided into three subclans: upper, middle, and lower, as has been reported by others (Albisetti & Venturelli, 1962: 437; Crocker, 1969: 45). In my diagram

614 The story goes similarly for every clan: the Aroroe Chobugi-
827 wuge originated from aroro imedu (male butterfly larva), the
825 Aroroe Chebegiwuge from aroro aredu (female butterfly larva).
The ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge was keao-keao aredu (female crow), the ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge was keao-keao imedu (male crow), but the true name of
614 keao-keao is ivagudu. Badajebage is the only clan name
827 which is not supposed to be derived from an ancestral item.

> "The Badajebage traveled with the Bororo. Thus, the people (the Bororo) called them 'ba dodu epage' (masters of the camp: the Badajebage as chiefs of the village decide when and where camp should be made during the trips). But then the Bororo improved their name and called them Badajebage."[1]

614 The ancestor of the Bokodori Echerae was bokodori (giant
827 armadillo). Kiye Kurireuge originated from ki choreu (black
825 tapir), the Kiye Kugurireuge from ki bu kujagureu (tapir with red fur).

616 The names of the moieties are explained a little differently. A name which originally belonged to the Ivagududoge was extended to include all the Tugarege:

> "These Tugarege, all of the Tugarege are called Tugarege by the Bororo. The Ivagududoge were first to come across the arrow (tugo). Then they cut the string of the bundle of arrows for their companions (they divided the arrows among

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ure chaje. Apido Arege oinore eyere kodi karega. Ichare boere pemegado."

[1] "Badajebagere eture boebo. Du kodire boe egore 'ba dodu epage' oino ei. Ma ichare boere ichare enogwa pemegaguragare eyeji. Kodire ichare boe egore Badajebage ino ei."

616 their companions), for their companions Aroroe, their companions Paiwoe, their companions Apiborege. Thus the name of all these people is Tugarege."[1]

Tugo (arrow) is the ancestor par excellence of the Ivagududoge, but by dividing the arrows among their moiety "brothers," the Ivagududoge shared their ancestor with the other clans of their moiety.

The name of the other moiety, Echerae, is not derived from any ancestral item. Meri (the sun) is supposed to have given the name to the Echerae in one song. My informants said that the word did not have other denotations. "Owners of the songs," the meaning given in the Enciclopédia Bororo (p. 438), also has to do with singing, and this fits well with the general characteristics of the Echerae moiety, as will be shown later.

827 The equivalence of ancestors and descendants explains the old controversy about whether or not the Bororo believe they are macaws (Von den Steinen, 1894: 512; Levy-Bruhl, 1966: 62; Vygotski, 1962: 71-72; Geertz, 1966: 37-38; Barnes, 1969: 614 98). Red macaws (nabure), with which, according to Von den 616 Steinen, the Bororo claim identity, are the ancestors of the 827 Aroroe. On the other hand, one myth tells how the Bokodori Echerae threw themselves into the fire and became red macaws

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1 Awu Tugarege, Tugarege eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Awu Ivagududoge emagere etogeadure tugoji chaje. Eigoyare ichare ere tugo kogu kado tumedagei, tumeduya Aroroei, tumeduya Paiwoei, tumeduya Apiboregei. Du kodire ichare eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Oino."

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kioquagiri-
[231] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. Ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. Ika is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is also significant. Ika is elongated and narrow, often with one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka--the curves of a narrow waist. Ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and repre-
616 sentatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

> 571 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije
> 613 Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the
> 539 head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also baku-
> 773 gumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumae, a kind
> 616 of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo Iwararege eimejera (the chief of the Iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."[1]

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[1] "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure Iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Arorce) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

- imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
- uku ika (a musical instrument)
- pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
- baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
- okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)
- biyadawu "chuqui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
- enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

- imo irogodu (body painting)
- imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
- imo pariko (a headdress)

773 Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:
616 imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)
571 imo irogodu (body painting)
292 Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)
302 Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo
534 gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.
769 Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it
115 possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

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But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'Itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'Itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'Itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'Itubore.'[1]

Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many sub-
[825] clans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the adugodoge
[776] (jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aije (water spirits represented by the bull-roarers) be-
[776] longing to the Aroroe. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aije, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

Bakororo gave:

Aije choreu (black Aije) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Aije kujagureu (red Aije) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Aije baru-baru (Aije of the horizon) to Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Aije akirireu (down Aije) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

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1 "A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu mode iwo maku akai. Kodire i mode maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere Itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare Itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure Itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare Ituborere ema pugeje."

773 616 571 [776] Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[776] Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

[776] Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[614] The Aroroe entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 616 614 613 As a second example I list the lineages with which the clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

571 changed:
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Tadugo's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

Aroya Kurireu's yorubodare are:

Kuje Barujeba (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Hamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Boyari Pijiwu (Kiye Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge).

Butore Agadu's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Bokodori Baru (Bokodori Echerae Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

Yorubodare of the Small Ivagududoge are:

Small Bokodori Echerae

Small Kiye.

571 We see that there is a tendency for the most important
• 616 lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most
613 important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less important lineages to contract these relationships with lesser lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships existing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other relationship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu, and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro. Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororo at least one representation to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits
[582] Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lin-
[881] eages to intermarry and exchange initiators among themselves, though they are from the same moiety.

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [574] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugure erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for their actions. I could not detect any great concern over what had happened.

Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or metado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8 Pobojari

Chapter XI

CULTURE AND NATURE: AROE AND BOPE

593 Many of the relationships between older and younger
772 brothers show the older brother associated with culture and the younger brother associated with nature. Since older and younger brothers are hierarchically related as superior and inferior, we would expect culture and nature to stand in similar hierarchical relationship. Instead, as will be shown in this chapter, culture and nature are not valued as superior and inferior. Their characteristics can be compared, their features can be contrasted, but in most cases culture and nature are not directly related and do not interact with each other.

772 The opposition between culture and nature does not af-
616 fect the relationship of reciprocity between yorubodare, i.e., between moieties. Neither of the two moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature. As we shall see in greater detail later, both moieties can claim some cultural characteristics, and both moieties can claim some natural characteristics.

772 Finally, culture and nature, though not in hierarchical relationship, remain in sharp opposition; and yet from another perspective they could be regarded as equivalent: they

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.
773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[616] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
614 leges of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kuruqugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties.
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
[361] Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the <u>Enciclopedia Bororo</u> show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7; Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the description of the Marido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echerae door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

553 Hugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
[539] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[162] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[83] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
[561] tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
[825] penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
794 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated--separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1 "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

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846 Karl von den Steinen (a.o. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

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616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P.W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipoburu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

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000 and from the Mojo, agriculturalists already Christianized by the Jesuits on the Rio Mamoré in Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland /To the Gateway of the Sun through old Indian country/, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), there became known the so-called matrimonial school, an institution according to which adolescent boys marry older women, and older men young girls, the older ones representing, in a way, an educational role. We did not learn of similar 58 [illegible] among the Bororo. Concerning the age ratios in the [illegible]ages observed in 1934 in the mission of Meruri, the list [illegible]eproduced above is to be seen. According to this list, for 4 couples, both spouses were of the same age, for 16 the husband was older, and for 6 the woman was older. For 7, the husband was up to five years older; for 3, he was from five to ten years older; for 6, he was more than ten years older. For 3, the wife was up to five years older; for 2, she was from five to ten years older; for one, she was more than ten years older.

616 589 One must consider as a harmful consequence of the exogamy practiced among the Bororo the fact that bachelors and the widowed of both sexes often have to remain, without being able to marry for a long time, or even forever, for lack of a corresponding consort from the other "half"; this was observed also by Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50).

616 562 One can judge the severity with which the separation of the exogamic "halves" is observed, even after marriage, by the following observations by Colbacchini (o.c., /134/ pp. 49 and 50); "By their totemism, it is absolutely forbidden for the men of one dynasty to talk, to smile at, or merely to notice or to look at the women of another dynasty. This is observed meticulously and scrupulously. The men of any age, meeting by chance on the road or any place one or more women, not only will keep from being stopped, they will not look at them,

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616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional
precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall
into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since
any look or smile between persons of different sex and
diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen
eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty,
and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of
these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man
talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that
they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even
between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in
public, even though not so scrupulously; it will, however,
be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his
own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to
be together, except when they leave the house and both go
to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest;
this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this
severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the
man's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and
matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not
the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of
both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her
consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to
the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the
man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after
marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal),
while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of
her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has
to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/. Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already found out "that any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral." Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
562 (Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner: "When the contention within the hut reached the culminating point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass /148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure, the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[534]
[431]

[p. 42-B]

palm, leaving a deep well in which the sap collects by upward seepage. She covers the opening with leaves, and by the next day the well is full. A number of women then suck the sap into reeds, which they use as pipettes. When a reed is full, they close the top quickly with a thumb and transfer the sap to large pots. It is then taken back to the village and left in the shade for a day to ferment. 273 222 [445]

FOR a change of pace from the ritual dances of the funerary ceremony, the Bororo engage in an unusual kind of relay race. Two teams of young men—each team representing one of the two moieties of the society—oppose each other. Men of the two groups cut stems of buriti palms, trim them to a uniform length, and tie them into two huge circular bundles resembling cart wheels. Each one is about three feet in diameter and may weigh more than one hundred pounds. With a "cart wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man from each team begins running toward the village. When he tires under his heavy burden, the bundle is taken over 526 [764] [616]

[p.45-D]

[text continues on p. 46-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

151 tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the
825 insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing
[524] them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men
[825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the saũba ants.

Early in the day, all the men of the village went up the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or
[501] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high,
[824] brought the material down the river on rude floats made of
616 bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Shcraidi* and the *Ta Nagarĕda*.

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommeled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 But primitive men must do things decently and in order
616 as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

Brazil.

Nagarêda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now 526
steps quickly over to the *Sheraidi* group, grasps a man by the 616
wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheraidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarêda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm.

The signal to begin the race being given, each team in- 526
stantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw [361]
down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the [345]
contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, [352]
who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows.

The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals— 533
if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. [512]
They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall [345]
nearly every evening just after nightfall.

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
564 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Shcraidi*, and the *Ta Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Shcraidi* and *Ta Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Shcraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes 622 624
such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief 622
some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he 123
returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing 512
of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as [533]
well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled [345]
in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occu- [516]
pied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making 462
bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw [283]
fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; [286]
one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the
hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man
wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a
peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small
reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through [321]
shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by [324]
stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whet-
stone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The
holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly be-
tween the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like
a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the [372]
same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests
upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in
process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few 461
men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their
palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words
with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech,
and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer
works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed
in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made
with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these
people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the 616
Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó en- [621]
campments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying [345]
one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *arrdo* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-
[261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

601 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties—*Cherâide* and *Tugarégede*.
●616 A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*. He calls men of the *Cherâide* moiety *cherâi* and women *cherâre*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubúdare*, or if they are small children, *yorubúdarédrogo; drógo* meaning little.

601 There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

[582] Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If
601 old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's
616 father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imána*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imánapega* or *yedága*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedágapega;* mother's brothers are *yedága;* father's sister's

[p. 127 (B)]

601 daughter's husband is also *yedága*. Boys are *mede*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's
616 sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúgo;* sisters before puberty, *itwíye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

601 Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety.
[304] After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

Cheráide clans

616 1. Bokodóri.
614 2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Borótcherá.
6. Ócbera.

Tugaráde clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tehibógiwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kúdjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8
[P.127-A]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

6/6
601

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There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

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6/12 6/14

Cherúide clans

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2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Borótcherá.
6. Óchera.

Tugaréde clans

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   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tehibú-giwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kódjagureu.
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4. Ipayédo.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8 Otuké SF18

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sapotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrados as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçues* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Theresa Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequirí-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

/474 cont. /

291 exaggerated. According to Langsdorff's description, however, the belt seems to be the main thing, since strands hung down freely and there was no band to be fastened to it. The observer himself does not believe that its purpose was concealment. There was very little of this likewise among our Bororó women, and, as far as their modesty is concerned, it remained not only partly, but entirely concealed, or more accurately, the very opposite of it was present and, quite apart from the dissoluteness of the Brazilian civilizers, was present in large measure to begin with. All things considered, I regard it as not impossible that the wide [482] belt of bark or tapir skin originally had a different purpose. The women carried home from the forest back-baskets so heavily loaded with palm nuts that they seemed almost to collapse under the load and were unable to walk, but only to trip along; moreover, the end of the back-basket rested in the small of the back on the strip of belt and the latter protected the skin here just as the bast ring protected the shoulders of the Kulisehu Indians in the transport of canoes. A piece of tapir skin, especially, must have served excellently as padding. Meanwhile, however, it had turned into a pretentious, tightly clasped armor.

304 The ear lobes were pierced in the case of both sexes, but among [852] the boys this was done by the father at the age of eight to ten years when they were beginning to practice hunting skills seriously and among the girls, as we shall see, it was done with an entirely different meaning by their future husbands.

[619] The pierced lower lip was the tribal mark of the men. I have told how our Antonio, whom a woman claimed as her stolen /475/ 301 son, was examined for this. Waehneldt says of the Bororó of the Jaurú that some of them also wear a sort of "toothpick" /Figs. 130-132 appear here/ in the nasal septum; an ornament of pieces of wood was found in the pierced lower lip on a number of them. In their everyday life our Bororó never wore anything at all in the hole of the lower lip. Only boys, cf. Fig. 128 /see p. 571/, were in the habit of using small sticks which kept the hole open; one saw bone splinters, for example, from the cayman, occasionally a nail, and sticks of resin with a little button at the end inside the mouth. Adults, for festive ornamentation, wore sticks of the

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy individuals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵘ, around 25 years old; 1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.

191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 [illegible]a aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respec[illegible]ly Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

> 1. The term võbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:
Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ãróre (Catepillar) clan
Ewãguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

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616 Čera Phratry:
614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan
O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan
Ki (Tapir) clan
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan
Bakoro clan
Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates
621 the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big
345 circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.
621 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation
616 to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves:
614 the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46 /: in the foreground the O Čera čębege^{w}ō hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreŏ, Bokodori čębege^{w}ō, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddada^{w} huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure.
616 But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very
614 oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the
823 course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čåbōge^{w}ōge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębege^{w}ōge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
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Éwãguddudõge čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Buriti
Éwãguddudõge čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaʷge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47/).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokęjeʷõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokęje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokęjeʷo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Éwãguddudõge bo'pokęjeʷõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Éwãguddudõge kurigeõ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/272 cont./

552 Thus we have (Fig. 15, No. 17 /see p. 6 /) Ewãguddudõge
592 eten'manaãge: those of the Elder Brothers of the Buriti, and (18)
614 Ewãguddudõge etu'ieemage: those of the Younger Brothers of the Buriti.

614 It is also possible that the adoption or division of emblems among the members of the same clan results in the creation of other secondary determinants. /273/ Several clans are divided in this manner into two subclans distinguished respectively by the colors red and black. Thus:

Apibore Čoreŏ: black (23)
Apibore kujagoreŏ: red (22)
Paiwe Čoreŏ (25)
Paiwe kujagoreŏ (26)
Ewãguddu Čoreŏ (15).
Ewãguddu kujagoreŏ (18).
/Figure 15 appears here./ /274/

Some groups of clans perhaps came from a single clan, as they seem to share emblems: the Bóro acquired an object associated with the legendary history of the Bakoro clan, of which they were no doubt formerly a part, in the same way as the O Čera, themselves also inheritors of a legendary animal of the clan. The Bokodori clan is subdivided into Kõge (gilthead) and Čiba (red arara); but it is not clear whether this is truly a question of subdivisions of a main clan or of a homogeneous clan designating itself by three emblems: "Bokodori and Kõge, Bokodori and Čiba," the natives say, "it's the same thing."

621 The number of terms used for the definition of the groups is
552 thus clearly more important than the number of houses of the
592 village. The result of this is, first, that different informants do not always designate the same houses by using the same adjectives; the same informant varies equally according to the time and the circumstances. In the second place, each house, or almost each, is found to have, if not always its own name, at least a set combination of the names of the clan, of the position, of the family, etc., which belong /sic/ to it alone. The Bororo village

[Text Continues on p. 7]

/273 cont./

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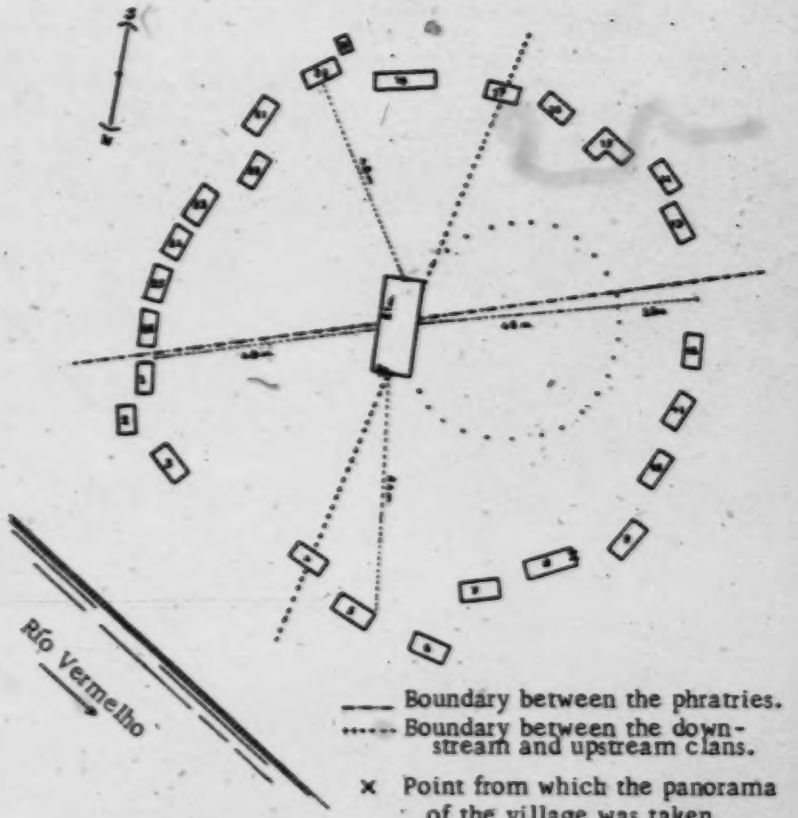

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čãbõgeʷõge are on the left (upstream) and the Čębegeʷõge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddaďeᵉge.

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 552 592 614 616 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is, of families or groups of families, living in the same house and styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the household always involves, among other things, the name of the clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(čãbõgeʷõ half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori čãbõgeʷõ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddadaʷ

(čębegeʷõ half)
5. Bokodori Čera čębegeʷõ
6. Ki kujagoreõ
7. Ki
8. O Čera čębegeʷõ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ
11. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddadaʷge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba čębegeʷõ bo'pokęjeʷõ

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
14. Āróre čębege^{w}ō
15. Ęwâguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čębege^{w}ō
16. Ęwâguddu bo'pokeje^{w}ō čębege^{w}ō
17. Ęwâguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaãge
18. Ęwâguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čâbōge^{w}ō (čâbōge^{w} ō half)
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čâbōge^{w}ō baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čâbōge^{w}ō
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ęwâguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

[115] constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[997] years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bādejeba—one Bādejeba Čāboge^{w}ō or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō, however, held a pre-eminent place.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębege^{w}ōge and Čābōge^{w}ōge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bādejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the ^{a}Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bādejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

/302 cont./

571 side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the
614 Bādejebage Čābōgeʷōge. The existence, the name, and the
616 localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained.
621 While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them,
[634] we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷō from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge found themselves completely stripped.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tuǰawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębegeʷõ clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[773] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

080 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [794] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 624 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

and ornaments or just chatting.

361 The village layout is a reflection of the Bororo social structure. The Bororo point around the village circle with their fingers to show the place of important social groups. It is not necessary that these social groups actually be present in a village; the ideal village plan is in Bororo minds.

The villages are always situated near rivers. In the part of Mato Grosso where the Bororo live, rivers flow from east to west, and the villages are oriented so that the east-
61 west axis divides them into two halves. The Echerae moiety occupies the southern half, the Tugarege moiety occupies the northern. Each moiety consists of four clans, each clan of two subclans, and each subclan of many lineages. A lineage consists of people who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor and carry the same family name, which is the ancestor's personal name. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said by the Bororo to be related as matrilineal descendants of
[553] brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, animals, and plants. Though the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within the moiety are treated as if their common ancestors had been broth-
62 ers. In a village it is desirable for the important lineages
61 to be represented so that the village can properly carry out

621 61 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 616 [538] Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 533 [764] [424] [196] All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 [222] [224] [796] [531] [136] Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

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4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member
614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of broth-
[604] ers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son)
[613] and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools,
616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had
621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the
613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujaqureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say that in the past the heaven went with the hunters, but they themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
772 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village.
[775] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
831 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
775 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
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[301]
[237]

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[189] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that 122
sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints 136
of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack.

All during the second day we continued to carve our way 122
through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling.

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au 609
Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidi*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity.

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, 361
and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open [621]
ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was [133]
between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, [103]
flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage 122
over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding 361
together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161] number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*mukímo*) was built
● 621 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotíkua*) made from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

/276 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden
737 products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, c.f. p. 117--Analyst]

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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621
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115 constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[797] years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bādejeba—one Bādejeba Čāboge^{w}ō or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō, however, held a pre-eminent place.

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębege^{w}ōge and Čābōge^{w}ōge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bādejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bādejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [774] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [537]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

836 Marriage.—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and
582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage
174 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as
585 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous
591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is
763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk
602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors
764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's
[622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve
224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A
[616] mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (arce). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him
881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for
764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread
764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

868 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with
562 small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as
868 adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is
[822] his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

868 If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he
829 is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be
like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will
593 will die but you will be here in his place, you
will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With
this in mind he instructed you in all these things.

But suppose you do not listen to your father's

613 list some names that nobody else did, we must suppose that their family tradition was a little different from the rest of the community. The placement of Koge (Enogwa) Tabowu is very interesting. Some included it among the Red Ivagududoge, others among the Black, and one said that it was neither Red nor Black, it was in between: boyadadawu. Thus, the members of this lineage can choose their ornaments and songs from either of the subclans.

I did the same kind of analysis for the other clans, and the result was the following list (Table X) of the most im-
[124] portant Bororo lineages. It should be noted that no informant would give the same list, but the majority of them would include all of the lineages mentioned in the list.[1]

[128] The order given to the lineages around the village
[622] circle (see table XI) follows the Bororo usage; and I started with Badajebage Chebegiwuge because this is the order followed by the chief in calling out clan members for the evening meeting on the village plaza. But when they talk about lineages or when they sing clan songs, the Bororo may start with whatever lineage or clan they prefer and then proceed either clockwise or counterclockwise until they have

[Text Continued On Page 123]

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[1] When I concluded my analysis and made the list, I asked
[115] my wife, whose primary interest in the field had not been
[128] Bororo social organization, to tell me the names of the lineages she considered to be most important. She mentioned 24 of them, all included in the list, leaving out Kurugugwari Pijiwu and Aturua. This shows how much these important lineages are part of the Bororo daily talk.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
716 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

614 gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one
621 commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on
181 the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

622 When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say
[173] that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they
[224] themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the
[701] center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer
[728] of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

796 613 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Jakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual [561] [562] pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

/136 cont./

614 A consequence of the matrilineal organization, which, at the same time, characterizes the preponderant social importance of the woman, is the fact that a clan is destined to become extinct as soon as the women are missing. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50) also refers to that.

595 In general the Bororo are monogamous. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 57) observes in this respect: "The few sporadic cases of polygamy that are found are disapproved by all. The case of latent polygamy takes place, ordinarily, when a man marries a woman who has /137/ a young daughter, or when he marries a young girl whose mother, a widow or without a husband, is still young. In this case polygamy is easy, even though hidden, because officially the man will be the husband of the mother or of the daughter and never of the daughter and mother."

The Bororo spoke to me of such cases of bigamy, which is confirmed by the following observation by Karl von den Steinen [622] (o.c., p. 501): "In Thereza Christina, apparently only Moguyokuri (the chief) lived in polygamy. His wives were a woman of a certain age and a daughter of her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and when the mother became ugly and the daughter became pretty, he "married" the daughter also."

Von den Steinen (ibidem) adds, however: "But, in the aldeias, polygamy of the elders is generally the rule." This author seems to assume this, basing himself only on the report by Waehneldt about the Bororo on the Jaurú (mentioned on the same page), because he did not visit the aldeias personally. If we were inclined to establish a connections between the fact that in general monogamy exists among the Bororo and only in rare cases bigamy with mother and daughter, and the institution according to which the daughter lives with the mother all her life, the husband goes to live in her house

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Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

[p. 38]

361 some distance before casting ourselves into the current.
[122] Missing the landing place, there was great danger of our losing, not only our effects, but our lives as well.

We found the cluster of huts situated about one mile back from the river, and in the heart of the densest and most impassable upland tangle that I have ever seen. The trees
[137] were fifty feet high and less, and almost numerous enough to form a thick forest, while below them, the whole country was overgrown by a terrible jungle of bushes, briars and coarse grass. A small, circular space, like a gigantic nest, had been cleared in the center of this forbidding thicket, in which fifteen or twenty palm-branch huts clustered in the usual disorder.
[487] This wild man's lair was approached by a serpentine path just wide enough to allow men to pass in single file. The village was hidden away in this manner in order that its position might not be known to enemies, or that it might be very difficult to assault.

122 We were conducted at once to the great hut, where we
345 were entertained while in the village, and in one corner of which we suspended our hammocks and made ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. But we found this a hot, stuffy, ill-smelling *hotel*, and in addition, the mosquitoes were very numerous and industrious.

622 As soon as we were settled, we asked to see the chief man of the village, who appeared. He was six feet tall, well proportioned, intelligent and dignified, and the finest appearing Bororó I had seen. He seemed to have more real authority, too, than any Bororó captain I had met. The Bororó have
622 no tribal chief. Each village governs itself, independently,
624 having a few elderly men who are captains, in a way, by reason of seniority, in whom the chief authority is vested. But their powers, and the obedience rendered them, seem to be variable and uncertain. A strong character may arise from time to time, and by favoring circumstances, reach a position where he may command the entire obedience of his village. But ordinarily, the chief men do not appear to possess much real authority, individually. Of course, when they go

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/500 cont./ One day The men Permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

/506 cont./

765 bast bands, bark belts, a red coverlet, many maize ears, gourds,
[768] shells; bows and bunches of arrows were broken up, and every-
thing thrown together in a heap. Soon the scene took on a
[535] semblance of order; the men formed a circle around the fire and
moved slowly round and round, leaping up with both feet. The
green one was seized and held down by the two loam creatures,
whom we at first scarcely recognized as good old Moguyokuri
and the chief bari (the archer on Plate 28). The gourds rattled,
the whizzer sticks buzzed, the fire now blazed up. The green
[535] one was released, and he and a second man behind him in the
[768] parîko, /507/ dancing all around and always stepping to the side,
first to the right, then to the left, threw the things into the
[755] flames. Meanwhile -- and that, it seemed to me, was the strangest
thing in the entire performance -- the two old dead persons cured
a sick woman who had suddenly arrived, I know not how. They
blew upon her and probably gave her the comforting assurance
that she would not be fetched away so very soon. Several ran
to the nearby river and threw knives and axes into it. Coqueiro
tended the fire, dance and song ceased, the feather ornaments
were placed beside the fire, and the green one added his
garlands, the baris squatted in a row, one behind the other, and
• [622] were doused with water. Immediately thereafter great com-
motion: the dog of a soldier had bitten a child; Moguyokuri,
still covered with loam, angrily accosts the owner, who, for
his own safety, betakes himself to prison; this satisfies the chief,
and with his hand he closes the mouth of the scolding mother,
who now goes off silently, but grinning happily and sticking her
tongue out.

[533] The following night uninterrupted aróe singing on the part
of the Indians; no one stayed in the huts or in the ranchão; men,
women, and children were outside. Uninterrupted music-
making, dancing, laughing and bad singing among the soldiers.
Magnificent moonlight. The first solemn hour of the Easter
festival revealed marvelous contrasts between the groups for the
resurrection.

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

● 622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

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[p. 107 (B)]

361 some distance before casting ourselves into the current.
[122] Missing the landing place, there was great danger of our losing, not only our effects, but our lives as well.

We found the cluster of huts situated about one mile back from the river, and in the heart of the densest and most impassable upland tangle that I have ever seen. The trees
[137] were fifty feet high and less, and almost numerous enough to form a thick forest, while below them, the whole country was overgrown by a terrible jungle of bushes, briars and coarse grass. A small, circular space, like a gigantic nest, had been cleared in the center of this forbidding thicket, in which fifteen or twenty palm-branch huts clustered in the usual disorder.
[487] This wild man's lair was approached by a serpentine path just wide enough to allow men to pass in single file. The village was hidden away in this manner in order that its position might not be known to enemies, or that it might be very difficult to assault.

122 We were conducted at once to the great hut, where we
345 were entertained while in the village, and in one corner of which we suspended our hammocks and made ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. But we found this a hot, stuffy, ill-smelling *hovrl*, and in addition, the mosquitoes were very numerous and industrious.

622 As soon as we were settled, we asked to see the chief man of the village, who appeared. He was six feet tall, well proportioned, intelligent and dignified, and the finest appearing Bororó I had seen. He seemed to have more real authority, too, than any Bororó captain I had met. The Bororó have
622 no tribal chief. Each village governs itself, independently,
624 having a few elderly men who are captains, in a way, by reason of seniority, in whom the chief authority is vested. But their powers, and the obedience rendered them, seem to be variable and uncertain. A strong character may arise from time to time, and by favoring circumstances, reach a position where he may command the entire obedience of his village. But ordinarily, the chief men do not appear to possess much real authority, individually. Of course, when they go

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

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/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

129 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassu (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text continues on p. 27]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 406 704

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [704] [532]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation—employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense—gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[551] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the village of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e.,

613 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only
626 man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted
178 to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (♀) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was
[52] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 Another possibility open to a man without descendants
614 (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

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wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

/455 cont./

517 him over, but he was lifted up and lost. Small fires were burning
[352] alongside the house. The men were lying in a row, one beside the other, their heads resting on chunks of wood, to sleep out there; they were chatting and biting stalks of sugar cane with their teeth, tossing the remains in an arc behind them. They were very much amused when I squatted down beside the fire and wrote down their words. At small fires to one side women were sleeping with their husbands; children were still running around gaily late in the night and romping across the plaza.

648 /456/ Meat distribution. 26 March. An efficient administration would find an excellent means of getting the Indians accustomed to order by the manner of its food distribution. But no one thinks of fair equality, either in rations or in other things. Everything is arbitrary. The crude scene at the distribution of the tapíra, the ox, about two of which are slaughtered weekly and which represent a cheap food in the Mato Grosso, defies all description. The Brazilians could hardly make things easier for themselves. The pieces of meat and chopped bones are piled up in layers on top of one another in a great heap on a skin in front of the house; the Indians, men and women and older children, some of them armed with baskets, stand waiting to one side, one of the cadets gives the signal, and the whole crowd pounces on the meat and bones like a pack of wolves. It was such a disgusting sight that I lost my sense of humor, although a circle of onlookers regarded the spectacle with a certain enjoyment. Espe-
[732] cially the idiot Dyapokuri, a cretin type, attracted general attention; with animal savagery the imbecile, the deputy of the men's house, seized three huge pieces and, with grunts of triumph, dragged them away with shining eyes while the spittle ran down his hanging lower jaw. If this were nothing but a crude occasional joke, but no, it is the regular, local procedure. The
[756] Indian is thereby reduced to conditions which in his hunting life
[626] he overcame ages ago; for it is one of the chief purposes of the institution of the barí or medicine men (as we shall see) to prevent discord in the distribution of booty, a problem which the latter, it is true, solve by securing the best pieces for themselves.

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In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 977

/454 cont.' Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his
578 tent-mate who was also taking part had her breast scratched, forced the
[629] great chief /455/ Moguyokuri in; with tremendous calm the latter stepped into the noisy crowd and suddenly it was quiet. There was not a sound; his mighty arm shoved aside the three most dangerous women at once. Maria had definitely lost; she did not say a word and stood scowling, arms crossed, her bosom heaving violently, while a friend on her side smoothed her tousled hair. More disgruntled ones tried to unleash the storm once again, but the laughter of Corona won out;

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Fig. 127. Bororó woman.

578 they dispersed, and the shrill old woman, at a triumphant trot, was led off by three women.

517 Shaking our heads, we turned our steps homeward toward our shack, but there, too, we were driven back by an infernal noise. The soldiers were dancing and singing in the moonlight with their mulattoes and Indian women; they were making music with harmonica, with fork and plate -- carnival everywhere!

[526] I went back to the men's house; two men were practicing wrestling. They grasped each other under the arms, bending far forward, and remained in this position for a long time, until one of them suddenly tried one leg, or rather his heel, to press in the knee-hollow of the other one and knock him over, but he was lifted up and lost.

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from [411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat, [844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not [515] bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip [304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

601 sister (*ashimbí*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *manundó*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other
591 families. After marriage a young man lives with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys
[606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were
[627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabéla* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabéla* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*uwasé*), and out of the other, the *abusé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[P. 108 (1)]

[For additional brief statements on the "paramount" chief of the Rio Vermelho area, see also category 643.]

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuǎwa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/282 cont./

582 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or
601 her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is
[614] probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewaguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuǰawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out.
[24] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the population. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage° was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the
[221] economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 849 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated
[516] on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.
•634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuǐawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuǐawa, the

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The

634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
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1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

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Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
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764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
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/302 cont./

571 side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the
614 Bādejebage Čębōgeʷōge. The existence, the name, and the
616 localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained.
621 While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them,
[634] we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷō from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge found themselves completely stripped.

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571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tuǰawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[713] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bãdejebage Čębege^{w}õge.

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Bibliography (1)

1.- We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

/The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

[Information on the general chief of all the Bororo of the Rio Vermelho and the upper São Lourenço will be found in category 634.]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[677] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
556 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

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131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[677] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
506 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

M 13 chapadão, as is also mammalian and floral life. The rivers are likewise well stocked with fish, and as the pantanal originally was comparatively thickly settled, so is this part of Matto Grosso. The quantities of fish seem to determine the density of the population. Indian villages are found along the rivers quite closely together. It is this section of Matto Grosso that is poorly and in some parts totally unknown.

M 361 Most of the southern part of the state is given over to civilized pursuits. The aboriginal peoples have practically disappeared, either having become exterminated or absorbed by the newcomers. From the time of the arrival of the earliest exploring parties, diamonds, gold and rubber have attracted the European adventurer, but now the main activity is cattle raising, though the search for diamonds still continues, especially at the headwaters of the Paraguay and the Araguaya rivers. A number of modern towns thrive along the railroad line, which runs from Porto Esperança on the Paraguay river, eastward. The most important cities are Cuyabá, the capital of the state, and Corumbá, the terminus of the shipping lines from Montevideo and Buenos Aires. S. Luis de Caceres is a typical frontier town, conservatively maintaining an atmosphere of the old colonial days. [Plate II, 1.]

B 361 ●648 Only the Eastern Bororo, on the São Lorenço, have survived the incursions of the white man. Pacified but a few years ago, they have been collected on reservations, where they still maintain their own culture. Pirigara, Corrego Grande and Rondonopolis, all on the São Lorenço river, are comparatively large settlements.

B 101 The Bororo da Campanha have almost disappeared, and there exist but a few families of the semi-nomadic Guató. These are not of pure blood, having mixed with negroes and whites, and have practically forgotten their original culture. On the Taquary, a few Terenos have been collected in a settlement.

B 101 648 At Barra dos Bugres a few Barbados[1] remain. Their pacification has been completed and they are making rapid progress under the tutelage of the Inspectoria.

000 Further north the Paressi and some Nhambikuaras live in settlements along the telegraph line. The Paressi have shown great adaptability for Brazilian culture.

The Inspectoria maintains other posts, in various parts of the country, but at places like Pedro Dantes it has not succeeded in establishing permanent settlements. [See map, Plate XXV.]

1 [i.e., Umotina.-Analyst]

[text continues on p. 100]

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of
175 these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and
[648] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up
[181] to now that the Bororo did not go so far south: but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering
22 people. They spent only three months of the year, more or
[241] less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is
167 reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.
797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than
131 thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

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[p. 39-F]

are pacified and are being affected to 648
an increasing extent by contact with 177
Western civilization. But in much of
their ceremonialism these people still [181]
retain their native customs.

When a death occurs among the Bo- 764
ro, all the members of the society
put aside the activities of their normal
routine for several weeks and together
perform some thirty separate rituals
that constitute their elaborate and pro-
tracted funerary ceremony.

A few years ago, the author, with 114
the co-operation of the Brazilian In-
dian Service, had an opportunity to
visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga

[p. 39-G]
[text continues on p. 40-C]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Chapter XXXI.

THE BORDERS OF BORORÓLAND.—FORESTS AND THE FORCES OF NATURE.

We dismounted at a ranch on the borders of Bororóland where, a few months before, the ranch owner and his men had wantonly and cruelly massacred fourteen harmless, helpless Bororó men, women and children, who worked for him, living upon his vast estate and under his protection. This was part of a wicked, idiotic plan to rid this particular region of the Bororó. These ranchers had induced the governor of the state of Goyaz, who had declared that he had nothing for the aborigines but bullets, to send a detachment of soldiers to murder a certain group of the Bororó, while they themselves slaughtered the other little group. The ranchers succeeded in executing their part of the horrid crime, but the other group got wind of the approach of the military in time to escape. This atrocity was entirely without excuse. These men, calling themselves the "civilized ones," say that the poor aborigines are "wild beasts of the forest." But the reader can judge which of the two are most worthy of the name. A prominent Brazilian official told me once that a rubber exporting company, wishing to rid a certain district of its primitive inhabitants, gave them poisoned rum.

The great table standing between the Bonito and Araguaya river valleys is level and nearly treeless. One day, while crossing this broad, lonely expanse, we encountered a solitary bullock, which my companion said was suffering from a

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[2433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sª. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[197] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/442 cont./

101 and still others on the Rio Xipotó on the border of the provinces of Minas Geraes and Rio de Janeiro, tribes which, both in origin and language, are altogether different from one another as well as from the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso.

●648 In Cuyabá the "Coroados" were the object of general interest upon our arrival. After always being regarded as the worst enemies of the /443/ rural population in the entire region between the Rio Cuyabá and S. Lourenço up to the boundary of Goyaz /Goiás/, they finally, thanks to the efforts of President Galdino Pimentel in the year 1886, became "pacificados," pacified, and were settled in two military colonies on the S. Lourenço.

101 648 By no means all the infamous deeds with which the "Coroados" were charged were actually committed by them. In the northeastern part of Cuyabá in particular they were confused with the Kayapó, who carried on predatory raids there. Moreover, no one in the capital knew that the feared "Coroados" were nothing but tribal brothers of the same Bororó who had been living for a long time in several villages to the right of the Paraguay in peaceful conditions and in part in very reduced circumstances, indeed even tribal brothers of the same Bororó who were already allied with the founder of Cuyabá, Antonio Pires, before the middle of the eighteenth century and were used by him as a garrison!

I was not a little surprised when I learned from "Atahualpa," a "Coroado" brought to the capital along with a few companions for baptism, that they call themselves Bororó.

114 [113] Thus the conversation with Atahualpa gave me the opportunity to solve another puzzle quickly. I had just read in the book by Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho, Noticia da provincia de Mato Grosso (S. Paulo, 1869, 425 pp.) the report about a few captive "Coroados" (two girls and a boy) brought to Cuyabá in 1859, and found there a word list (p. 192) which I wished to compare with my own list. To my astonishment, nothing tallied, absolutely nothing. The author had been given the words by the "Coroado" boy, about whom he tells the most

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114 have joined them, they have changed their language to a thieves' idiom (!). In Cazal (Corografia brasilica, p. 302) two hordes of [101] Bororós are mentioned: the Coroados, or shorn ones, and the [113] Barbados, bearded ones. The former are not navigators, but [131] nomadic hunters who are said to dwell to the south and southwest of the city of Cuyabá in inaccessible wildernesses on the sources of the Rio de S. Lourenço and the Rio dos Mortes, a tributary of the Araguaya." These statements by Cazal are perfectly accurate and true, and he, too, thus recognized the "Coroados" as Bororó. By /445/ "Barbados," Martius goes on to say, perhaps the Guató are to be understood, they sometimes attacked caravans traveling from Goyaz to Cuyabá and extended their raids as far as Diamantino. [101] The Guató, however, have never come into this region, they live as water nomads in the upper Paraguay region; those "Barbados" were probably Kayapó or even Bororó.

114 Martius, of course, explains the name Bororó according to 101 the lingoa geral, either, if coming from the neighbors, = "warriors, enemies," or, if they themselves say it, = "we, the masters of the soil." The Bororó, however, know nothing about the lingoa geral and they call themselves this.

797 I shall now drop the name "Coroado" altogether; I shall report some things about the so-called "catechesis" or conversion of this Bororó tribe, which was attempted in vain for many years, but could scarcely have succeeded because the attempts were carried out in the most topsy-turvy manner. A military colony [648] set up on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, which was established toward the end of the 'seventies by Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira, served as the base.

648 In 1878 one Captain Alexander Bueno with 70 Terena Indians, a tribe belonging to the Guaná group, undertook an expedition "to drive out the Bororó." He had been secretly instructed, as I was assured, to shoot to death as many as possible and was favored by success to such an extent that he was able to show the President a bag full of ears. Of living ones he brought along two women and two children.

/445 cont./

648 On 9 October 1880, the Bororó attacked the fazenda of José Martins de Figueiredo on the Bananal (Rio Cuyabá) and killed several persons. Thereupon several simultaneous expeditions were fitted out against them. One of the leaders was Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte; he attacked a village without success and captured five women and twelve children. Nothing more was accomplished. During the years 1875-1880, 43 houses of the Bororó were said to have been burned, 204 persons (134 men, 46 women, 17 children, 7 slaves) killed, and 27 persons (eleven men, six women, three children, seven slaves) wounded. It is not indicated how many Bororó were killed. There is no doubt [721] but that reciprocity played an important part. It was generally emphasized that the natives showed the toughest endurance in carrying out their plans of revenge. A Brazilian who had very cruelly murdered two children was systematically persecuted for more than four years, until they finally caught him and tore him to pieces, as he deserved. They were extremely cautious in their attacks and were on the lookout for days and weeks until an opportunity presented itself when there were only a few individuals on the farm. They usually left individual travelers unharmed, but if the latter wished to pitch their camp somewhere, they were prevented from doing so by a cry of "va embora," "go away," resounding from the forest. No one was to be seen, but an arrow could have been expected if they had not obeyed. In February 1881 at Forquilha, ten leagues from Cuyabá, /446/ two men and seven children were killed by Bororó; in fact they advanced as far as Urubú near the powder factory, five leagues from the capital.

[728] Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte, whom I have just mentioned, finally brought about a favorable change in the intolerable situation. He sent back captive women with lavish gifts, promised more if the men came, and thus, at last, the reconciliation was brought about. In January 1887 he brought some 400 Bororó to Cuyabá. There must have been a strange commotion in the streets of the city. The children gave the most pleasure; they acted very impetuously and were compared to little jaguars, "sómente unha e dente," "nothing but claws and teeth." The

/446 cont./

648 women climbed over the garden walls and climbed trees, as was their habit, to fetch down fruit for themselves.

The province sighed with relief; with customary exaggeration, the Bororó were estimated at 10,000 souls and the entire 10,000 were already visualized as planting mandioca and working in the sugar mills. The government immediately made 70 contos (at 1000 milreis) available for the catechesis and the citizenry voluntarily added three contos, which altogether amounted to about 140,000 marks at that time. The expenses increased within a short time to 118 contos. The Indians were [361] settled in two colonies: the one where the Prata flows into the S. Lourenço was called Thereza Christina after the Empress; the other where the Piquiry flows into the S. Lourenço was called Izabel after the Crown Princess and wife of Count d'Eu. The President also founded a "Collegio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição" for the education of Indian children -- a school that was never attended by pupils.

648 Solemnly the entire company was baptized by the bishop.
799 The then President, Don Alvaro Marcondes, and his wife were godfather and godmother for all; Chief Moguyokuri, whose personal acquaintance we shall make -- truly a magnificent figure of an Indian, 1.9 meters tall and, despite some inborn brutality, an exceedingly good-natured gentleman -- was given the name Alvaro. His Christianity, to be sure, was limited to his remembering this name for a few days.

648 "Muguiocury," reported the Jornal do Commercio in a
[177] Cuyaban letter, "seems to be completely identified with the cause of civilizing his tribe, assiduously visits the palace to call on the President and bring him presents; he manifests the greatest sympathy toward him and calls him 'Godfather,' kissing his hand as often as he sees him. Each time he meets the President he shows his satisfaction with much laughter and repeated embraces."

Difficile est, satiram non scribere /it is difficult not to write satire/. It is indeed very difficult. Good Moguyokuri undoubtedly had the best intentions, within the limits of his intelligence, as

/446 cont./

648 long as gifts were not lacking. The Indian, the officer, the supplier, each in his way wants to enrich himself, that is the catechesis. The /447/ government gives the means with lavish hands and the one and only thing accomplished is that the hostilities, for which both parties were equally to blame, come to an end. Christianity, education for work, training of youth -- my pen refuses to write these fine words.

Whatever money was used for the Indians was used in such a way that the splendid human material was certain to go under. Lieutenant Duarte, the leader of Thereza Christina, was truly, as the Cuyabans said, "the god of the Coroados"; he gave them everything they wanted and kept them quiet with this simple method, which did not cost him much and permitted the merchants to profit according to well-known methods of calculation. The number of Indians, for whom the state paid per capita, tends to be very large, of course, and to this is added the considerable profit which the officer makes on the common soldier, who must buy his food from him or from the supplier engaged by
000 him. Not only the goods delivered from the city, but also those from the fazendas located outside on the way to the colony were more expensive for the poor soldier in the colony than for the citizen in the city; farina, beans, bacon cost twice as much!

I listed the following prices (1 milreis = 1000 reis = about 2 marks):

	City	Colony
1 liter farins	100 reis	200 reis!
1 " rice	160 "	300 "!
1 " beans	160 "	300 "
1 kilo bacon	800 "	1500 "!
1 liter salt	200 "	500 "!
1 box matches	320 "	800 "!
Alcoholic spirits, bottle . . .	400 "	2000 "!
" " small glass .	80 "	250 "!
1 kilo fresh meat	200 "	200 "
1 " dried meat (carne secca).	400 "	500 "
1 arroba dried meat	3000 "	8000 "
1 kilo Paraguay tea	400 "	1000 "
Rapadura (sugar-brick)	120 "	250 "

/452 cont./

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
291 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
●648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/453 cont. /

177 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of
648 the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a
[192] wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly
[273] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

/455 cont./

517 him over, but he was lifted up and lost. Small fires were burning
[352] alongside the house. The men were lying in a row, one beside the other, their heads resting on chunks of wood, to sleep out there; they were chatting and biting stalks of sugar cane with their teeth, tossing the remains in an arc behind them. They were very much amused when I squatted down beside the fire and wrote down their words. At small fires to one side women were sleeping with their husbands; children were still running around gaily late in the night and romping across the plaza.

●648 /456/ Meat distribution. 26 March. An efficient administration would find an excellent means of getting the Indians accustomed to order by the manner of its food distribution. But no one thinks of fair equality, either in rations or in other things. Everything is arbitrary. The crude scene at the distribution of the tapíra, the ox, about two of which are slaughtered weekly and which represent a cheap food in the Mato Grosso, defies all description. The Brazilians could hardly make things easier for themselves. The pieces of meat and chopped bones are piled up in layers on top of one another in a great heap on a skin in front of the house; the Indians, men and women and older children, some of them armed with baskets, stand waiting to one side, one of the cadets gives the signal, and the whole crowd pounces on the meat and bones like a pack of wolves. It was such a disgusting sight that I lost my sense of humor, although a circle of on-
[732] lookers regarded the spectacle with a certain enjoyment. Especially the idiot Dyapokuri, a cretin type, attracted general attention; with animal savagery the imbecile, the deputy of the men's house, seized three huge pieces and, with grunts of triumph, dragged them away with shining eyes while the spittle ran down his hanging lower jaw. If this were nothing but a crude occasional joke, but no, it is the regular, local procedure. The
[756] Indian is thereby reduced to conditions which in his hunting life
[626] he overcame ages ago; for it is one of the chief purposes of the institution of the barí or medicine men (as we shall see) to prevent discord in the distribution of booty, a problem which the latter, it is true, solve by securing the best pieces for themselves.

/457 cont./

000 After the roll call the men took off their caps and hats and sang, or rather bawled, with one clear voice predominating:
O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, vós sois a advogada dos peccadores, criais todos cheia de graça com a vossa feliz grandeza, vos soís dos céos princeza, do Espíritu Santo esposa.

Maria mãi de graça, mãi de misericordia, rogai Jesus por nos, recebai (!) nos na hora de morte! Senhor Deus pequei (?), Senhor, misericordia. Por vossa mãi, Maria Santissima, misericordia!*

* Satirical verse: "O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, pagai o nosso soldo, deixai da caçoada! (pay us our wages and never mind the rotten jokes).

177 As in the "pronto" calls, Indians who happened to be passing by lustily joined in the singing; inside the house Caldas was practicing on the violin. At the end all of them, including the guard and the cadet with the sugar cane, knelt down. The Bororó did not pay any particular attention to the procedure, which had long since been familiar to them. But about an hour later a dozen [533] boys appeared before our door and sang -- the music was correct, the words, except for the beginning, unintelligible and not understood -- "O, Santa Maria, mãi de graxa," ** as they put their arms

** "Mother of fat" (pronounced grascha).

around one another, giggling, and lined up in a row leaning crookedly against one another.

● 648 Toward nine o'clock Moguyokrui had appeared before the 273 cadets and demanded alcohol. For a change the chief "identifying himself completely with the civilization of his tribe" wore a woman's red petticoat and a white linen jacket; he insisted that the key to the supply room be fetched and he actually got his bottle; he achieved his purpose no less when, on occasion, he would rouse the gentlemen in the middle of the night.

Row with Arateba. He is once again totally drunk and demands more; this time, however, the famous key is refused. He alarms the whole colony with his yelling and scolding; he hastens to

/457 cont./

648 273 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 765 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot [276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on [533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament. [756] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink- [534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/464 cont./

593 Then Maria, their sister, steps in with determination and clasps him so firmly that he is unable to move. The brothers are led off in different directions. From Arateba's hut comes the sound of ugly quarreling; again the swaying drunkard appears -- he has a regular criminal's face and, to top it off, a smoothly shorn head -- and forces his way into the hut where his brother is hidden. Resounding blows, blustering voices, a general scuffle. The excited crowd, in the center of which Moguyokuri's figure towers, comes outside, several wrestle with each other, Arateba again lies on the ground, the women now throw themselves heavily into the fray, Maria overpowers the drunken one, and he is dragged away. Everyone is laughing; they go back to the ranchão [273] and several of them say, not unjustly: "piga* pega," "whiskey

* = Portuguese pinga, drop. Vulgar expression for alcohol.

is a bad thing."

000 Discipline. Where such scenes were the order of the day, how could it have been otherwise but that a harmful reaction upon the soldiers /Pl. XXVI appears here/ /465/ would result? The men [648] were embittered because the Indians were idle and they had to do all the work, because the Indian obtained free alcohol to the point of the most flagrant abuse, and they had to pay two milreis for a bottle or five times as much as in the city, because the Indian was permitted to say a contemptuous filho da puta /bastard/ to the faces of the officers without punishment, and they were obliged to go into the xadrez* for their offences. Good-natured Eliseo,

* The detention room. Literally, "chessboard."

however, who was unable to change the system, was guiltless -- indeed, he was lenient enough, for example, to pardon a man who went for him with a knife. Of course, their pay was wasted in card-playing. When payday came, one of them had lost 100 milreis in vinte e um or trinta e um. If they had no money, they would sell their household utensils for a song.

[Text Continues on P. 576]

/466 cont./

Eliseo had not yet been promoted; he himself, however, had been obliged to advise against having his young friend take over the other colony, Izabel, as proposed, because he might spoil his entire career by a mistake! For an outsider it was, indeed, remarkable to see how very much the cadets trusted his paternal care, which he alone profited by, and seemed truly devoted to him. I estimate that there were 30-35 toasts during the evening and calculate that more than 20 were to Duarte's well-being. Good-natured Eliseo was priceless. He first asked fluent Ildefonso to speak for him, but after a while he got up himself and /467/ began with determination: "não tendo a devida intelligencia," in fact, once the ice was broken, he gave one toast after another, each time beginning with the excuse that he did not have the necessary mental powers, and each time, at the end, appealing for the coadjuvencia of those present, debaixo de todo enthusiasmo he drank the health successively of the individual members of Duarte's family, his wife in Cuyabá, his brother, and especially his eldest daughter. The more beer that was drunk, the more moving and serious the speeches became. The apothecary was a poet, he knew a great deal about all kinds of flowers and compared the uncouth cadet Joaquim to a bud, he extolled woman who -- part one -- was only a child, and for him -- part two -- a goddess who forever remains an unfathomable mystery to us men. To the soft accompaniment of the guitar Caldas recited stirring verses; the beautiful words often tumbled over one another with uncanny speed, and with equal alacrity our emotion was obliged to leap from the tender to the pathetic, from the strong to the sweet. Everyone was deeply moved. Duarte was embraced like a father, Eliseo knelt before him and begged him for his blessing, which the father, however, gently refused with a "isso não," "oh friends, not these tones."

648 574 [293] I have not yet mentioned the Bororó. They were by no means absent, however, and were very much part of things. For the first time I saw a proud Indian chief uncork a bottle of German export beer. They did very ~~well by~~ the juice of barley and sugar cane and drank far more than they could stand; they kept

/467 cont./

648 574 [273] interrupting the sentimental speeches with their eager chatter, but no one paid any attention to it, they raised their bottles when the glasses clinked and would join in, they exhausted themselves and us with tender embraces. Moguyokuri also sat down and sang a resounding song and played the guitar, sweeping across the strings like a tapir through bamboo. Only the Indian women were absent during the serenade. Before it started, however, two young people had been brought by Moguyokuri to Duarte's room next door. There they looked out of the window the next morning and let themselves be admired, tortoise-shell combs in their hair, talmi chains around their necks, rose-colored circlets around their wrists, and demurely dressed in long shirts covered with a huge, iridescent palmetto design.

648 Perhaps I may be permitted to close up my peep show here. The pictures would merely be repeated. Until our departure on 18 April we had no occasion to observe whether the absence of the leader of the catechesis might be to blame for our unfavorable first impressions. Quite the contrary. Duarte went bathing, took a walk to the brickyard or the like; otherwise he sat all day in his room, in which there were always many Bororó. They all begged. Some received something, others received nothing. There were always drunken ones among them. The soldiers brought wood and palm leaves, which they obtained in the forest, for a new building. A few Bororó helped /468/ occasionally, because they received whiskey for it. If the purpose of the colony was doing nothing and passing the time on the part of officials and Indians, it could be regarded as a shining example for all others.

III. Observations.

000 Anthropological. Dress (hair, sexualia, artificial injuries, painting, ornaments). The aróe. Hunting and agriculture. Weapons. Work in the men's house and techniques. Food; "consecration" by the baris. Dance and play. Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Art of drawing. Law and marriage (customs of the family and of the men's house). Birth; names. Death rites. Soul and

/500 cont./ One day The men Permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

534 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
● [648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[956] *Clemente said, artificially inflated.* Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

/516 cont./

1114 Language. The linguistic material collected among the Bororó, which will perhaps suffice to establish at least the most important grammatical outlines, has not yet been worked over.
1917 Up to now I have not been able to find any linguistic /517/ relationship with other known idioms. In any case, the Bororó belong neither to the Tupí nor to the Gês, as one might at first
[175] think. Nor would it be particularly strange if all efforts remained fruitless, because the vicinity of their territory, over a wide area, has experienced very restless times since the first settling of the
•648 Mato Grosso. In the north the road leads toward Goyaz, which they have often harrassed with their attacks; in the south the discoverers came from the province of S. Paulo, and here as well as there years of slave-hunting took place.

194 The language is melodious and for us, apparently, easy to learn. As for consonants, only f is lacking, apart from fatogúro, "saliva"; double consonants are rare, the terminal sound is vocalic. The accent is generally on the penultimate syllable. There is no plural ending for the substantive. The independent
193 personal pronouns are: 1. imi, I; 2. aki, you; 3. ema, au, he; 4. pagi, we; 5. tagi, you; 6. emagi, they. The corresponding pronominal suffixes for substantive and verb are:

1. i-, 2. a-, 3. –, 4. pa-, 5. te-, 6. e-.

194 In use, various forms of phonetic change and influences on the initial sound of the stem appear. I shall give a few tentative examples:

	Ear	Nose	Head	To go
1.	i-wiya	i-keno	i-taura	i-tua
2.	a-wiya	a-keno	a-kaura	a-tua
3.	biya	eno	kaura	tua
4.	pa-wiga	pa-geno	pa-gaura	pa-dua
5.	te-wiya	te-geno	te-taura	te-dua
6.	e-wiya	e-keno	e-taura	e-tua

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[77] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuŝawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes 586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêdo*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

The moieties have reciprocal duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [794] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 777

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow." 114

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity. 114 123 [276] [262] [685]

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents 302 [142] 302 593

776 just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are
[761] enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to
[759] spy on the Bororo. These are makao, tuiwo torogo, churugu-
[825] churugu, kadogwareu (different kinds of birds), and ruke (flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human flesh. Aroe's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and
[688] juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness or kill people, Aroe punish infractions of cultural rules—they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed, that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

776 Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death
761 is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the
825 Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of Bope: adugo, aigo, aipobureu, aimeareu (varieties of felines), ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), okwa, riye, moribo (varieties of canines), kugu, tagogo (varieties of owls), makao (a variety of hawk), and bakure (a carnivorous monkey). The Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. a. They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and
[821] by the people through their offerings. b. They are night animals and the night is Bope's time. c. Nobody ever sees these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and they do not die, except when they are killed by people for compensation (mori).

/498 cont. /

000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
784 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
784 founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.

/134 cont./

616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional
[689] precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall
into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since
any look or smile between persons of different sex and
diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen
eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty,
and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of
these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man
talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that
they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even
between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in
public, even though not so scrupulously: it will, however,
be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his
own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to
be together, except when they leave the house and both go
to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forests
this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this
severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the
men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and
matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not
the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of
both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her
consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to
the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the
man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after
marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal),
while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of
her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has
to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
326 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
796 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodóhua*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yuthobóto*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hdiaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipohápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden
727 frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishána*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

used with fatal effect against traders ascending narrow streams in canoes, for the savage manipulator, hiding behind the dense masses of trees and bushes that lined the bank of the river, stealthily launched his deadly darts without being discovered.

In war, the Bororó, like many other South American tribes, prefer a hand to hand attack with heavy clubs. If they can choose the hour of attack, they select a moment just before dawn, or else the evening just after dark. They yell fiendishly when making an attack.

The Bororó always build their villages near some important stream, for they look more to the water for their flesh food than to the forest, and are far more expert fishermen than hunters. Though when fish are scarce, which they are during several months each year, they scour the forest in search of game. At such times, entire families leave the village to wander far away through forest and jungle, remaining absent two or three months.

They bravely attack, hand to hand, even the most ferocious game—the jaguar. When this powerful beast attacks a man, it springs to within a few feet of him, then rises up on its hind feet, like a bear, and closes with him. It is remarkable that an animal of the cat family should assume this position; but perhaps it is suggested to it by the upright position of the man. When forced to meet the beast in close combat, the Brazilian hunter provides himself with a heavy bar of wood five or six feet in length and terminating in a fork. Grasping this with the left hand, he holds it inclined in front of him with the foot resting upon the ground, and parries the attack by receiving the brute in the fork, which gives him time to thrust into its vitals the long knife held in the right hand.

But the Bororó hunter rarely uses the fork, employing, instead, a still more dangerous method. Having wound fifteen or twenty yards of hair rope around the left arm, he presents it, doubled, to the great cat when it rises to attack him, and at the same instant, plunges a knife into its heart. I saw

/449 cont./

114 Duarte's representative, who received us with great kindness and cordiality, was the "Cadet" Eliseo Pinto d'Annunciação. In Brazil cadets are aspiring officers, usually sons of officials or officers, /450/ who rise from the ranks and whose advancement depends largely on protection. Our Eliseo had the rank of sergeant and thought he would promptly become lieutenant if I put in a good word for him in Rio. He was a good and conscientious man and would have been able to accomplish something useful if he had had the right to act according to his judgment. A second cadet with the rank of noncommissioned officer was called Caldas, a young man, musical, and, for additional pay, schoolmaster of the Bororó boys. He had also put together a vocabulary and was thus the representative of art and science. Then there was another cadet, Joaquim, the apothecary, and the administrator, Ildefonso. By far the most important individual for me, however, was Clemente, who had lived in Bororó captivity for 13 years and was now about 28 years old. His father, Manoel Pedroso de Alvarenga, lived on the Peixe de couro, a small tributary of the Piquiry emptying into the S.
•721 Lourenço. In September 1873, the Bororó attacked five children who were bathing there; two were killed, one escaped, two were
727 taken along, Clemente and a younger brother. He said they tied their hands in front of their eyes and carried them to the village on their backs five days without stopping. His brother soon died.
124 In 1886 Clemente was freed by the Bororó. Meanwhile, however, he had become a Bororó himself. He not only went about in their dress with bow and arrow, he had not only forgotten almost all his Portuguese, but he had, as I learned to my advantage, experienced a purely Indian training in his thinking and knowledge. On the other hand, he had relearned enough of his mother tongue in the meantime to be able to assist me as a useful interpreter. Unfortunately, he left Thereza Christina before we did, because, he said, he "is learning nothing" there. The officers themselves did not know anything, he said. Near his home village there lives a man who can cure all the sick and open any lock.

/445 cont./

648 On 9 October 1880, the Bororó attacked the fazenda of José Martins de Figueiredo on the Bananal (Rio Cuyabá) and killed several persons. Thereupon several simultaneous expeditions were fitted out against them. One of the leaders was Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte; he attacked a village without success and captured five women and twelve children. Nothing more was accomplished. During the years 1875-1880, 43 houses of the Bororó were said to have been burned, 204 persons (134 men, 46 women, 17 children, 7 slaves) killed, and 27 persons (eleven men, six women, three children, seven slaves) wounded. It is not indicated how many Bororó were killed. There is no doubt [721] but that reciprocity played an important part. It was generally emphasized that the natives showed the toughest endurance in carrying out their plans of revenge. A Brazilian who had very cruelly murdered two children was systematically persecuted for more than four years, until they finally caught him and tore him to pieces, as he deserved. They were extremely cautious in their attacks and were on the lookout for days and weeks until an opportunity presented itself when there were only a few individuals on the farm. They usually left individual travelers unharmed, but if the latter wished to pitch their camp somewhere, they were prevented from doing so by a cry of "va embora," "go away," resounding from the forest. No one was to be seen, but an arrow could have been expected if they had not obeyed. In February 1881 at Forquilha, ten leagues from Cuyabá, /446/ two men and seven children were killed by Bororó; in fact they advanced as far as Urubú near the powder factory, five leagues from the capital.

[728] Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte, whom I have just mentioned, finally brought about a favorable change in the intolerable situation. He sent back captive women with lavish gifts, promised more if the men came, and thus, at last, the reconciliation was brought about. In January 1887 he brought some 400 Bororó to Cuyabá. There must have been a strange commotion in the streets of the city. The children gave the most pleasure; they acted very impetuously and were compared to little jaguars, "sómente unha e dente," "nothing but claws and teeth." The

/459 cont./

000 Indians, who are standing about in tight bunches, hold their ears and remember the time when shots went off in their forest. Moguyokuri and his son, who even exceeds him in body height, come forward in order to send a few arrows as well into the crumbling remains of Judas Iscariot. Cautiously they first put it out so that the arrows will not burn up. The soldiers are dismissed; powder is now exploded everywhere, and even our comrades cannot resist the temptation; from the cook-yard where the pig is being slaughtered there is murderous screaming, joy predominates everywhere: Hallelujah!

765 Kayapó! The burial ceremony for Coqueiro's widow /sic/, which I shall describe in detail, fell on Easter Monday (1 April); we guests never stopped marveling at the strange contrasts which were set before our eyes every day in the restless life of the colony. Scarcely had the lamentation died away and the burial
•721 basket been removed, when there was new excitement. The Bororó maintained they had seen two Kayapó, whom they called Kayámo, in the forest. Their mortal enemy in close proximity
722 to the colony! Leave the colony that very evening -- it seemed almost unbelievable -- was the general solution of the Indians. The soldiers had to be called up; a patrol was sent out and was to discharge a dozen shots in the suspected corner in the forest. Thus they calmed themselves temporarily, but as a precaution the great chief Moguyokuri, the terror of the Mato Grosso, did not sleep with his two wives and his children that night, but at Eliseo's.

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/461 cont./

726 became somewhat weaker. The solemn aroé... of the dancers sounded louder, the young men and red-painted girls again sought their resting places in the dimly lit ranchão, the tumult on the plaza became concentrated in smaller groups; here and there one saw glowing logs in the darkness, and when a fire blazed up one saw the bristling bows and arrows, the carrying baskets, the feathers of the singers, and, squatting or lying, persons of every age and both sexes, on whose powerful bodies the distribution of light and shadow for the moment that they were illuminated brought out extremely picturesque effects.

722 In the main building all the rooms were filled; with Eliseo, Caldas, and the administrator, everywhere there were women and children with bag and baggage, around the table and on the table, in the farthest corner, old and young, like, apart from their nakedness, a swarm of emigrants in a crowded railway station. Some of the younger and prettier women stood out because of the white pillows in their possession. The Brazilians mocked and comforted, "kayámo bakímo," "the Kayapó are no good"; the Indians boasted that they were not afraid, took aim with their /462/ bows, and crouched like scouts stealing up on the enemy. Between times they begged for tobacco and alcohol.

Once again there was a great hubbub: a Bororó was supposed to have been killed by the Kayapó near the last houses! A man with a bleeding forehead was brought in; his wife, moaning, threw herself upon him and examined the wound. We did the same. A few drops, a slight bruise; the injured one maintained that he had been hit with a pointed ox bone while he was reconnoitering. Whether a flippant friend had permitted himself a bad joke, whether the blow was meant for a Kayapó, remained one of the mysteries of that night of terror. /Fig. 128 appears here./

Toward eleven o'clock we felt it was time to retire. There was nothing new in prospect. The cadets were playing cards, the chiefs were very intoxicated. Outside it had grown rather quiet. The soldiers had made themselves comfortable, their wives were lying near by on skins. The dirge was continuing; it was dark in the ranchão.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin [237] described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: 273 the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots [756] or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and 776 rival functionaries.

775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [253] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [562] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and [754] confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

/459 cont./

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/460 cont./

726 the fire and the grave faces were sharply illuminated for a moment. The dancing lasted half an hour. Then we sat down around the old rattler, who was trembling violently from the exertion and was swallowing great draughts of water; we had to hold the pot to his mouth, for otherwise it would not have reached its goal. Now, however, we were all filled with fresh courage; the venerable old man, in a half singing tone, expatiated further on the subject of the agenda and our great chorus replied either an enraptured "uakína," "very good," or with coarse laughter, "hahahá," or with a determined threat, "uh...."

At noon on 3 April the patriotic enthusiasm against the unseen foe reached its climax. We were sitting and eating when suddenly ten or twelve Bororó came storming up in weird attire. In the [411] lead Moguyokuri, drunk, his face flushed, in my Turkish woman's jacket, armed, or rather loaded, with bow, arrows, a maize pestle, and a heavy ax blade without a handle, behind him José Domingo, face and body blackened with soot, swinging a beautiful bow decorated with ostrich feathers, a black hair-string around his right wrist for protection against the snapping bowstring, on a strap around his naked stomach a cavalry saber, and similarly fitted out for war the rest of the heroes -- last not least /given in English/ the idiot Dyapokuri. This unfortunate fool had also smeared himself all over with soot, around his pathological skull he had wound a black hair string, like a Chinese his pigtail, on his back hung a long kitchen knife, and with his right hand he twirled a club in the air; like one possessed, uttering inarticulate sounds, he leaped about to the laughter of the company at the table. The terrible warriors were setting out to seek the traces of the Kayapó. They soon returned, they had found nothing suspicious, the foolish people seemed to have come to their senses, and the episode was ended.

302 In the men's house in the morning there had been great activity; during the afternoon and into the evening a dozen Bororó were busy coloring the hair, face, and body of their lovers a festive bright red, and outside, after darkness descended, an entirely different 000 kind of scene was enacted. A child of about two which had been

763 /460 cont./ A child of about two which had been struggling with death for about 24 hours and whose end the baris had predicted for today was brought out in front of the hut. The mother was holding it in her lap; the medicine men and relatives sat around and lamented. Behind the mother squatted the father; for a while he remained motionless, then -- one of the onlookers was just lighting his pipe -- /461/ he drew a cord around the neck of the poor little mite and quickly brought to fulfillment the prophecy of the doctors. Immediately everyone except the [535] mother got up; the medicine men fetched their feather ornaments [764] and rattles and, with a booming "aroé..., aroé..." song, commenced the mourning dance.

●726 The festivity in the ranchão and the mourning ceremonies outside suddenly suffered a mighty disturbance, however, when two shots were heard from the forest. Somebody there was again shooting at the Kayapó! One man who was sleeping off his intoxication had caught sight of them and heard them shouting! Having waked up, he sounded the alarm and a mad hubbub was [411] the result. Eliseo had the soldiers report; in no time the plaza was filled with men, all of whom carried bows and arrows, clubs, and axes, with women who had packed up all their belongings in carrying baskets and were dragging their children or pushing them on ahead, with half-grown boys, most of whom were also armed. [764] Only the woman with the little dead creature in her lap remained [535] in her place, and a few dancers with the great radial wheel of red arara feathers around their heads stamped, sang, rattled on steadfastly, or, after they had mingled for a moment in the bustle, returned to their duty.

The crowd was milling about wildly and pressing around the main building. The soldiers stood there in a long row; the cadets and officials could scarcely defend themselves against the onslaught, and no one could hear his own words. It was a dark night as well. The agitated ones demanded an immediate crossing to the other river bank before the Kayapó arrived; the entire company was ready to march. Fortunately, the people did not dare separate themselves from the soldiers. There was such a surging and seething that one did not know whether he still had possession of his five senses. Gradually the surging

/461 cont./

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241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beiju." By the second method they produced chicha (*sumina*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 The siriva palm wood bow (*bóiko*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in
[326] war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight
[283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*bóiko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*iáko*) is made by fixing a notched
411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft.
224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow
[324] pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p. 107 (4)]

/449 cont./

114 Duarte's representative, who received us with great kindness and cordiality, was the "Cadet" Eliseo Pinto d'Annunciação. In Brazil cadets are aspiring officers, usually sons of officials or officers, /450/ who rise from the ranks and whose advancement depends largely on protection. Our Eliseo had the rank of sergeant and thought he would promptly become lieutenant if I put in a good word for him in Rio. He was a good and conscientious man and would have been able to accomplish something useful if he had had the right to act according to his judgment. A second cadet with the rank of noncommissioned officer was called Caldas, a young man, musical, and, for additional pay, schoolmaster of the Bororó boys. He had also put together a vocabulary and was thus the representative of art and science. Then there was another cadet, Joaquim, the apothecary, and the administrator, Ildefonso. By far the most important individual for me, however, was Clemente, who had lived in Bororó captivity for 13 years and was now about 28 years old. His father, Manoel Pedroso de Alvarenga, lived on the Peixe de couro, a small tributary of the Piquiry emptying into the S.
721 Lourenço. In September 1873, the Bororó attacked five children who were bathing there; two were killed, one escaped, two were
● 727 taken along, Clemente and a younger brother. He said they tied their hands in front of their eyes and carried them to the village on their backs five days without stopping. His brother soon died.
124 In 1886 Clemente was freed by the Bororó. Meanwhile, however, he had become a Bororó himself. He not only went about in their dress with bow and arrow, he had not only forgotten almost all his Portuguese, but he had, as I learned to my advantage, experienced a purely Indian training in his thinking and knowledge. On the other hand, he had relearned enough of his mother tongue in the meantime to be able to assist me as a useful interpreter. Unfortunately, he left Thereza Christina before we did, because, he said, he "is learning nothing" there. The officers themselves did not know anything, he said. Near his home village there lives a man who can cure all the sick and open any lock.

/478 cont./

[237] [301] Teeth were primarily worked into chest ornaments; the most popular ones were large jaguar teeth, usually two pairs plaited together, and small monkey teeth, several transverse rows of which were joined into a piece up to 30 centimeters wide /479/ extending almost across the entire chest; cf. Plate I /see p. i/ and Fig. 129 /see p. 589/. It was extremely seldom that women were also given these ornaments and, since it is usually reported of the other Bororó that only the men adorned themselves, is probably to be traced back to the upheaval caused by the colonization. It was characteristic that the Indian-thinking and Portuguese-speaking Clemente called the teeth plaited together rosarios, rosaries; in connection with this ornament, the Indians had the idea that it makes one strong and agile. They also ex- [727] tracted teeth from Brazilian prisoners and hung these around themselves; lower jaws of the enemy were worn in the same way. They also [283] promised themselves protec- [765] tion from hair of the dead, which was spun into thread and then plaited into cords which were very difficult to obtain; bunches of hair hung down, along with the feathers, from the arm bands.

Fig. 134. Arara ear-feather. Bororó. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 135. Chest ornament of armadillo claws. Bororó. (1/3 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupá*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kutkodétwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguazu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yethabétho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for
[283] making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton, using the spindle (*kálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipoksipa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*kutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden
●727 frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishána*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*omána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

/445 cont./

648 On 9 October 1880, the Bororó attacked the fazenda of José Martins de Figueiredo on the Bananal (Rio Cuyabá) and killed several persons. Thereupon several simultaneous expeditions were fitted out against them. One of the leaders was Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte; he attacked a village without success and captured five women and twelve children. Nothing more was accomplished. During the years 1875-1880, 43 houses of the Bororó were said to have been burned, 204 persons (134 men, 46 women, 17 children, 7 slaves) killed, and 27 persons (eleven men, six women, three children, seven slaves) wounded. It is not indicated how many Bororó were killed. There is no doubt [721] but that reciprocity played an important part. It was generally emphasized that the natives showed the toughest endurance in carrying out their plans of revenge. A Brazilian who had very cruelly murdered two children was systematically persecuted for more than four years, until they finally caught him and tore him to pieces, as he deserved. They were extremely cautious in their attacks and were on the lookout for days and weeks until an opportunity presented itself when there were only a few individuals on the farm. They usually left individual travelers unharmed, but if the latter wished to pitch their camp somewhere, they were prevented from doing so by a cry of "va embora," "go away," resounding from the forest. No one was to be seen, but an arrow could have been expected if they had not obeyed. In February 1881 at Forquilha, ten leagues from Cuyabá, /446/ two men and seven children were killed by Bororó; in fact they advanced as far as Urubú near the powder factory, five leagues from the capital.

[728] Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte, whom I have just mentioned, finally brought about a favorable change in the intolerable situation. He sent back captive women with lavish gifts, promised more if the men came, and thus, at last, the reconciliation was brought about. In January 1887 he brought some 400 Bororó to Cuyabá. There must have been a strange commotion in the streets of the city. The children gave the most pleasure; they acted very impetuously and were compared to little jaguars, "sómente unha e dente," "nothing but claws and teeth." The

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the
baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of
the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole
village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with
the women and children in the deserted houses.

His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the
[221] economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the
lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or
ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various
manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few
years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox,
and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the
disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active
part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him,
and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/
or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the
dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside
their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different
players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant
house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over
the negotiations from him (1).

634
463
301

1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can
only be made by the chief. One of these

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy individuals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'da˘, around 25 years old; 1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.

191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

> 1. The term võbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:

Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ãróre (Catepillar) clan
Ewãguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

/455 cont./

517 him over, but he was lifted up and lost. Small fires were burning
[352] alongside the house. The men were lying in a row, one beside the other, their heads resting on chunks of wood, to sleep out there; they were chatting and biting stalks of sugar cane with their teeth, tossing the remains in an arc behind them. They were very much amused when I squatted down beside the fire and wrote down their words. At small fires to one side women were sleeping with their husbands; children were still running around gaily late in the night and romping across the plaza.

648 /456/ Meat distribution. 26 March. An efficient administration would find an excellent means of getting the Indians accustomed to order by the manner of its food distribution. But no one thinks of fair equality, either in rations or in other things. Everything is arbitrary. The crude scene at the distribution of the tapíra, the ox, about two of which are slaughtered weekly and which represent a cheap food in the Mato Grosso, defies all description. The Brazilians could hardly make things easier for themselves. The pieces of meat and chopped bones are piled up in layers on top of one another in a great heap on a skin in front of the house; the Indians, men and women and older children, some of them armed with baskets, stand waiting to one-side, one of the cadets gives the signal, and the whole crowd pounces on the meat and bones like a pack of wolves. It was such a disgusting sight that I lost my sense of humor, although a circle of onlookers regarded the spectacle with a certain enjoyment. Espe-
[732] cially the idiot Dyapokuri, a cretin type, attracted general attention; with animal savagery the imbecile, the deputy of the men's house, seized three huge pieces and, with grunts of triumph, dragged them away with shining eyes while the spittle ran down his hanging lower jaw. If this were nothing but a crude occasional joke, but no, it is the regular, local procedure. The
[756] Indian is thereby reduced to conditions which in his hunting life
[626] he overcame ages ago; for it is one of the chief purposes of the institution of the barí or medicine men (as we shall see) to prevent discord in the distribution of booty, a problem which the latter, it is true, solve by securing the best pieces for themselves.

/489 cont./

732 Sometimes Dyapokuri gave a performance. The men were far from regarding the feeble-minded one, who could only babble, as a superior creature. He liked to portray the quarreling of the women by launching into the most enraged gestures and vigorously demonstrated the mutual scratching and hair-pulling. He flew into frightful agitation himself, however, when a soldier teased him on account of his setting out to pursue the Kayapó (page 568) and, a stick over his shoulder, hitched along with huge, lunging strides: the poor devil foamed at the mouth with indignation, threw his burning chunk of wood at the mocker, and, since he did not know what else to do, snatched up a few wood chips from the ground and, with a teeth-baring grimace and unintelligible sounds of rage, depicted -- the mustache of the soldier. After a while he calmed down again and, for the funeral ceremony, practiced rattling with two rattle gourds and the rhythmic aróe grunts.

123 The hours in the ranchão were instructive and agreeable. There was only one thing that was intolerable, the incessant begging for tobacco. My pipe traveled from one man to another. The men dictated pages of Bororó to me, each one having to present in sentences whatever was going on at the moment, listened to me repeat it, and then laughed, just as gratified [157] as the Bakaírí. The more intimate we became, the more striking was the agreement in temperament and character with the Kalisehu Indians. On a post in the men's house, after we had taken the anthropological measurements, /490/ my height was also indicated. A piece of charcoal was crushed with the teeth, pulverized with saliva in the hand, and above my head a black ring was painted around the post.

433 Food; "consecration." According to Clemente's report, in spite of all the hunting, the plant food obtained by the women is of the greatest importance, because it comes in more regularly 222 and abundantly. The women look for roots with a pointed stick, climb up the palm trees with great agility, among which preference is given to the oaussú and akurí, gather the nuts, cut the "palm cabbage" in the crown, look for jatobá and pikí fruits, 292 and so forth. The palm nuts are roasted or pounded in a mortar 574 and mixed with water to make a thickish drink, the refreshing

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform-
114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re-
178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot-
167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept
177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently. 574 735

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut. 342 352 512

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments. 323 287 178

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people. 411 77 97

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance 574 533 535 [273]

/276 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

• 736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden
737 products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. p. 117--Analyst]

597 When a child loses his parents, he is not left alone. Usually one of his mother's true or classificatory sisters or his father's true mother or sister will take care of him.
737 Old or disabled persons also can count on a large range of
736 relatives for some help and food. In Pobojari there was a blind man living in the men's house. When the "meal of the spirits" was held, his pots and pans were filled up so that he would have enough food for the next day. Normally eight women of the village saw to it that he was not without food. The man was a classificatory brother to three of the women. He was the mother's brother (a "brother") to an unmarried girl who was also an orphan and was living with her father's sister. She did not have food of her own, but she made a fire for the blind man when it was cold, and occasionally she washed his dishes. To another of the three women he was "father's son" (uwo onaregedu), and to the third he was "father's brother's son" (uwo umana onaregedu). Two other women addressed him as "grandfather" (iyedaga): he was "husband's brother" (oredu umana) to one and "husband's father's son" (Oredu uwo onaregedu) to the other. Still another called him "father" (iyogwa). He was "father's brother" (uwo uviye) to her. Finally there were two women who considered themselves his "mother." Each had taken the role of mother for different dead belonging to the same

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[868] bu keje, kodire ichare jorudu iware oino, jetori bokware kodi.
[829] Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje.
[593] Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"

73 clan, Paiwoe, of the blind man. This role is usually filled by the mother of the deceased or, if she is already dead, by the sister of the deceased. But there were no Paiwoe women left. Two women had to become "mothers" of a clan other than their own, and they consequently acquired responsibilities for the children of that clan.

/276 cont./

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[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
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829 Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje.
593 Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"

/152 cont./

301 The earring without a tooth, represented in Figure 2, belongs to the clan of the Paí-we; the one with a tooth, in Figure 3, is from the clan of the Dyakome(r)-koadda.

[237] It is probable that the shape of these earrings might have been taken from the chest ornament made with the claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/ (Priodontes giganteus) called bokodori inoge (bokodori: tatú canastra; inoge: claw), and represented various times by Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 50) and by Karl von den Steinen (o.c.).

[306] I saw a Bororo in Sangradouro also make a chest ornament in the shape and with the size of the bokodori inoge, but out of a sheet of tin plate.
I was not able to find out whether this shape has any connection with the moon.

/153/ We may consider as "individual adorning" among the Bororo the use of transverse cords on the chest and of the narrow woven ribbons on the arms. Both sexes, /154/ adults and children, are in the habit of wearing them occasionally in order to, as I was assured, be protected from illnesses.

[562] [751]

It seems that the chest ornament made out of animals' teeth serves for the same purpose. Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 479) wrote about this ornament: "Only very rarely does it happen that women also receive these ornaments, which probably results from the change by the colonization, because it is said that among the other Bororo it is common

[237] [751] [562]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

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Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband—and her lovers, if she has lovers—try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

/126/

846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

/162 cont./

723 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this
[262] reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

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82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:
773
[539]

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together—they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
754

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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

776 just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are
761 enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to
759 spy on the Bororo. These are makao, tuiwo torogo, churugu-
825 churugu, kadogwareu (different kinds of birds), and ruke (flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human flesh. Aroe's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and
688 juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness or kill people, Aroe punish infractions of cultural rules--they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed, that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

776 Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death
761 is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the
825 Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of Bope: adugo, aigo, aipobureu, aimeareu (varieties of felines), ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), okwa, riye, moribo (varieties of canines), kugu, tagogo (varieties of owls), makao (a variety of hawk), and bakure (a carnivorous monkey). The Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. a. They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and
821 by the people through their offerings. b. They are night animals and the night is Bope's time. c. Nobody ever sees these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and they do not die, except when they are killed by people for compensation (mori).

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.
[776] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
[171] pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
misfortunes.

114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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its obscure heart an exact image of anything it winks at, must be some wicked device of the *bopi*—demons. The savage believes that any one having his picture may practice some black art over it and bring evil upon the original: that, as one may do what he wishes with the image, he likewise has power over the real man. Moreover, if one is such a powerful conjurer that he can secure that image, What may he not do with the original? I had to bribe them with valuable gifts in order to secure a number of pictures.

The Bororó, like other South American tribes, dwell in gloomy palm-branch huts that resemble squatty, old hay-stacks huddled together in complete disorder in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees of the upland jungle. They are constructed by first planting two posts in the ground twenty or thirty feet apart, ten feet high, and terminating in a fork, to support the ridge pole, which is held in position by means of creepers from the forest, instead of nails. Against the ridge pole, are reclined and bound, the rafters, the feet of which are sunk slightly in the ground and the upper ends are bound to the ridge pole. Bamboo poles are next bound horizontally to these rafters, while upright stakes are set in at the gables; and finally, to the entire frame-work, are bound huge, feather-shaped palm-branches, to shed the rain, and exclude the light because of the flies. The primitive residence is now complete. The only light that enters is what filters through the palm-branches. To enter, one pushes aside the palm-branches at one end and enters in a stooping position.

These strange, uncouth dens of savagery, are dark, unclean, and ill-smelling, and so devoid of every object considered absolutely essential to a civilized human abode, that it is difficult to comprehend that they are the dwellings of true human beings—the homes of multitudes of real men, women and children; where they are born, reared and pass their days, and the only abodes they have ever known. Entering one of these human lairs, we find it more or less strewn with decaying food refuse, such as bones and other rejected parts of fish, mammals, birds and reptiles; shells, stones and peelings

/510 cont./

765 one deceased waits for the next and the two leave the village together. Again no one seemed to pay any attention to them, and one would have thought two baskets of mandioca were being carried away. But soon four young people came along rather hurriedly and followed them into the forest: the first was swinging a whizzer stick; the second and third uttered loud cries of terror; the fourth cleared a broad path behind him with a palm leaf in order to obliterate the footprints and make it difficult for the dead to return. No woman was to be seen. One also carried a hoe /Hacke/. The baskets were buried, it was believed, on a small island lying upstream.

Soul and existence after death. For a person who is awake,
827 there is action at a distance, which reminds one of our belief in ear-ringing. On the Kulisehu Tumayaua said to me once when I sneezed that my wife was calling me and that she was said because I had not yet returned. On a similar occasion, the very same thing was maintained by the Bororó; another time, when I stood beside an Indian woman and sneezed, she immediately asked me the names of my relatives: "What is your mother's name? Your brother's? Your brother-in-law's?"

774 The "soul" is called búpe. In the dream it leaves the body.
828 The fear of waking up one who is sleeping was clearly expressed. Even Clemente believed that it was very harmful. It also has its advantages, however, as we once saw in the ranchão. Wilhelm wanted to draw a sleeping man. Now this seemed to be the
● [754] greater evil, apparently because one could practice sorcery with the picture; the Bororó generally resisted Wilhelm's efforts, but, on the other hand, they were pleased later when he showed them portraits made surreptitiously. In any case, the drawing of this sleeping man seemed hazardous to them. They wanted to waken him, and, when I prevented them from doing so and criticized them, /511/ they also tried surreptitiously (by spitting and throwing little pieces of wood) to achieve their purpose.

I do not know the exact meaning of búpe. During the dream, the soul flies away in the shape of a bird. Then it sees and hears many things. What the waking person reported is firmly believed.

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Woman wear a gray parinari band,
or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

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7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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766 they wish to decorate it. They say that the resurrectionists are not called by men, but directly by the bope, and no one is supposed to know who they are.

When the village awakes to find the bones already prepared, the din is again unchained, the mother and female friends again slash themselves from head to foot, wail, and daub their bodies with black paste made principally from a fruit called genipa-pa, while two men sit on a palm-leaf rug and decorate the skull with a layer of bright red makaw feathers. This weird drama continues all day with little interruption, the players and singers relieving one another from time to time. And if some of their brethren from a neighboring village should visit them, the bakororo, as this noise is called, may continue all night and all the next day. Finally the concert ceases, and at sunset the basket of bones is laid away in the little cemetery outside the village, where the bope will take possession of them in due season, though only the priest is supposed to know when. Through constant howling during the bakororo, the family of the deceased become so hoarse that they cannot speak above a whisper, but the drinking of clay water, they say, relieves them.

775 As the Bororó is "very bad," they say, he is doomed forever to
755 wander and suffer in the lower regions and be subject to constant eviction. He takes up his abode in the bodies of certain fish and mammals, and when the creature dies the spirit must seek a new dwelling and be exorcised from the bodies of fish, fowl, or beast by the priest before the meat can be eaten. To eat it without this ceremony would cause sickness and death. Not every creature, nor even every member of certain species, is inhabited by a bope. Its presence is indicated only by certain markings or other peculiarities. In exorcising the bope the priest faces and calls upon the sun with loud yells, ecstatic jumping and trembling, slapping the fish, spitting and blowing into its mouth. Corn also must be exorcised, as they say they were once made desperately sick by eating it without this ceremony. Only the priests are exalted to an abode with the sun at death; they are not chosen by men, but by the bope. It comes
755 about somewhat in this manner: Some day a Bororó may be taken with a fit, and a priest of the tribe will be called to determine the disease and to say whether he will live or die. After consideration he may say to those present, "Piadudu [humming-bird] is in deadly combat with a bope. If he surrenders to the bope he will become a priest, but if he continues to resist he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is considered that he has given himself up to the bope, and is therefore qualified for the priesthood. But the certificate of

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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priesthood seems to lie largely in the ability to throw themselves at 755
will into a savage ecstacy.

When a Bororó is ill, a priest is called to determine whether he will recover or die. On entering the hut and looking at his sick tribesman and concluding that he will probably die or should die, he will count his fingers, and each time he touches one finger will repeat, "Meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, bi," meaning that the sick man will see five suns, five days, and die, or he may say, "Nadua, nadua, nadua," etc., "bi," meaning sleep, sleep, etc., five days, and die. If at the end of this time he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the priest, will suddenly appear in the hut, sit astride his stomach, and strangle him to death, for the reputation of the priest must be maintained. The priests are probably responsible for not a few deaths. They are the bane of life in the tribe. They must nurture the delusion that they can communicate with and have influence in the other world and power to avert or cause evils and calamities. They are therefore on the alert to take advantage of any propitious occasion to prey upon the superstitious fears of their fellow-tribesmen. They are freely supplied with food by their tribesmen in order to retain their good will.

The Bororó seem to have no idea of God as the Christian under- 776
stands Him. They consider the sun as the fountain head of majesty and power and even of beneficence, and as the abode of the great priests who have passed to the spirit world and fear him. Bope means spirit or disembodied soul, but they seem to have no idea of a good spirit. The bope, who are evil spirits, must therefore not be offended though they must be driven away. To drive the spirits 755
off, they use a bull-roarer, a peculiar instrument made of a slab of 778
wood about half an inch thick, shaped something like a fish, and of varying size, hung by a long cord from the end of a stick like a fishing rod, and swung round and round through the air. As it swings and rapidly revolves, it sends forth loud sounds to a surprising distance, pitched from a sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek, the wail rising and descending the scale according to the rapidity of the swing or the size of the instrument. To hear several of these roarers at once certainly produces most unusual sensations, particularly when operated, as we heard them, during a tropical storm amid the play of the lightning, the crash and roar of thunder, the falling floods, and dismal gloom. No female is allowed to see this instrument under pain of death. New ones are made as occasion demands, and they are burned immediately after their need has passed. We entered the baehytu as some of these roarers were 778
123

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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771 place in the thoughts and doings of the Bororó as it does in the
000 minds of all the peoples of the earth. Elucidating further, Prof. O. T. Mason says that, "In a general sense, religion is the sum of what is thought or believed about a spirit world and what is done in consequence of such thinking. What is thought about such a world constitutes *creed*, what is done or what a people does under its inspiration constitutes the *cult*. The *creed* and the *cult* together form the religion of any individual or people."

771 The religion of the Bororó is expressed chiefly by an elab-
775 orate system of diabolical rites and ceremonies for the placa-
782 tion of disembodied souls, or spirits, which they call *bopi*—demons; and a funeral is the occasion for the greatest display
764 of the savage ritual, or *cult*. It is a great *musical* pandemonium, savage dirge, or hell's concert; or a sort of wild man's opera or tragic play, enacted by a primitive male quartette, mixed chorus and orchestra, and lasts several days and nights, first with the body present, and a week later, with the bones present.

763 When a member of the tribe becomes so ill that the family
755 begins to fear for his life, one of the tribal priests, or sorcerers,
756 is summoned to his hut where he lies naked on a palm-leaf mat spread upon the ground, to declare whether he will live or die. This primitive ecclesiastic may think, inspired with wicked cunning, that the sick one will die naturally within a certain number of days. Or, he may hold a grudge against the stricken man, and may consider this a good opportunity to balance accounts. So, in announcing to the family the number of days the patient will live, he mentally resolves that if death should not occur naturally at the time he shall name, he will see to it that it occurs, nevertheless, in some other way. Or, again, he may feel that life in the village has long been very dull and monotonous, and that there is immediate and urgent need of a social function or festival of some kind; and what could be more entertaining to the savage public than a good funeral *bakororó!* In this case, also, he will see to it that the victim dies at the time he indicates. In any event, he will take steps to have his predictions "come true" to the letter, in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance.

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the

/491 cont./

756 the latter "doutor." Let us confine ourselves to the term bari or medicine man. His training seems to be less ceremonious than is otherwise the case; it depends more on natural talent. During [273] the dry season -- the name does not actually refer to thirst -- the most akurí palm wine is drunk; the trees are tapped, and the sap runs into a pot or mortar and is drunk from bamboo beakers. The wine is somewhat sour, but plentiful. Both sexes become as intoxicated as possible. The one who holds out the longest becomes the medicine man. If it is said of him that the birds of the forest understand him, that he converses with trees and with animals of all sorts in their language, hopefully that does not mean /492/ a medical man who is still inspired by palm wine, but refers to study in solitude and to the aróe song in which the animals are 755 called upon. The bari treats his patients in the well-known manner: he groans, writhes, smokes, and sucks the cause of the illness -- customarily a bone here -- out of the body of the patient. Two things should be noted, however: first, the bone is merely displayed and does not leave his hand, and the doctor gives treatments only at night.

Waehneldt reports correspondingly about the Bororó on the Jaurú. Curing is done amid great clouds of smoke, unintelligible words, and, "the most important thing," convulsive movements: "I was present at the cure by such a padre, which consisted of his sucking at various parts of the body, and meanwhile he smoked his pipe and chewed up the mouthpiece. After each sucking he spit out the chewed-up pieces of his pipe, telling the patient that it 756 was the cause of his suffering." Furthermore--and now we come 784 back to the hunting booty -- a capibara pig had to be blessed in 825 the "sanctuary" by one of the four to six padres before it could be eaten or even touched. The baris cut off the best pieces and left the rest to the others.

On the S. Lourenço, too, the doctors likewise still lived in the golden age. It would be unjust to speak here of a delightful outgrowth of primitive hierarchy, for the bari was no "padre," but a "doutor" who merely did not yet know more than a "padre." The "consecration" was done in exactly the same way as the attempt to bring a dead person back to life. The logic is very

/506 cont./

765 [768] bast bands, bark belts, a red coverlet, many maize ears, gourds, shells; bows and bunches of arrows were broken up, and everything thrown together in a heap. Soon the scene took on a [535] semblance of order; the men formed a circle around the fire and moved slowly round and round, leaping up with both feet. The green one was seized and held down by the two loam creatures, whom we at first scarcely recognized as good old Moguyokuri and the chief bari (the archer on Plate 28). The gourds rattled, the whizzer sticks buzzed, the fire now blazed up. The green [535] one was released, and he and a second man behind him in the [768] parîko, /507/ dancing all around and always stepping to the side, first to the right, then to the left, threw the things into the [755] flames. Meanwhile -- and that, it seemed to me, was the strangest thing in the entire performance -- the two old dead persons cured a sick woman who had suddenly arrived, I know not how. They blew upon her and probably gave her the comforting assurance that she would not be fetched away so very soon. Several ran to the nearby river and threw knives and axes into it. Coqueiro tended the fire, dance and song ceased, the feather ornaments were placed beside the fire, and the green one added his garlands, the baris squatted in a row, one behind the other, and [622] were doused with water. Immediately thereafter great commotion: the dog of a soldier had bitten a child; Moguyokuri, still covered with loam, angrily accosts the owner, who, for his own safety, betakes himself to prison; this satisfies the chief, and with his hand he closes the mouth of the scolding mother, who now goes off silently, but grinning happily and sticking her tongue out.

[533] The following night uninterrupted aróe singing on the part of the Indians; no one stayed in the huts or in the ranchão; men, women, and children were outside. Uninterrupted music-making, dancing, laughing and bad singing among the soldiers. Magnificent moonlight. The first solemn hour of the Easter festival revealed marvelous contrasts between the groups for the resurrection.

/514 cont./

821 great excitement, were puffing in all directions toward the sky,
789 squirting a little saliva from their lips, much as the Kulisehu Indians had driven away the thunder clouds. They were trembling and tottering so that one feared they would fall to the ground in a faint. Then they turned toward the place where the meteor had [276] appeared, screamed vué! vué! with a threatening, terrified voice, pressing the hollow of the right hand to the mouth, stretched the left arm toward heaven, and each held up a bundle of span-long maize cigarettes. "Here, look at this," they seemed to say, "all /515/ this tobacco we are spending to drive away the evil. Woe to you, if you do not leave us in peace!"

[152] A strange mixture of fear and courage, the latter, unfortunately, being tinged with something just as artificial as on the occasion of the exorcism of the Kayapó danger. The trembling increased, their entire bodies vibrated, their bent-back heads wobbled, they touched themselves with twitching movements and passed their hands over their chests and stomachs in order to force away everything evil.

[276] After this spectacle had gone on for a while, their cigar bundles were taken out of their hands and lighted at the fire while the excited doctors, whimpering and shuddering, caught their breath for a moment. Half a dozen men got up, took a few puffs for comfort and strength, and gave the cigars to the baris, who resumed their cure. They puffed at the whole bundle, howled even more shrilly and reproachfully toward heaven than before, stroked their bodies even more assiduously, scratched their heads vigorously, puffed at their bundle once more, sucked convulsively at their forearms as though they were drawing the blood up from the depths, cried vué vuáu vuáu ever louder, shook themselves and blew toward the stars; their joints shook, their muscles flew.

[755] Finally, they suddenly began to look searchingly about them in the throng, talked to those standing nearest them, pointed into the crowd, and joined the main group where they undertook a brief cure of a weak old man, the chief Domingo, and several of the most esteemed who alone could be involved in such a special case. They lifted up their heads, looked at them

/515 cont./

821 searchingly, squirted into their faces, pzü pzü, and, with the
789 hollow of their hands held against their mouths, again uttered their threatening vóu or a shrill hahahó, not forgetting to smoke up their bundle as they did so. The chorus had in general remained grave and quiet; only now and then did it break out in a one-part huhá and now triumphantly repeated it at the end as the two doctors, teeth chattering and murmuring a shivery tédede tedéte, retired. Aróe singing was heard all night long.

[276] The tobacco smoke had been used here in exactly the same way as the puffing against the thunderstorm, and I gained the impression that the doctor's smoking was very similar to a fumigation. Perhaps, for the original meaning of the method of curing, this should not be underestimated.

● 755 Domingo had an attack of weakness two days after the meteor conjuration. On the third day, 17 April, he was ill and apparently had a very ominous feeling. He crept about anxiously, his hands tied up in rags and his head and face covered so that he would not be recognized. Since we left the colony on 18 April we were unfortunately unable to find out whether this remedy helped him.

773 Ancestor legend. Arigá-Bororó is the tribal ancestor of the Indians. He had a wife. The puma is called arigá. Later, two men and two women came /516/ to the earth east of the baruparu river (cf. page 646) and reached the S. Lourenço. I was unable
[124] to learn anything more. Clemente was quite useless here; he himself did not know anything and, on the basis of his knowledge of Brazil, interpreted those statements as meaning that the Bororó came from Rio de Janeiro. As far as I was able to understand, the Bororó lived on the source rivers of the S. Lourenço since the time they left heaven, and this origin from the east has nothing to do with tribal migrations, but is again only the result of the very natural reflection that the sun was in the possession of the oldest people and that the oldest people therefore lived where the sun originates.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others dis-
[478] puted the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition
224 to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were pre-
[322] dominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also
[462] helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and
[756] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated
[231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are
[263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded
[574] or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large
[342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall,
[345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of
[184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin [237] described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: 273 the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk [756] by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and 776 rival functionaries.

775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baere (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and [754] confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 775 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 775 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 174

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [775]

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 [797] [533] [776] The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.
[776] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
[171] pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
misfortunes.

114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv Für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

6;Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Barono SPS

SHAMAN, into whose care all of the caught fish are first given for ritual treatment, here places a large fish on palm leaf and cuts it in small pieces.

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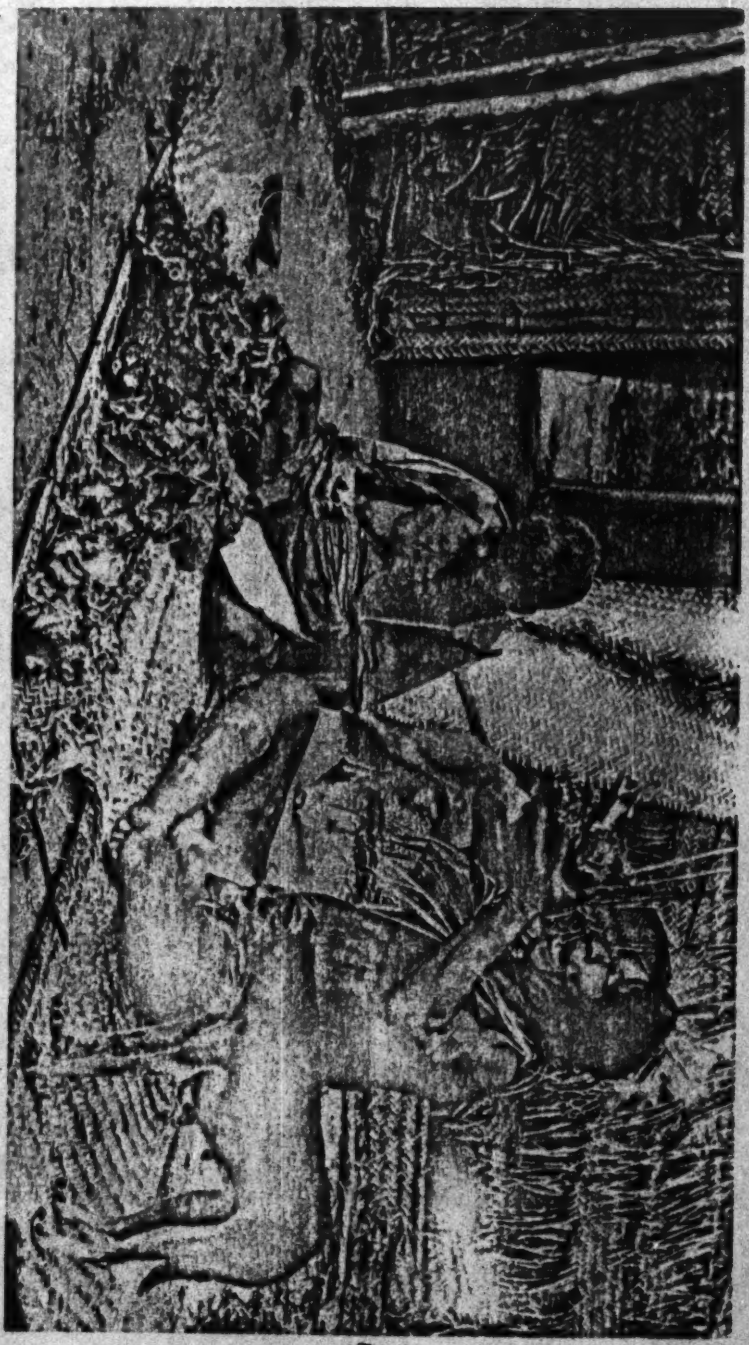
[p. 40-B]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8



After eating fish, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

● 756
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[p. 40-f]

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

6: Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP6 Borero SP6

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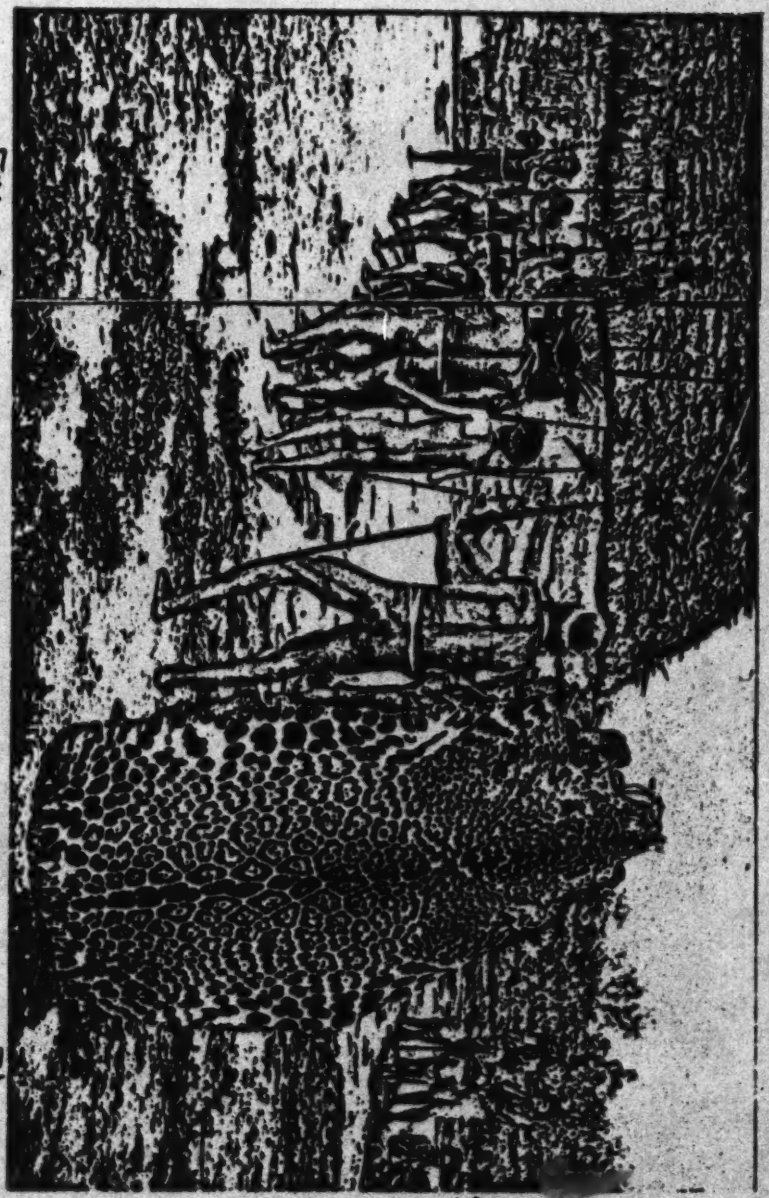

[Ritual dance to appease spirit of the commercial fish.-Artist]

[p. 43-C] [For captions, see p. 43-B]

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6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

MEDICINE MAN, at the left, holds rattle as he leads strenuous dance. Men and women jump, then kneel, to raise and lower palm fronds held between them.

[p. 44-A]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [411] [531] [766]

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

765 535 825 782

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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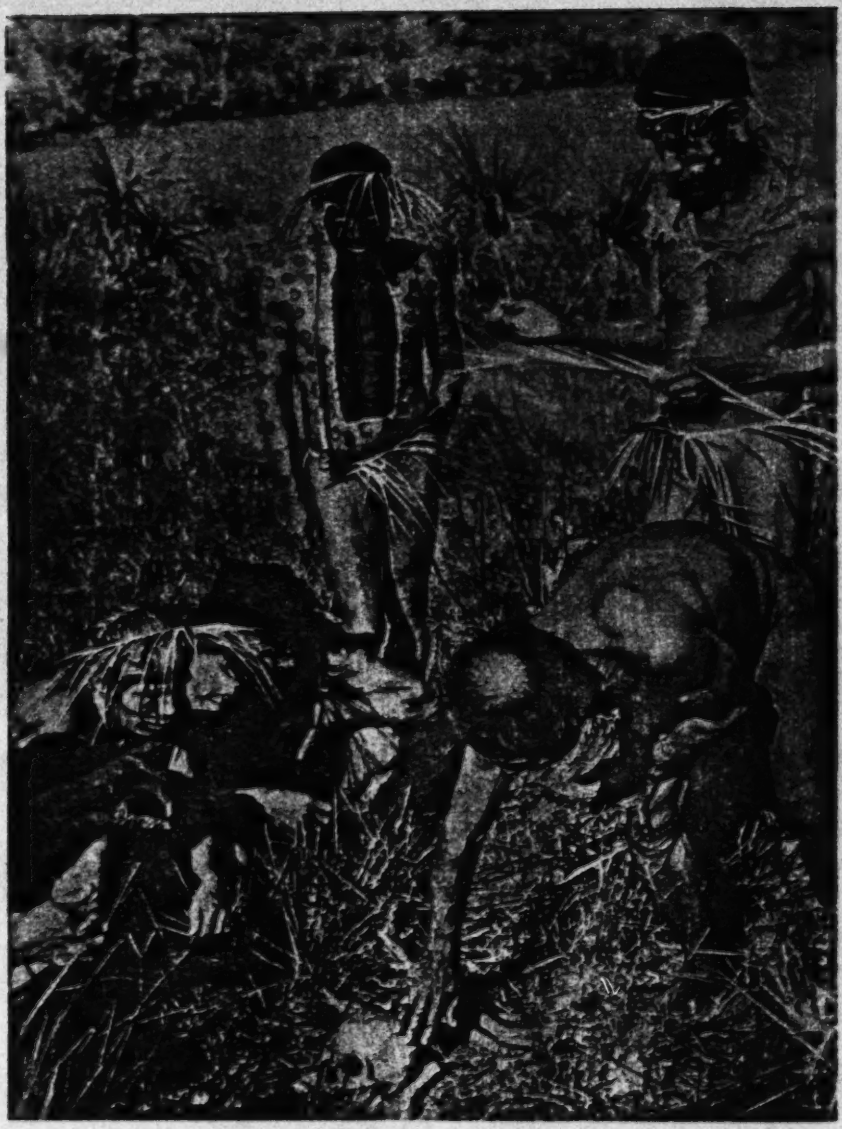

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

771 place in the thoughts and doings of the Bororó as it does in the
000 minds of all the peoples of the earth. Elucidating further, Prof. O. T. Mason says that, "In a general sense, religion is the sum of what is thought or believed about a spirit world and what is done in consequence of such thinking. What is thought about such a world constitutes *creed*, what is done or what a people does under its inspiration constitutes the *cult*. The *creed* and the *cult* together form the religion of any individual or people."

771 The religion of the Bororó is expressed chiefly by an elab-
775 orate system of diabolical rites and ceremonies for the placa-
762 tion of disembodied souls, or spirits, which they call *bopi*—demons; and a funeral is the occasion for the greatest display
764 of the savage ritual, or *cult*. It is a great *musical* pandemonium, savage dirge, or hell's concert; or a sort of wild man's opera or tragic play, enacted by a primitive male quartette, mixed chorus and orchestra, and lasts several days and nights, first with the body present, and a week later, with the bones present.

763 When a member of the tribe becomes so ill that the family
755 begins to fear for his life, one of the tribal priests, or sorcerers,
756 is summoned to his hut where he lies naked on a palm-leaf mat spread upon the ground, to declare whether he will live or die. This primitive ecclesiastic may think, inspired with wicked cunning, that the sick one will die naturally within a certain number of days. Or, he may hold a grudge against the stricken man, and may consider this a good opportunity to balance accounts. So, in announcing to the family the number of days the patient will live, he mentally resolves that if death should not occur naturally at the time he shall name, he will see to it that it occurs, nevertheless, in some other way. Or, again, he may feel that life in the village has long been very dull and monotonous, and that there is immediate and urgent need of a social function or festival of some kind; and what could be more entertaining to the savage public than a good funeral *bakororó!* In this case, also, he will see to it that the victim dies at the time he indicates. In any event, he will take steps to have his predictions "come true" to the letter, in

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order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance. 763 755 756 [802]

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the 764 [302] [301] [534]

775 825 262 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while 775 825 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir, 262 and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every 756 789 member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

775 825 756 789 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish, for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 262 756 789 Corn also appears to have some connection with the demons, or is under a *tabao*, for the Bororó will not, under any

circumstances, eat corn from a field until a few ears have first been brought to the sorcerer that he may perform his incantations over them, biting into them, dog-like. After this, the corn from that field may be freely gathered and eaten without further ceremony. 241 262 756 789

The souls of the departed, the *bopi*, are believed also to haunt and plot evil against the living, who pass their days in almost constant fear, and even in terror, because of them. Every few days, one or another of these superstitious children of the wilds imagines he sees a ghost or spook skulking in the jungle, or some strange object or shadow, or peculiar movement of the branches of the trees, or hears an unusual or seemingly uncanny sound. In a frenzy, he hastens to report what he has seen or heard, and, instantly, the whole city of savagery is wildly excited. These spooks, or wandering souls are nearly always seen just as solemn, mysterious night is taking possession of the land. Sometimes, the scare is a pure invention of the sorcerer. 775

These sorcerers, or tribal priests, are not chosen or appointed by men, the Bororó say, but by the *bopi*. Their calling to the priestly office appears to be somewhat in this manner: Some day, a Bororó is taken with some kind of a fit, and the village sorcerer, is called in to declare the nature of the case, and to say if the patient will live or die. Having considered the matter cunningly, he may say to the family something like this: "Piadudu is in mortal combat with a *bopi*. If he surrenders to the demon he will become a sorcerer, but if he continues to resist, he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is thought that he has given himself up to the *bopi*, and therefore fully qualified for the priesthood. But it seems to me that the certificate of priesthood lies largely in the ability of a Bororó to throw himself at will into a savage ecstasy or trance; or he may possess some powers of "mediumship," or metaphysical powers believed to emanate from the *bopi*, together with a good degree of native cunning and ready wit. These sorcerers are the most depraved men in the tribe. They are the bane of tribal life. They must nurture the illusion 756

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756 that they have communications with and influence in the spirit world, and know what is occurring there; and have power to cause and avert evils and calamities. Hence, they are ever on the alert to seize upon every propitious occasion, and even to invent occasions to make merchandise of the superstitious fears of their fellow tribesmen for their own profit and aggrandizement.

800 As regards the ordinary civilized man, knowledge forces the mysterious, the unknown, the infinite, back from his immediate presence, compelling it to remain at a distance, thus enabling him to pass his days more or less unmindful of its existence. But to the primitive man, with his limited knowledge of the processes of Nature, the world about him is pregnant with mystery; it presses close upon him on all sides and he cannot be indifferent to it. The mysterious—that which is beyond his knowledge—the infinite—literally stares him in the face at every turn, and he is unable to fathom it. Ignorant of causes, he views with superstitious thoughts every event, and everything in Nature that is in any degree unusual or abnormal—everything that seems to project, never so little, beyond the dead monotony of natural phenomena. Indeed, his knowledge is so limited, and his imagination so easily inflamed, that he readily creates for himself all sorts of unusual occurrences and phantasms without any foundation. His imagination is most active during the hours of darkness. Like a timid child, he sees terrifying shapes everywhere. The thunder and lightning, the wind, the sun and the moon in their various phenomena, the cries of birds and beasts, and the direction from which they cry, all convey to his uncul-
787 tured mind some omen of good or evil. If the *kowi* (a bird) utters its cry at evening from the east, it means that "white man come;" and if from the west, "Bororó die."

775 [123] Our Bororó friends who crowded about us during the whole of every day, always withdrew from our hut at sunset, retiring to their village, and we usually saw no more of them until daybreak. But late in the evening on two or three occasions, we heard a tramping of barefooted men approaching

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The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them, is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

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Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons, or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarer*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

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No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

B /345 cont./
*[171] by ordinary means. This brings about the amusing reverse situa-
755 tion whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The
[276] more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, ãgukuriõku or (cipó de cobra) snake-vine, seũwi or timbo vine (Paullinia pinnata), the leaves of the forest tree ãtíko. Everyone listens
B attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his
[787] stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his
B shadow after he wakes up from deep narcosis. He becomes a
[756] great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts; like many other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid
BO folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best
[756] palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous
[273] drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication, makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination coincide.

B The tobacco narcosis of the doctor is the most common
[276] medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among many others; the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient, but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time; the doctor permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and, with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

A The Auetõ chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet
[622] undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often
[755] done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall ill. The Auetõ chief had already been dead. When the medicine

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517 him over, but he was lifted up and lost. Small fires were burning
[352] alongside the house. The men were lying in a row, one beside the other, their heads resting on chunks of wood, to sleep out there; they were chatting and biting stalks of sugar cane with their teeth, tossing the remains in an arc behind them. They were very much amused when I squatted down beside the fire and wrote down their words. At small fires to one side women were sleeping with their husbands; children were still running around gaily late in the night and romping across the plaza.

648 /456/ Meat distribution. 26 March. An efficient administration would find an excellent means of getting the Indians accustomed to order by the manner of its food distribution. But no one thinks of fair equality, either in rations or in other things. Everything is arbitrary. The crude scene at the distribution of the tapíra, the ox, about two of which are slaughtered weekly and which represent a cheap food in the Mato Grosso, defies all description. The Brazilians could hardly make things easier for themselves. The pieces of meat and chopped bones are piled up in layers on top of one another in a great heap on a skin in front of the house; the Indians, men and women and older children, some of them armed with baskets, stand waiting to one side, one of the cadets gives the signal, and the whole crowd pounces on the meat and bones like a pack of wolves. It was such a disgusting sight that I lost my sense of humor, although a circle of onlookers regarded the spectacle with a certain enjoyment. Espe-
[732] cially the idiot Dyapokuri, a cretin type, attracted general attention; with animal savagery the imbecile, the deputy of the men's house, seized three huge pieces and, with grunts of triumph, dragged them away with shining eyes while the spittle ran down his hanging lower jaw. If this were nothing but a crude occasional joke, but no, it is the regular, local procedure. The
[756] Indian is thereby reduced to conditions which in his hunting life
[626] he overcame ages ago; for it is one of the chief purposes of the institution of the barí or medicine men (as we shall see) to prevent discord in the distribution of booty, a problem which the latter, it is true, solve by securing the best pieces for themselves.

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
[276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on
[533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.
[756] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink-
[534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

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262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
615 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[261] from eating together, as it did the Bakairí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/491 cont./

756 the latter "doutor." Let us confine ourselves to the term bari or medicine man. His training seems to be less ceremonious than is otherwise the case; it depends more on natural talent. During [273] the dry season -- the name does not actually refer to thirst -- the most akurí palm wine is drunk; the trees are tapped, and the sap runs into a pot or mortar and is drunk from bamboo beakers. The wine is somewhat sour, but plentiful. Both sexes become as intoxicated as possible. The one who holds out the longest becomes the medicine man. If it is said of him that the birds of the forest understand him, that he converses with trees and with animals of all sorts in their language, hopefully that does not mean /492/ a medical man who is still inspired by palm wine, but refers to study in solitude and to the aróe song in which the animals are 755 called upon. The bari treats his patients in the well-known manner: he groans, writhes, smokes, and sucks the cause of the illness -- customarily a bone here -- out of the body of the patient. Two things should be noted, however: first, the bone is merely displayed and does not leave his hand, and the doctor gives treatments only at night.

Waehneldt reports correspondingly about the Bororó on the Jaurú. Curing is done amid great clouds of smoke, unintelligible words, and, "the most important thing," convulsive movements: "I was present at the cure by such a padre, which consisted of his sucking at various parts of the body, and meanwhile he smoked his pipe and chewed up the mouthpiece. After each sucking he spit out the chewed-up pieces of his pipe, telling the patient that it 756 was the cause of his suffering." Furthermore--and now we come 784 back to the hunting booty -- a capibara pig had to be blessed in 825 the "sanctuary" by one of the four to six padres before it could be eaten or even touched. The baris cut off the best pieces and left the rest to the others.

On the S. Lourenço, too, the doctors likewise still lived in the golden age. It would be unjust to speak here of a delightful outgrowth of primitive hierarchy, for the bari was no "padre," but a "doutor" who merely did not yet know more than a "padre." The "consecration" was done in exactly the same way as the attempt to bring a dead person back to life. The logic is very

/492 cont./

756 simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same
784 ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their
825 death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as
[775] the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vái vái, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara,
[262] tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends,"
[824] who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akurí nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

/493 cont./

533 Dance and play. On the basis of the preceding, the aróe song,
[756] opening every communal hunting and fishing expedition, loses all its strangeness. The bari, who solemnly divides up the booty at the end, also takes care of the solemn preliminaries for the under-
[772] taking. We shall not yet go into the underlying view of the relationship between animal and human being, without which these ceremonies could scarcely have been invented except by charlatans, but with which they are probably justified in their origin.

The hunting song is the same as the one sung at the ceremony for the dead! It makes a very dignified and, at night, if one likes, horrible impression. At the ceremony for the dead, men and women sing together, the women, to be sure, standing to one side and in the background and often stopping, while the men do not permit themselves a pause. During the nocturnal preparations for the hunt, one heard only the deep booming voices of the men's
[115] chorus. I owe the notes on the next page /see p. 618/ to the cadet Caldas. He made a distinction between a first song by the men alone and a second one by the men and women. The text which he wrote down for the first one is unfortunately useless. It is about the gull, schibáyu, which also occurs in the second, and, in spite of several repetitions, it is nothing but a mere listing of names. This latter – aróe is the text of the second song and, in a long sequence, is also what is usually sung -- not much poorer in variety in the text than in the music, which, though I have no technical knowledge, seems to me to achieve the ultimate in "monotony." The following "verses" were translated by Clemente and are given in the proper sequence: bakororó aróe, okóge aróe, schibáyu aróe, kurugúge aróe botoroé aróe imayaré aróe dyuretóto aróe kayatóto aróe manotóto aróe. The words listed are: water (a specific kind? otherwise póbe), dourado fish, gull, falcon, another predatory bird that eats fish, "its breast," water snake sukurí, mortar, swamp grass. The scene, therefore, is on the water; more I cannot say; whether the dead person experiences all kinds of things in the vicinity of his skeleton-basket buried there, whether the rival animals that catch fish are desired in the mortar, which would seem more /494/ credible -- I was unable to discover. Alternating with this song, "jaguar," "capibara," "paríko" (feather

/500 cont./ One day The men Permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "afdye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

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765 In the morning, led by Moguyokuri, a long procession entered the ranchão, all with green twigs in their hands; in the center, the brother of the deceased with the square basket-bag containing the skeleton parts, which had been dug out and cleaned early in the morning. The basket was placed on a mat; four men took out the skull and the lower jaw, which looked smooth and white like the most beautiful specimens, and set about decorating them as well as a new basket-bag with feathers. [302] [301] Moguyokuri sat on a jaguar skin in gala array, skin and hair painted red, an akurí palm branch wrapped around his hips, dark-blue mutung feathers glued on his shoulders, the yellowish red lappets of toucan feathers hanging down from his ears, the most beautiful paríko on his head, the shell chain in the hole of his lower lip. Beside him stood four medicine men [756] adorned with paríkos, who busily shook the rattle-gourds and, rhythmically stamping, jumped up and down, their eyes closed. The entire ranchão was filled with people, chiefly women and children; they joined in the singing and clapped their hands rhythmically. Several of the women stepped up to the bone-basket and laid their hands on it. The oldest woman scratched [785] her arms with broken glass in quick, sharp cuts; the blood dripped on the hands of the others and colored the palm straw of the basket-bag.

[302] [301] The young men in the center first had their lower jaws painted with urucú and covered with white down feathers. Be- [237] side them on the mat they had urucú pigment in an armadillo shell, a little pot containing fish oil, a shell with gum-resin, a mat with little loose white feathers, and a /508/ large bowl filled with little purple feathers. They painted the new basket generously inside and out with urucú, and, while some of them glued feathers on the basket, the others devoted themselves to the skull, into which they set the lower jaw and on which they most carefully pasted the small purple feathers, starting at the back of the skull. Each feather was brushed on the end with a resin stick and set on individually.

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
● 756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
[761] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it....., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous im-
pediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epi-
demics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
[113] women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Bororos, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/121 cont./

842 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions
757 and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (o.c., p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of
163 births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of
[177] Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the
[79] influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. A v after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical 757 413 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage 765 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the 304 result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one. 512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable [224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the 302 men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally, 757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after 237 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children 301 were always doéte /sick/(Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply [164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/476 cont./

757 237 301 [302] has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face, [302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed 765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeletonized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamentation of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 531 237 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on 136 the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize 302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was [237] mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing [386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing, but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the
[515] forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
● 757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary, was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
846 352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished an- [533] cestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

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[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names--the names of the clans--and clanic names--personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other
[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to
* [601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called iyedage, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That
613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father
582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:
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[539]

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together—they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imadu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aros echetaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

776 just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are
[761] enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to
759 spy on the Bororo. These are makao, tuiwo torogo, churugu-
825 churugu, kadogwareu (different kinds of birds), and ruke (flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human flesh. Arce's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and
[488] juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness or kill people, Arce punish infractions of cultural rules—they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed, that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

776 Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death
761 is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the
825 Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of Bope: adugo, aigo, aipobureu, aimeareu (varieties of felines), ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), okwa, riye, moribo (varieties of canines), kugu, tagogo (varieties of owls), makao (a variety of hawk), and bakure (a carnivorous monkey). The Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. a. They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and
[821] by the people through their offerings. b. They are night animals and the night is Bope's time. c. Nobody ever sees these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and they do not die, except when they are killed by people for compensation (mori).

/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the head-waters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931": The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII,
[562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
796 intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the
[534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular
[761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

DEATH CAUSES GREAT CONCERN among peoples of all levels of culture. Among primitive peoples, anxiety about death is especially keen because of the widespread belief that the spirit of the dead person may be displeased and may remain in the community to haunt and disturb the survivors. Consequently, it is extremely important to the survivors to dispose of the remains of a dead person in the prescribed manner and to demonstrate their concern for the deceased through the proper rituals. For this reason, the

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6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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774 828 The Kayapó were truly in the vicinity of the village; no one doubted it. From his own experience Clemente confirmed the accuracy of their predictions. If the wife left behind in the village while her husband is absent on a hunting expedition, sitting half the night alone in her hut, has loudly lamented and grieved for a few hours and then lies down to sleep, her soul will certainly find the hunters, and, after awakening, the women will always give accurate accounts of where they are now and when they will return. The proximity of the enemy is discovered in the dream, people flee, and he enters a deserted village.

763 It is quite true that in the case of a person who is very ill the baris accurately predict the day of his death. Not only was the child whom I mentioned on page 568 killed when the time came, but even in the case of Coqueiro's wife artificial means were employed. She was brought, still alive, into the ranchão; her face was covered with a cloth and she suffocated under the cover. According to the baris, she was to die on the fourth day, and she died. I believe one can easily understand this tampering with Atropos' handiwork, particularly in the case of a frequently roving hunter tribe, even if it does not put human beings and animals on the same level quite as seriously as the Bororó, because they are accustomed to giving dying animals the finishing stroke and are not in a position to remain for an arbitrary period in some localities. The fact that the baris know how to benefit by this custom is another matter.

761 775 [171] Ideas about death and the existence after death differ essentially from those of the Kulisehu Indians insofar as the medicine men responsible for the death do not live in a neighboring village and carry on their magic art there, but are in certain animals, which are unfortunately or foolishly killed and which now avenge themselves by taking away the living. [171] Whereas the medicine man of the Bakaïrí transforms himself into animals only temporarily in narcosis and after death goes to heaven in human shape, here death itself is nothing but a transformation into animals, a dream, the reality of which has become visible to all.

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775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate [262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him." /Pl. XXX appears here./

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[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and [761] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

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Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

[p. 38]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 Marriage.—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and 582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage 174 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as 585 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous 591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is 763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk 602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors 764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's [622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve 224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he [616] has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (arce). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him 881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for 764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread 764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
[822] ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
[790] tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
[302] ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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[1] "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

8:Konfik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

on the São Lourenço River, and to 114
photograph the events that followed a
death that had just occurred there.
This story gives only the highlights of
these events—a complete report would
require an entire monograph.

When a Bororo is gravely ill, with- 763
out hope of recovery, his friends and [301]
relatives decorate him with feather [302]
ornaments and anoint his body with
urucú, a brilliant red paint made from [386]

[p. 40-C]

the oily seeds of a shrub. As death 763
nears, the assemblage begins to chant [386]
softly. Then, one by one they approach [533]
the dying person and pay him their last respects by briefly placing a hand on his forehead.

As soon as breathing has stopped, 764
the body is quickly covered with a sleeping mat, for the corpse must not be seen again by the women or chil-

[p. 40-D]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

771 place in the thoughts and doings of the Bororó as it does in the
000 minds of all the peoples of the earth. Elucidating further, Prof. O. T. Mason says that, "In a general sense, religion is the sum of what is thought or believed about a spirit world and what is done in consequence of such thinking. What is thought about such a world constitutes *creed*, what is done or what a people does under its inspiration constitutes the *cult*. The *creed* and the *cult* together form the religion of any individual or people."

771 The religion of the Bororó is expressed chiefly by an elab-
773 orate system of diabolical rites and ceremonies for the placa-
762 tion of disembodied souls, or spirits, which they call *bopi*—demons; and a funeral is the occasion for the greatest display
764 of the savage ritual, or *cult*. It is a great *musical* pandemonium, savage dirge, or hell's concert; or a sort of wild man's opera or tragic play, enacted by a primitive male quartette, mixed chorus and orchestra, and lasts several days and nights, first with the body present, and a week later, with the bones present.

763 When a member of the tribe becomes so ill that the family
755 begins to fear for his life, one of the tribal priests, or sorcerers,
756 is summoned to his hut where he lies naked on a palm-leaf mat spread upon the ground, to declare whether he will live or die. This primitive ecclesiastic may think, inspired with wicked cunning, that the sick one will die naturally within a certain number of days. Or, he may hold a grudge against the stricken man, and may consider this a good opportunity to balance accounts. So, in announcing to the family the number of days the patient will live, he mentally resolves that if death should not occur naturally at the time he shall name, he will see to it that it occurs, nevertheless, in some other way. Or, again, he may feel that life in the village has long been very dull and monotonous, and that there is immediate and urgent need of a social function or festival of some kind; and what could be more entertaining to the savage public than a good funeral *bakororó!* In this case, also, he will see to it that the victim dies at the time he indicates. In any event, he will take steps to have his predictions "come true" to the letter, in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance. 763 755 756 [802]

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the 764 [302] [301] [534]

/456 cont./

198 224 Nocturnal howl of Lamantation. Evening after evening, from at least four or five huts, came the incessant howls of lamentation by individual women. These are the wives of men who are on a hunting expedition and are expected back in a few days. Bábela bábela bá.... baba éh. The lament lasts until far into the night; it is scarcely possible for us to sleep. It has a very definite purpose, however. The women say that afterwards, [787] when they lie down to sleep, they will find out in their dreams when their husbands will return. They will know it the next 763 morning. At the moment they are all the more occupied with this matter since the wife of one of the absent ones, the Indian "Coqueiro" (coconut palm), has just died. In the men's house the red covering of the dead has been spread out, a pot and two work-shells of hers have been added; two baris let resound a lengthy song of lament, while a number of mourning women remained in the background.

Vesper prayer. At eight o'clock in the evening the "reza," the vesper prayer of the soldiers, takes place. Yesterday we followed the procedure more closely, and, when the horn-player gave his signal, we took our places in front of the prison door in order to watch. Gradually 32 men, besides the ever present guard, gathered at the main house /457/ and "arranged" themselves in two rows, tall and short, as they happened to come, in whatever garb, but each one equipped with his Comblain rifle. The full moon shed its mild light on the strange fellows. Facing them stood two cadets, one of whom read the names by the light of a candle, the other cut himself pieces of sugar cane and sucked contentedly. As soon as a name was called, the bearer answered, sometimes loudly, sometimes softly, depending on his mood, "pronto," "present." To our astonishment, the "pronto" suddenly sounded behind us in a hollow, sepulchral voice issuing from the guardhouse cell; through a crack in the door we were amused to see, from the shadow moving back and forth, how the culprit in a bright light inside was swinging in his hammock.

/460 cont./ A child of about Two which had been
● 763 struggling with death for about 24 hours and whose end the baris had predicted for today was brought out in front of the hut. The mother was holding it in her lap; the medicine men and relatives sat around and lamented. Behind the mother squatted the father; for a while he remained motionless, then -- one of the onlookers was just lighting his pipe -- /461/ he drew a cord around the neck of the poor little mite and quickly brought to fulfillment the prophecy of the doctors. Immediately everyone except the
[535] mother got up; the medicine men fetched their feather ornaments
[764] and rattles and, with a booming "aroé..., aroé..." song, commenced the mourning dance.

726 The festivity in the ranchão and the mourning ceremonies outside suddenly suffered a mighty disturbance, however, when two shots were heard from the forest. Somebody there was again shooting at the Kayapó! One man who was sleeping off his intoxication had caught sight of them and heard them shouting! Having waked up, he sounded the alarm and a mad hubbub was
[411] the result. Eliseo had the soldiers report; in no time the plaza was filled with men, all of whom carried bows and arrows, clubs, and axes, with women who had packed up all their belongings in carrying baskets and were dragging their children or pushing them on ahead, with half-grown boys, most of whom were also armed.
[764] Only the woman with the little dead creature in her lap remained
[535] in her place, and a few dancers with the great radial wheel of red arara feathers around their heads stamped, sang, rattled on steadfastly, or, after they had mingled for a moment in the bustle, returned to their duty.

The crowd was milling about wildly and pressing around the main building. The soldiers stood there in a long row; the cadets and officials could scarcely defend themselves against the onslaught, and no one could hear his own words. It was a dark night as well. The agitated ones demanded an immediate crossing to the other river bank before the Kayapó arrived; the entire company was ready to march. Fortunately, the people did not dare separate themselves from the soldiers. There was such a surging and seething that one did not know whether he still had possession of his five senses. Gradually the surging

/511 cont./

774 828 The Kayapó were truly in the vicinity of the village; no one doubted it. From his own experience Clemente confirmed the accuracy of their predictions. If the wife left behind in the village while her husband is absent on a hunting expedition, sitting half the night alone in her hut, has loudly lamented and grieved for a few hours and then lies down to sleep, her soul will certainly find the hunters, and, after awakening, the women will always give accurate accounts of where they are now and when they will return. The proximity of the enemy is discovered in the dream, people flee, and he enters a deserted village.

•763 It is quite true that in the case of a person who is very ill the baris accurately predict the day of his death. Not only was the child whom I mentioned on page 568 killed when the time came, but even in the case of Coqueiro's wife artificial means were employed. She was brought, still alive, into the ranchão; her face was covered with a cloth and she suffocated under the cover. According to the baris, she was to die on the fourth day, and she died. I believe one can easily understand this tampering with Atropos' handiwork, particularly in the case of a frequently roving hunter tribe, even if it does not put human beings and animals on the same level quite as seriously as the Bororó, because they are accustomed to giving dying animals the finishing stroke and are not in a position to remain for an arbitrary period in some localities. The fact that the baris know how to benefit by this custom is another matter.

761 775 [171] Ideas about death and the existence after death differ essentially from those of the Kulisehu Indians insofar as the medicine men responsible for the death do not live in a neighboring village and carry on their magic art there, but are in certain animals, which are unfortunately or foolishly killed and which now avenge themselves by taking away the living. [171] Whereas the medicine man of the Bakaïrí transforms himself into animals only temporarily in narcosis and after death goes to heaven in human shape, here death itself is nothing but a transformation into animals, a dream, the reality of which has become visible to all.

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*pápurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The 768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured

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[Since there are many similarities between the marid'do funeral dance described by Lévi-Strauss (1: Lévi-Strauss, pp. 22-24) and the mano race described by Cook (8:Cook, pp. 282-283), the researcher would be well advised to compare the two descriptions.]

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

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Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
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/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green
palm. Each rung is made of a
bundle of two (big marid'do) or three
(small marid'do) sections. Gradually
during the construction, the ladder
is rolled up on itself until it forms,
in the largest example, a disk 1.50
[283] meters in diameter. The two sides
are then decorated with green palm,
held in place by a net of cords made
of women's hair. The top of the
disk is decorated for a length of about
50 cm. with applications of down.
The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewãguddudoge cõreõ marid'do; the
small one, Ewãguddudoge kujagoreõ
marid'do. But it is not necessarily
natives of this clan who have made
them. Some time before the festival
the two marid'do are solemnly taken
out of the men's house and taken to
the middle of the bororo, where they
are placed parallel, about two meters
apart, and on the axis separating the
phratries. The dance of the marid'do
lasts two days; each protagonist tries to
lift one of the disks at arm's end and
to hold it as long as possible while
running and jumping in the plaza.
Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony
(Pl. VIII, C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X,
B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

764 535 533 are sung without stopping:

ᵂure ᵐure	foot, foot
kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
čegu'ę	we others
čę	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
čęgiga	we joyous

764 535 614 616 of the Ewåguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the same individual (Bãdejeba) another ceremony took place under the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewåguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 264 345 [272] [576] A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house. Inside the Baitemannanage°, about every two hours a man arrives from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau prepared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

/297 cont./

614 designate the Ārōre čębegeʷō (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Aréme, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

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1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive. The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." After interminable negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

[764]

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Plate VIII

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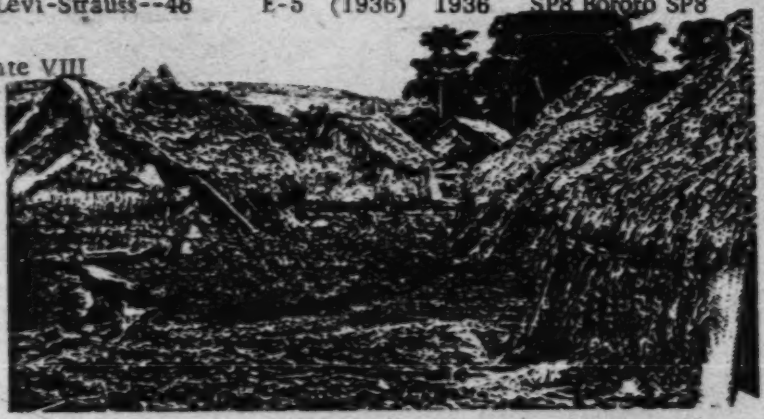

A

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C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

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Plate X

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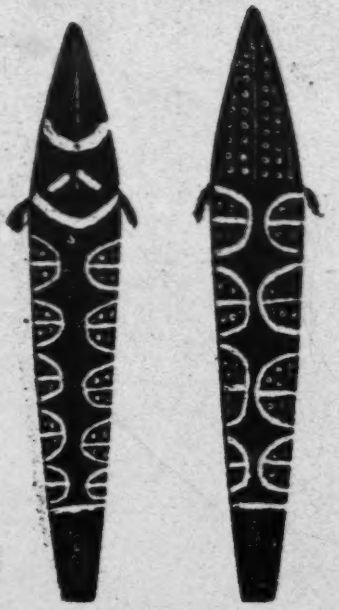

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional only the Caboclass
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
592 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground,
354 over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
942 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[987] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[174] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear orna-
302 ments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band

The moieties have reciprocal duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 476 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [774] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are
582 abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and
174 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as
585 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous
591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is
763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk
602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors
764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's
[622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve
224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he
[616] has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (arce). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him
881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for
764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread
764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 528

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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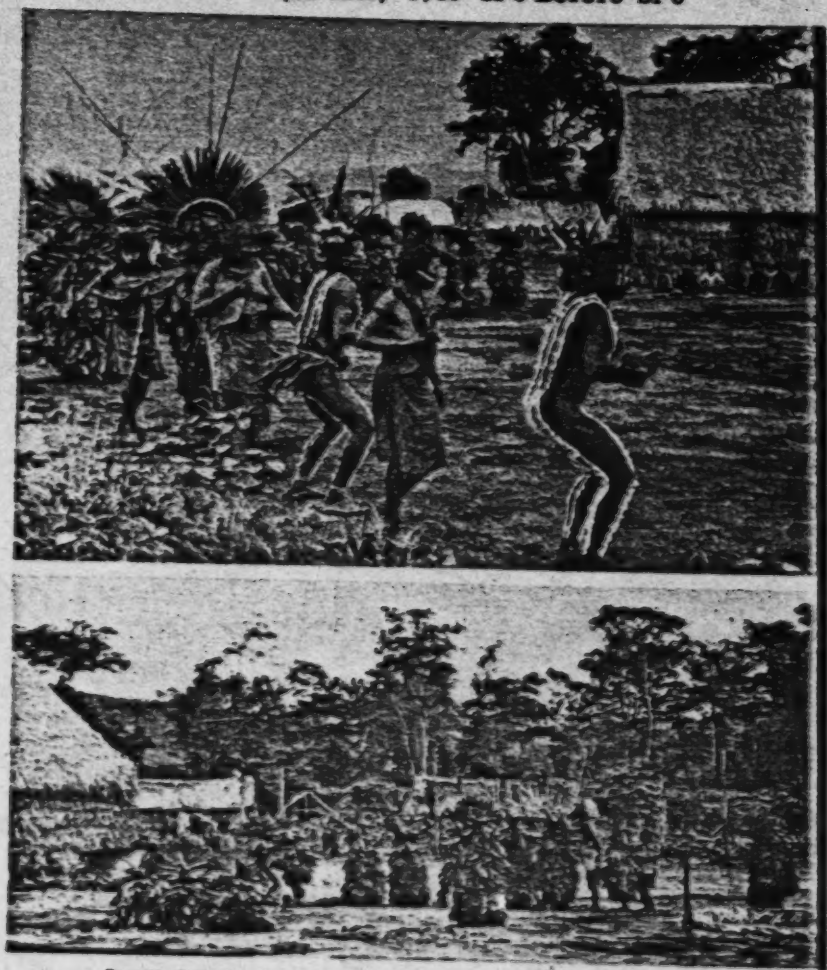

PLATE 88.—Bororo funeral ceremony. Dance of the Kwaxidáru clan, some dancers in leaf costume, others decorated with down. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-F]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE III—Bororo Japanese impressions. At the Campanha. Front and rear views. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-G]

3:Petrúllo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1

São Lorenço valley. The mussel shell beads and the cylindrical jasper kind are not to be found among the Bororo or those groups mentioned above.

M B 172 B [301] [171] B [764]

The method of burial of the Bororo is radically different from what was revealed in this excavation, leaving no doubt that the cemetery must antedate the occupation of the territory by these people.

The piranha is associated in magico-religious concepts of the tribes of the Kulusen-Kulusche region. Its jaws and teeth find practical application by all of the aborigines, being used as scrapers, or cutters. The cache of piranha jaws and teeth thus becomes meaningful.

The body was not buried always in the same position. The site revealed that it was placed sometimes on the side, and sometimes on the back, with the legs flexed at various degrees.

All of the burials were unquestionably primary, judging from the articulating position of the bones. No marks of any kind were found on the skeletal material.

The pottery is of poor quality, being of coarse clay and badly fired. The decoration that was found on several potsherds and on one small pot was impressed string pattern. The pottery ware is different from that made by the Bororo.

B [323]

The lithic industry is too poorly represented to permit any conclusions. What was found is polished, and badly made. Its scarcity suggests that it was not a major industry in the culture represented. However, the stone, if not the artefacts, must have been imported from the highlands of the west or the north, since there is no stone in the region.

CEMETERY II

(Plate VIII, 1, 2)

About five miles to the west of Cemetery I, and the port of Descavaldot, is located Cemetery II, part of an extensive archaeological site whose limits have not been determined. The land is slightly elevated from the rest of the pantanal, so that during the floods it forms an island, but at the height of the dry season it remains partly surrounded by a large lagoon which is connected with the Paraguay only by marshes. When the water is high it can be reached by canoe from the Paraguay. It constitutes an ideal location for a native village, in that it is situated in the pantanal where game is plentiful, it is close to the river, though hidden

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potshards and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.
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616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 A different set of terms, which are considered more po-
533
765 etic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:
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881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

772 Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture

561 The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

899 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society 787 is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

841 787 764 denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into 787 the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the 772 meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; 533 it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially 302 the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child 237 is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. 693 She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of 152 them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is 534 also there, playing the <u>ika</u>: the Aroe are acknowledging the 775 arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo 304 can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are 593 done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given 614 to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. 787 After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams 533 were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to 764 put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
[534] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[152] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[837] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[891] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
794 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the head-waters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII,
[562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
796 intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the
[534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular
[761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's
house, completely closed, and consumed there by
those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead
one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere
Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however,
what really happens there, although they pretend not to
know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
562 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men
and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine
obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower
[307] (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his
arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated
blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn
destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better,
the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut
as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived
with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment
besides the black rope around his body, which he had
spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks
were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping
were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows,
presenting them to him."

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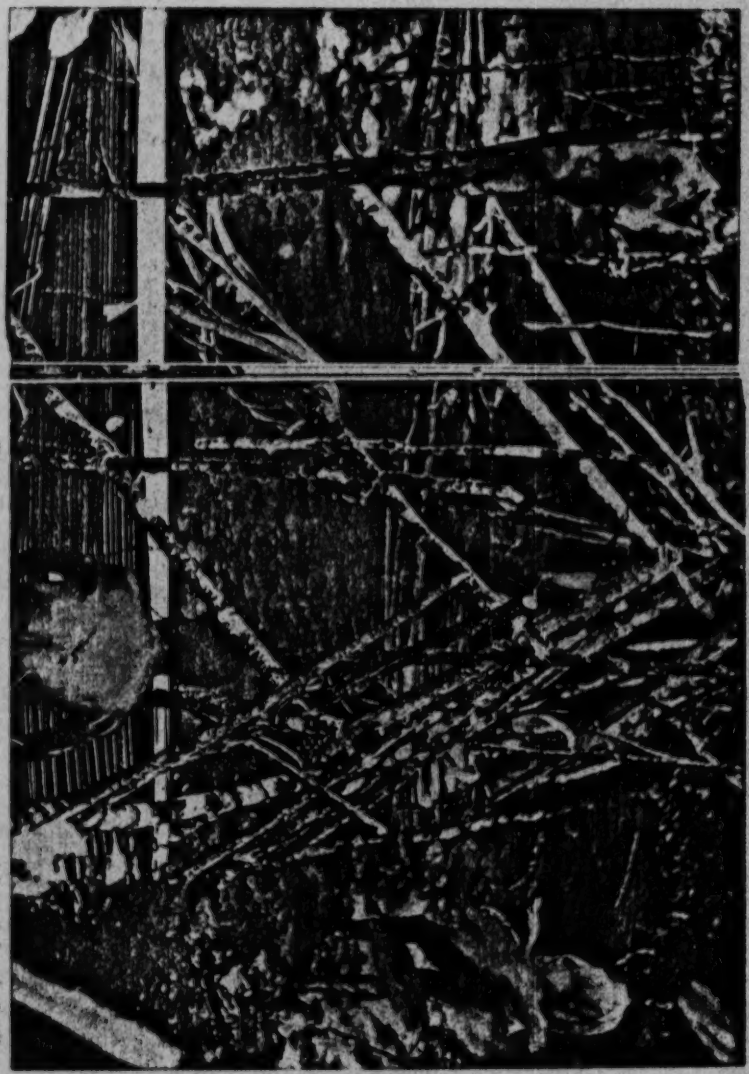

WEIR IS BUILT across a stream near the village after a death. Fence is used to trap many fish needed to feed village people during the long funeral rituals.

[p. 39-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

DEATH CAUSES GREAT CONCERN among peoples of all levels of culture. Among primitive peoples, anxiety about death is especially keen because of the widespread belief that the spirit of the dead person may be displeased and may remain in the community to haunt and disturb the survivors. Consequently, it is extremely important to the survivors to dispose of the remains of a dead person in the prescribed manner and to demonstrate their concern for the deceased through the proper rituals. For this reason, the

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[775]

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[p. 39-D]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

ritual practices accompanying death are often among the most elaborate and impressive ceremonies to be found in the primitive world. No more spectacular funerary ceremony is known to ethnology than that of the Bororo Indians of Brazil. 764

The Bororo now living on the São Lourenço River in the state of Mato Grosso call themselves *Orarimogodogue*—Fish People. Their settlement consists of a number of large thatched houses arranged in a circle around an open dance plaza. Each hut is occupied by a group of closely related women, together with their husbands and children. 131 101 361 592

[p. 39-E]

are pacified and are being affected to an increasing extent by contact with Western civilization. But in much of their ceremonialism these people still retain their native customs. 648 177 [181]

When a death occurs among the Bororo, all the members of the society put aside the activities of their normal routine for several weeks and together perform some thirty separate rituals that constitute their elaborate and protracted funerary ceremony. 764

A few years ago, the author, with the co-operation of the Brazilian Indian Service, had an opportunity to visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga 114

[p. 39-G]
[text continues on p. 40-C]

6;Kozdk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Barono SP8

SHAMAN, into whose care all of the caught fish are first given for ritual treatment, here places a large fish on palm leaf and cuts it in small pieces.

756
•764
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226

[P. 40-B]

the oily seeds of a shrub. As death nears, the assemblage begins to chant softly. Then, one by one they approach the dying person and pay him their last respects by briefly placing a hand on his forehead. 763 [386] [533]

As soon as breathing has stopped, the body is quickly covered with a sleeping mat, for the corpse must not be seen again by the women or chil- 764

[p. 40-D]

764 ●
[152]
[304]

dren. The mourners, especially the women, wail loudly and further express their grief by cutting themselves so deeply with sharpened mussel shells that their blood runs onto the mat that covers the corpse.

At sundown the body is wrapped in the sleeping mat. If the deceased is a man, his bow and arrows are wrapped with him, and the bundle is taken out to the plaza. All the villagers gather

[p. 40-E]
[text continues on p. 41-A]

f:KonRk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

114
128

All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152] [364] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 326 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Borono SP8

WOODEN FLUTES, ornamented with bird down and feathers, figure prominently in the ceremonies, as do whistles, and rattles and trumpets made from gourds.

534
142
302
237
764

p. 43-A

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone. 765 535 825 762

In preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun. 764 302 301 292 [435]

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue. 765 535 767 776 767 776 765

Another mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound. [302] [775]

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

palm, leaving a deep well in which the 273
sap collects by upward seepage. She 222
covers the opening with leaves, and
by the next day the well is full. A num-
ber of women then suck the sap into
reeds, which they use as pipettes. [415]
When a reed is full, they close the top
quickly with a thumb and transfer the
sap to large pots. It is then taken back
to the village and left in the shade for
a day to ferment.

526
FOR a change of pace from the ritual [764]
dances of the funerary ceremony,
the Bororo engage in an unusual kind
of relay race. Two teams of young
men—each team representing one of [616]
the two moieties of the society—oppose
each other. Men of the two groups cut
stems of buriti palms, trim them to a
uniform length, and tie them into two
huge circular bundles resembling cart
wheels. Each one is about three feet
in diameter and may weigh more than
one hundred pounds. With a "cart
wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man
from each team begins running toward
the village. When he tires under his
heavy burden, the bundle is taken over

[p. 45-D]

[text continues on p. 46-B]

by a teammate, who, as he in turn tires, is relieved by a fresh teammate, and so on. The race is so exhausting that no rituals are held the next day. 576 [764]

When the rituals are again resumed, they continue with undiminished variety and vitality until the repertory of dances is completed. Then, early one morning, about a month after the initial burial, the skeleton of the deceased, now nearly free of flesh, is disinterred. A few men take the bones to a nearby swamp, wash them without ceremony, and carefully remove all the remaining flesh. 765 [535]

After being washed, the skull is set by a small fire to dry. When thoroughly dry, it is put into a basket with the other bones and carried back to the village, escorted by a procession to the accompaniment of cane flutes and gourd trumpets. [534]

As the procession approaches the village, it is met by the nearest female [602]

[p. 46-B]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the 361
club where visitors are received and entertained. The baehytu of 346
the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20
feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter 344
posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts 346
are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather
sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out
most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an
opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always
damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the
same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and
strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end,
though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch
tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these
huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and
are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and 411
bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and 482
ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human 353
lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches 352
in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, 515
a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads,
arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food.
When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do 356
not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old
and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village
moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three 572
or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, how- 354
ever, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women
much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground
is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted
or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large 251
rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the
smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress 352
or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by
binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three
or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years be- 764
longing to one of the leading families died. This gave us an oppor-
tunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by [534]
a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

7:Cook M-S (1900-1901) 1907
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764 [534] slightly in unison with each note, and shaking huge calabash rattles. This was accompanied by the wailing chant of a chorus of women standing just behind the quarvette and waving fans to keep away the flies. The snort of two huge flutes, the barking of the calabash trumpets, the lament of the savage mother, her body besmeared with her own blood, kneeling by the corpse of her child, the hairs jerked from her head, half a dozen at a time, by a female crouched behind her, the lamentations of the father, with his hair clipped, as he kneeled on the other side of the body and recited the virtues of the deceased loved one, and the low mournful chant of female relatives or friends as they slashed their legs and arms, or even their entire bodies, with sharpened shells—this was the drama that unfolded itself one beautiful summer morning as we crept into the baehytu of the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village. The little daughter of a chief had been summoned from her earthly bae to wander with the bope (evil spirits), and the funeral ceremonies were in progress.

When a Bororó dies, his body is wrapped in the palm-leaf rug which has served as his bed and is carried to the baehytu, where the spectacle described above makes night and day hideous until the first sunset after death; then as the sun goes down the chorus becomes hushed, and the bundle of remains, with a nine-foot pole passing through the roll, is carried to the public play-ground just outside the baehytu, and about ten inches of earth heaped over it. 766 Here it rests a week that the flesh may separate from the bones, and each evening at sunset the sorrowing family and friends gather around the little mound, their faces toward the fading light, and murmur a low chant, pleading the virtues of the departed one. Every evening, also, water is thrown on the little mound to hasten decay. The day before the remains are to be resurrected is again a gala time. A bamboo whistle brilliantly decorated with feathers is blown at intervals to summon the bope, while within the baehytu the man who invites the bope to resurrect the body is decorated and fêted. He wears a skirt of palm leaves hanging loosely from a belt, over his shoulders a cloak of the same material descending below the waist, and over his head is a veil of slender palm leaves to prevent his recognition, and his name must not be spoken. On his head, to represent the setting sun, is a pariko, an ornament of brilliant feathers of the makaw and parrot. Thus arrayed, he dances up and down sideways like a crab, while a companion and a rear guard execute similar movements. After a time, accompanied by all the males, they leave the baehytu for the play-ground just beyond the village, all dancing as they go. Here the soul-representa-

123 articles from us without offering us anything in exchange.
431 One would say, "*Bororó*, headache—handkerchief, red"—Meaning, my head aches; give me a red handkerchief to tie around it. Or, "*Boi* sick—tobacco,"—I am sick. Give me a piece of tobacco to make me well. Or, again, "*Boi* pursue tapir—catch him not. Give tobacco." At other times, they sought to obtain things on credit, saying, "*Bororó*, bring"—I will bring you something. But they usually forgot "to bring." Sometimes they tried a little flattery. One day a chief man came to me saying: "Captain"—myself—"good—Captain very good. Bororó cry when Captain go away. Bororó ask Captain not go." But this was largely to pave the way to ask for something. When I had to refuse them and they seemed displeased, I said to them: "*Bororó*, good; *Bororó*, very good. Captain, bad—very bad." They always hastened to say in reply to this, "No, no; Captain, good—very good."

157 When fish became scarce and a hunting expedition had
261 not resulted successfully, and they were, consequently, with-
[433] out food, they came to us acting as if they longed to become our slaves forever. After much self-abnegation, they would
[123] say, timidly, "*Boi tapira*,"—I like beef. *Tapira* is their word for cattle, cow, bullock or beef. But when they made a good haul of fish, their demeanor underwent an entire change, and seeming unable to recognize any one, they hastened to their huts without looking to the right or to the left. If spoken to, they feigned deafness. They do not wish many friends at such times as this as they would have to divide their catch with them. This is much like the civilized man, who, having acquired a fortune, is unable, longer, to recognize his less favored friends and relatives.

764 A death occurred in the village the day after our arrival, and as custom among these people forbids that any member of the family of the deceased should leave the village to fish, hunt, or to forage, until all the obsequies, which continue many days, are over, they must trust to the generosity of their
[123] neighbors for food. Consequently, the father of the bereaved

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 287 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

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place in the thoughts and doings of the Bororó as it does in the minds of all the peoples of the earth. Elucidating further, Prof. O. T. Mason says that, "In a general sense, religion is the sum of what is thought or believed about a spirit world and what is done in consequence of such thinking. What is thought about such a world constitutes *creed*, what is done or what a people does under its inspiration constitutes the *cult*. The *creed* and the *cult* together form the religion of any individual or people."

The religion of the Bororó is expressed chiefly by an elaborate system of diabolical rites and ceremonies for the placation of disembodied souls, or spirits, which they call *bopi*—demons; and a funeral is the occasion for the greatest display of the savage ritual, or *cult*. It is a great *musical* pandemonium, savage dirge, or hell's concert; or a sort of wild man's opera or tragic play, enacted by a primitive male quartette, mixed chorus and orchestra, and lasts several days and nights, first with the body present, and a week later, with the bones present.

When a member of the tribe becomes so ill that the family begins to fear for his life, one of the tribal priests, or sorcerers, is summoned to his hut where he lies naked on a palm-leaf mat spread upon the ground, to declare whether he will live or die. This primitive ecclesiastic may think, inspired with wicked cunning, that the sick one will die naturally within a certain number of days. Or, he may hold a grudge against the stricken man, and may consider this a good opportunity to balance accounts. So, in announcing to the family the number of days the patient will live, he mentally resolves that if death should not occur naturally at the time he shall name, he will see to it that it occurs, nevertheless, in some other way. Or, again, he may feel that life in the village has long been very dull and monotonous, and that there is immediate and urgent need of a social function or festival of some kind; and what could be more entertaining to the savage public than a good funeral *bakororó!* In this case, also, he will see to it that the victim dies at the time he indicates. In any event, he will take steps to have his predictions "come true" to the letter, in

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order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance. 763 755 756 [802]

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the 764 [302] [301] [534]

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764 quartette and chorus, the men usually sitting cross-legged on palm-leaf mats on the ground, and the women standing. The male members of these outer groups are the orchestra, or band, composed of four or more pieces, in the manipulation of which the primitive musicians relieve one another from time to time. These instruments are of two kinds only, and of native manufacture. One kind is a sort of bass flute forty inches long and three inches thick in the outer half. It is made by splitting and hollowing a sapling, then binding the halves together into a rough tube by winding them from end to end with long strips of bark. The upper half of the instrument is but an inch or so in diameter. The second instrument is a sort of trumpet, made by gouging large openings in each end of several oblong calabash shells, five inches in diameter, and gumming them together, end to end, with beeswax. But one note can be produced with each instrument. The flute emits a snorting, snoring sound, the trumpet a barking, roaring, groaning, diapason note.

764 534

764 785 On one side of the corpse—which, at the rites I witnessed, was that of a child seven years old—crouched the bereaved father and brothers, who moaned, muttered and lamented continually in low tones. On the opposite side, kneeled the mother, sitting on her heels, her body completely besmeared with blood from having been slashed from head to foot with sharp-edged shells, while behind her crouched another female who, having first rubbed ashes into her scalp, slowly jerked out her hair, consuming five or six hours in the operation. At the same time, the poor, tortured creature wailed and moaned, and uttered lamentations, and jibbered and muttered, reciting the virtues of her beloved child. Meanwhile, female relatives [302] and friends of the stricken family, placing, each in turn, a foot upon the corpse, slashed their legs and arms scores of times, and sometimes their entire bodies, with jagged-edged shells—reminding one of the priests of Baal—and daubed their bodies from head to foot with a black substance, made chiefly from the genipapa fruit, all the while moaning, muttering and chanting. They do not intend to cut themselves more than

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Camping in the Matto Grosso Wilds.

Bororó Funeral Ceremonies. The mother of the deceased, her hair jerked out and her body slashed from head to foot, is chanting just outside the great hut.

[Facing 398]

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skin deep, but now and then they accidentally cut deep and bleed profusely. The reader will have observed that the males do not cut themselves, nor pluck out their hair. They are careful not to injure themselves. It is only the nearest female relative of the deceased that has her hair jerked out.

Witnessing these hideous, uncanny and revolting scenes of savagery, in the sickening atmosphere and dismal gloom of the great hut, and listening to the pandemoniacal uproar or medley of infernal noises, one could well imagine that he had somehow been cast into the dungeons of the damned, and was hearing their shrieks, and wails, and moans of unspeakable anguish and despair. While this hideous drama, that only savage tragedians are capable of interpreting, was being enacted, and pandemonium was singing and playing its hellish hymns, and saying its mass, in this cavernous place; outside, a tropical sun was silently inundating the earth with its glorious effulgence, and all Nature, arrayed more beautifully than Solomon in all his glory, sang for joy.

The first part of this horrid nightmare within the great hut with the body present, continues night and day without intermission, until the first sunset after death; then, as the king of light sinks slowly and majestically behind the western wilderness, and the shadows of night begin to gather, symbolical of the closing forever of life's bright, happy day, and the ushering in of the black, sad, hopeless night of the invisible world, the savage choir, chorus and orchestra become hushed; and the enwrapped remains are borne solemnly to the public playground just outside the great hut, placed on top of the ground and covered by a little mound of earth. Here the body lies for a week or more in order that the flesh may decay and separate from the bones. Each evening during this time, at the *meri de códu*—the setting of the sun—as the prince of day resigns the earth to the rule of night, the sorrowing family and sympathizing friends, gather around the sacred mound, and with their faces turned toward the dying light, murmur a low, mournful chant, pleading the virtues of the lost one, and perhaps also recommending him to the good offices of the "supreme power"

763 /460 cont./ A child of about Two which had been struggling with death for about 24 hours and whose end the baris had predicted for today was brought out in front of the hut. The mother was holding it in her lap; the medicine men and relatives sat around and lamented. Behind the mother squatted the father; for a while he remained motionless, then -- one of the onlookers was just lighting his pipe -- /461/ he drew a cord around the neck of the poor little mite and quickly brought to fulfillment the prophecy of the doctors. Immediately everyone except the [535] mother got up; the medicine men fetched their feather ornaments [764] and rattles and, with a booming "aroé..., aroé..." song, commenced the mourning dance.

726 The festivity in the ranchão and the mourning ceremonies outside suddenly suffered a mighty disturbance, however, when two shots were heard from the forest. Somebody there was again shooting at the Kayapó! One man who was sleeping off his intoxication had caught sight of them and heard them shouting! Having waked up, he sounded the alarm and a mad hubbub was [411] the result. Eliseo had the soldiers report; in no time the plaza was filled with men, all of whom carried bows and arrows, clubs, and axes, with women who had packed up all their belongings in carrying baskets and were dragging their children or pushing them on ahead, with half-grown boys, most of whom were also armed. [764] Only the woman with the little dead creature in her lap remained [535] in her place, and a few dancers with the great radial wheel of red arara feathers around their heads stamped, sang, rattled on steadfastly, or, after they had mingled for a moment in the bustle, returned to their duty.

The crowd was milling about wildly and pressing around the main building. The soldiers stood there in a long row; the cadets and officials could scarcely defend themselves against the onslaught, and no one could hear his own words. It was a dark night as well. The agitated ones demanded an immediate crossing to the other river bank before the Kayapó arrived; the entire company was ready to march. Fortunately, the people did not dare separate themselves from the soldiers. There was such a surging and seething that one did not know whether he still had possession of his five senses. Gradually the surging

/503 cont./

855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about 854 their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head 593 between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

•764 Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú [114] from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure 765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

/504 cont./

764 "The departed remains on his deathbed untouched for three days until decomposition is already far advanced and there is a disagreeable, nauseating odor; on the third day the corpse is wrapped in skins, mats, and green leaves, laid in the pit, and this again covered with earth, palm leaves, and mats.

"The burial place is in the center of the village and is kept very clean; it had the appearance of a European cemetery."

765 174 114 In this valuable account one point must be discussed in more detail. Waehneldt, with his short visit in the Mato Grosso, regards the Bororó as ancient inhabitants of the region and believes, since he saw burial in urns, that urns, too, which are found "in abundance in old habitations now forsaken, largely filled with bones," originated among the ancestors of the Bororó. His Bororó, however, are the ones who were settled here by the fazendeiro Leite after long struggles; there are many old urn-cemeteries of the same type in the vicinity of Villa Maria; they have nothing to do with the modern Bororó and

765 174 [323] are yet to be investigated. Waehneldt himself says that he only "came across a few pots of clay which were made by them and in addition several larger vessels for storing various objects, which were heirlooms from the ancestors because they are no longer made today." Either the Bororó had taken such urns as models and replaced their bone-baskets -- a /illustration appears here/ /505/ first step toward the urn -- with them, or, what I consider more likely in view of their acknowledged inferior performance in ceramics, which corresponds exactly to our Bororó, and the statement that old urns were used for other things, they buried their dead in the old urns which are to be found in such numbers and in part empty at the old dwelling sites

765 171 now abandoned. The original custom of the Bororó is the same as that of Humboldt's Aturen /Ature/, of whom the traveler found only remnants in the form of 600 well-preserved skeletons colored red with urucú and packed in baskets of palm-leaf ribs as in a square bag, and of whose language only an old parrot of the nearby mission was still able to prattle a few words. The Aturen also, in accordance with tradition, had first laid their corpses in the earth for a time, let the flesh decompose, and

[Text Continues on p. 634]

/505 cont./

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in-between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the paríko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[302] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by
[301] the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two paríkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

773 to wait for him, but the man would not wait and continued walking and whistling. The fish-child returned home and asked, "Why does my father act like this, he does not like me for he always leaves me behind." The mother then explained, "You are not his son, you are a little fish." The boy was very sad and answered, "As I have no father I do not wish to live." He then went out in the woods, climbed a tree, and began jumping from one tree to another until he became tired and fell down and died. The woman went looking for him and found his body and brought it back to her house. The woman was very angry with her husband and explained who the boy was. The husband was sorry for what he had done and both of them went out and buried the fish-boy. From his corpse grew the following crops: Sweet-potatoes from his testicles, pepper from his eyes, and beans from his ears.

GHOSTS

775 When a person dies his ghost (*arumuntú*) goes into the sky, climbing up on a ladder made of sipo vine. The ladder is guarded by a *cotia*, a rabbitlike rodent, who calls out everytime a ghost is going up or down. Another version states that in the old days the ghosts went up the ladder and later came down as living beings, but one day the *cotia* gnawed away the ladder so that when a person dies today he can no longer go into the sky and return to the earth as a living being but must remain here as a ghost. The *arumuntú* sometimes enter the bodies of birds and animals. The ghost of an old bearded hunter is believed to enter the body of a jaguar or an eagle so that he can continue hunting. When a jaguar is killed the Umotina examine it carefully, for they believe that they can recognize whose ghost lived in it.

Some ghosts are good; others are evil and cause sickness. The good ghosts are those who have a living human representative whose body they can enter during the annual *arduto* ceremony and who have living relatives who make offerings to them. Evil ghosts are foreign ghosts or the ghosts of Umotina who have died away from the village or who have no relatives to make offerings
● 764 to them. When a person dies, the relatives in-
775 vite some man from another family to bury the corpse. This man then becomes the ceremonial or spirit father, mother, brother, sister, son, or

[p. 109 (A)]

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died,
775 and once every year the ghost returns and enters the body of the person who did the burying and
[782] dances in the *arduato*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina is the *arduato*, which is given every year at the
775 beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by
[782] the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arduato;* and the *akukóno* and the *kutóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male
292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akukóno* dancers wear
796 long mantles made from buritĩ leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear
775 macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and puli their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buritĩ bark. The *kutóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buritĩ leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kóto*) and
534 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in
533 length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *arduato* are those men who have lost relatives since the *arduato* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.

[p. 109 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-
● 764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motokóto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*páparúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The
768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured

[p. 110 (B)]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and 582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage 174 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as 595 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous 591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is 763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk 602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors 764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's [622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve 224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he [616] has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him 881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for 764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread 764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water. 765 764

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later. [184]

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design. 532 531 [534] [411] [614] [291] [532]

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers. 526 524

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo 534

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 775 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 775 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 774

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [775]

*601 it will be considered the person's father or grandmother.
82 If a Bororo killed a bird and brought it into the village, it is quite common to hear another Bororo jokingly tell the hunter: "Alas! You killed my poor little grandfather" (Aru! Ichare are iyedaga pega-rogu bitto).

*601 Change of Kinship Terms on the Occasion of Death
768 Another important transfer of terms is connected with
616 funeral ceremonies. On this occasion, the terms that are normally used only for people of one's own moiety are extended to the people of the other moiety. Every person who dies must have a living mother who will continue to take care of him, cooking for him the food for the festive "meal of the spirits" which takes place in the plaza of the village.
[765] If the true mother is already dead, some other woman of her lineage will take her place and the new mother will be called "mother" by all the people who slash themselves to express their sorrow, without regard to whether they are from one or the other moiety. The husband of this woman will be called "father." Thus somebody may acquire a "mother" of the other moiety and a "father" who was a "brother" before that. The new terms are used both referentially and vocatively and the previous designations are dropped. Every person who dies should also have his living representative chosen from the male members of the opposite moiety. This man will take the place of the dead person within the lineage, and he will be addressed by the kinsmen of the dead person by the same term they used for the dead. Necessary adjustments are made for

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.
768
616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother,
[602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the
[593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily
[764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 A different set of terms, which are considered more po-
533 etic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:
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* 601	ikimanomo	is substituted for		iyedaga
533	ikimado	"	"	" imarugo
• 765	itare	"	"	" iyogwa and itoredu
195	itaredo	"	"	" imuga and itoreduje
	imana aredu	"	"	" ituye
	inokori	"	"	" iviye imedu
	inokorodo	"	"	" iviye aredu
	ikiwainogo	"	"	" ivagedu
	ikiwainogorodo	"	"	" irago

iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore (all in plural) are substituted for any or all dead relatives as a group.

We see again, as was the case in the preceding paragraph, that husband and father and wife and mother are classified together. The terms ivuri and imana remain unchanged when used in songs or crying, while there is confusion on how itonaregedu should be called. Some informants (women) say that they should be called in the same way younger siblings are (inokori or inokorodo), but others (also women) maintain that they should be called as older siblings are (ivuri, imana, imana aredu). Both of these assertions are denied by male informants who maintain that one's children should be classified under the general terms used for any dead person (iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore.)

*601 To a man who is making love to a woman in mourning his
522 companions will say: "Stay away from her, she is our "little
[765] mother," our "poor-little mother." After the hunt, it is a
[224] duty of the "ceremonial father" to carry the game to his wife ("the mother") who has to cook it for the "meal of the spirits." If, for some reason, the "father" did not join the hunt, this will provoke many jokes and comments from the other hunters. They will say, "Our father did not come, but we have here another 'our father' who will carry the meat," alluding to the sexual relations between this other man and "the mother." If the woman had many affairs in the past, which is quite usual among the Bororo, each man in his turn will deny being the most qualified "father" pointing to somebody else as the one who should carry the meat.

Conclusion

*601 When one arrives in the field he is immediately con-
114 fronted both with a complicated set of relations and with different systems crosscutting each other. At this point all ideas about an ordered conceptual universe appear to be nonsense. It seemed to me that the Bororo were also confused, but ignored the contradictions and pretended that things were clear and simple. I tried to construct full genealogies but
551 did not succeed. For one the Bororo avoid uttering the names of dead people, and if persuaded to produce them, another difficulty arises. Everyone at birth receives several names and during his life he acquires many new ones. A good hunter about forty-five years old had fifty different names. Some

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

The following passages of the account by Karl von den
765 Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower
[309] (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 [797] [533] [776] The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

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All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles. 764 [534]

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over. [152] [364] 765 [602]

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition. 764

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows. 765 226 [262] [136]

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community. [278] [251]

[p. 41-A]

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[787]
[616]
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[p. 42-B]

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made from the mourners' hair, which the hunter wraps around his left wrist to prevent it from being injured by the snap of the bowstring.

EVEN though the shaman has "learned" the location of a jaguar from the spirit of the deceased, several days may pass before the hunter succeeds in finding one. The ensuing struggle between hunter and hunted is a feat of great daring and skill. As soon as a jaguar comes within shooting range, the hunter releases an arrow. He then immediately lifts his bow into a horizontal position and extends it toward the jaguar, pointing the far tip directly at the beast to parry its attack (a single arrow is seldom lethal). This maneuver must be accomplished with great speed before the jaguar pounces. Enraged by pain, the jaguar leaps at the end of the bow, clawing and biting it. Eye to eye the two struggle, the hunter warding off the beast with his bow held rigidly in both hands. When the jaguar recoils to pounce, the hunter quickly looses a second arrow and again raises the bow to protect himself. When the jaguar finally falls to the ground, weakened by the wounds, a last arrow is shot to end the struggle. If the hunter does not deliver this coup de grâce, he may lose the contest, for the jaguar may still have enough strength to attack when the hunter least expects it.

With the help of a companion, the hunter carries the dead jaguar

[p. 42-C]

[text continues on p. 44-B]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Barono SP8

BLACK DESIGNS are painted on inside of jaguar skin, *above*, which is worn by shaman, *below*, in ritual dance to appease spirit of the ceremonial kill.

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[SEE p. 43-C]

[p. 43-B]

6: Kosdk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1961 SP8 Bororo SP8

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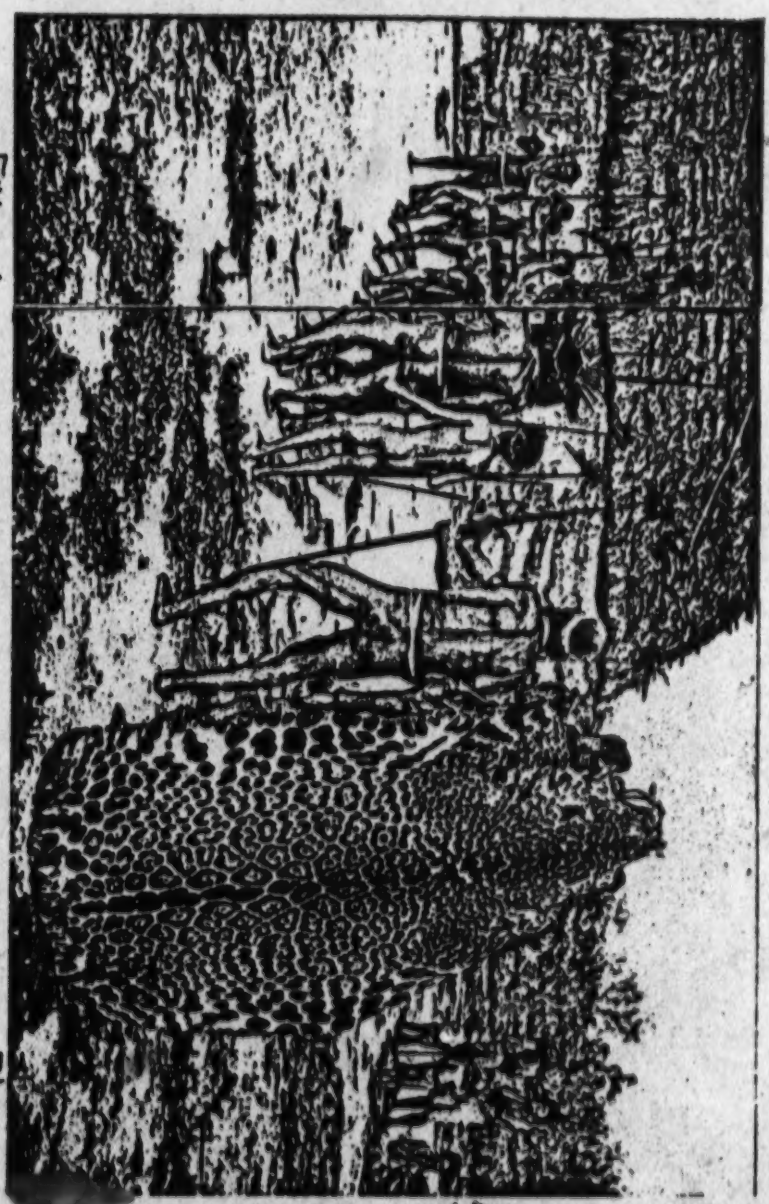

[Ritual dance to appease spirit of the ceremonial stick.-Artist]

[p. 43-C] [For caption, see p. 43-B]

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MEDICINE MAN, at the left, holds rattle as he leads strenuous dance. Men and women jump, then kneel, to raise and lower palm fronds held between them.

6;Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

[p.44-A]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [41] [531 766]

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

765 535 825 782

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

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EXHAUSTED DANCERS squat on temporary supports as a friend, daubed with clay to represent a mythical bird, sprinkles them with water. This action ends the dances and begins disintegration of body. Feathered pole is grave marker.

[p. 44-C]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone. 765 535 835 762

In preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun. 764 302 301 292 [435]

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue. 765 535 767 776

Another mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound. 767 776 765 [302] [775]

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

6:Kozik C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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Palm sap, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p.45-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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renewed effort to call forth the spirit of the dead Bororo.

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The ritual dances of the Bororo depict in lively and vigorous fashion many aspects of their relations with the spirit world. All the dances take place in the village plaza, and most of them continue for hours at a time, requiring tremendous physical endurance. As one by one the dancers become exhausted, they drop out of line. Weary and covered with perspiration, each one squats unceremoniously on the shallow grave, while someone pours a pot of water over him. These shower baths have a twofold purpose: they refresh the dancers and also moisten the ground, thus hastening decomposition of the body.

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[535]

Before the dancers return to strenuous activity, they may sip palm "wine." This weakly fermented beverage is prepared from sap of the *acuri* palm, a tree that grows in profusion near the village. To collect the sap, a man climbs to the top of the tree and cuts off the uppermost fronds. Next, his wife ascends and, with a shell, scrapes the pith from the heart of the

[p.45-c]

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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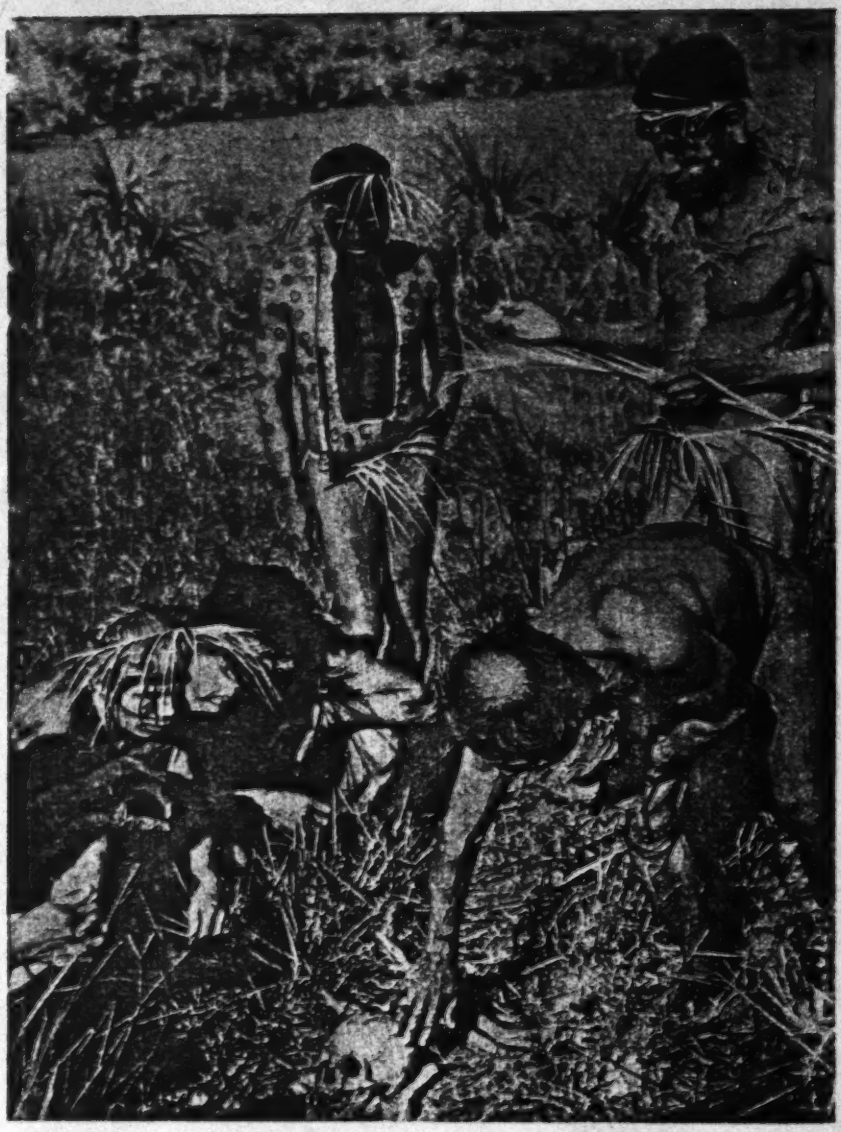

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

by a teammate, who, as he in turn tires, is relieved by a fresh teammate, and so on. The race is so exhausting that no rituals are held the next day. 526 [764]

When the rituals are again resumed, they continue with undiminished variety and vitality until the repertory of dances is completed. Then, early one morning, about a month after the initial burial, the skeleton of the deceased, now nearly free of flesh, is disinterred. A few men take the bones to a nearby swamp, wash them without ceremony, and carefully remove all the remaining flesh. 765 [535]

After being washed, the skull is set by a small fire to dry. When thoroughly dry, it is put into a basket with the other bones and carried back to the village, escorted by a procession to the accompaniment of cane flutes and gourd trumpets. [534]

As the procession approaches the village, it is met by the nearest female [602]

[p. 46-B]

relative of the deceased, who shoulders the basket and carries it to the men's house. As she sits outside the house, holding the basket in her lap, the other female kin of the deceased once more gash their arms and breasts, and allow their blood to run onto the basket. The men once again shake their gourd rattles and sing the songs and lamentations they intoned at the time of death.

765 [602] [3014] [152] [533]

MEANWHILE, several men begin to decorate the skull, which is placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it.

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The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[p. 46-C]
[text continues on p. 48-A]

6: Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

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Ceremonial Bororo man with pierced ear and lip ornaments

[p.47-A]

Tab
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6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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During decorating, women gash their skin and allow blood to drip on skull.

Notice cuts on arm of woman at right, whose hair is cropped as mourning sign.

[p. 47-B]

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6:Kozdk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

MULTICOLORED feathers, held on with resin, completely cover skull, which is surmounted by feather crown. Still on its mat, skull is put on jaguar skin.

[p.47]

placed in the special basket that is to be their final repository. Then the skull, still resting on its little mat, is placed in the basket on top of the other bones. The edges of the basket are sewed together with a wooden needle and fiber cord, and until its final burial a few days later, it is hung in the house of the deceased's relatives.

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[283]
[p. 48-A]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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On the day after the bones have been decorated, some of the men go into the forest to carve and decorate a number of bull-roarers. These are flat, fish-shaped pieces of wood, 3 to 4 feet long and 5 to 8 inches wide, which are whirled in the air by means of a long cord. As the piece of wood rotates it causes the cord to twist, and

[p. 48-B]

the combined action produces a strange, moaning whir. The rest of that day and all of the following night the bull-roarers are whirled, and their noise is believed to represent the voice of the evil spirit *Bope*. (No woman may see the bull-roarers, for the sight, it is believed, would kill her.) The bones are carried to their final resting

765 534 [776] [562]

[p. 48-C]

place to the accompaniment of the bull-roarers' whir. 765 [523]

At the swamp, where the final interment of the bones takes place, a deep pit is dug, and the basket is lowered into it. There is no further ritual. Only a long bamboo pole decorated with feathers is left to mark the last resting place of the bones, on the proper dis- [461]

[p. 49-A]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

position of which the Bororo have lavished approximately a month of their time and so much of their energy. 765 [461]

In January, 1958, Marshal Candido M. Rondon, who was a great friend and protector of the Indians of Brazil, and the first director of the Brazilian Indian Service, died. During Rondon's 114

[p. 49-B]

6: Konák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SPS Barara SPS

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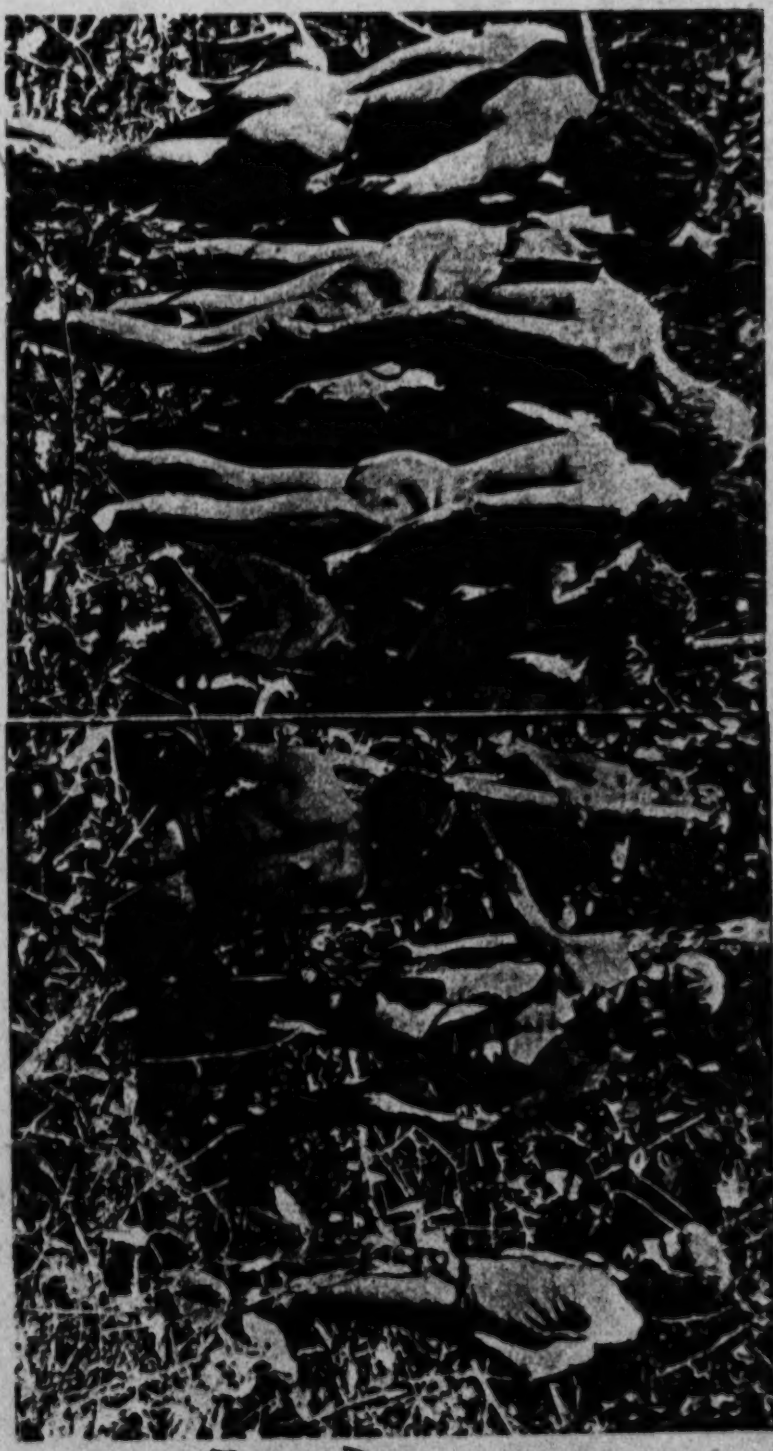

[p. 49-D]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

skin deep, but now and then they accidentally cut deep and bleed profusely. The reader will have observed that the males do not cut themselves, nor pluck out their hair. They are careful not to injure themselves. It is only the nearest female relative of the deceased that has her hair jerked out.

Witnessing these hideous, uncanny and revolting scenes of savagery, in the sickening atmosphere and dismal gloom of the great hut, and listening to the pandemoniacal uproar or medley of infernal noises, one could well imagine that he had somehow been cast into the dungeons of the damned, and was hearing their shrieks, and wails, and moans of unspeakable anguish and despair. While this hideous drama, that only savage tragedians are capable of interpreting, was being enacted, and pandemonium was singing and playing its hellish hymns, and saying its mass, in this cavernous place; outside, a tropical sun was silently inundating the earth with its glorious effulgence, and all Nature, arrayed more beautifully than Solomon in all his glory, sang for joy.

The first part of this horrid nightmare within the great hut with the body present, continues night and day without intermission, until the first sunset after death; then, as the king of light sinks slowly and majestically behind the western wilderness, and the shadows of night begin to gather, symbolical of the closing forever of life's bright, happy day, and the ushering in of the black, sad, hopeless night of the invisible world, the savage choir, chorus and orchestra become hushed; and the enwrapped remains are borne solemnly to the public playground just outside the great hut, placed on top of the ground and covered by a little mound of earth. Here the body lies for a week or more in order that the flesh may decay and separate from the bones. Each evening during this time, at the *meri de códu*—the setting of the sun—as the prince of day resigns the earth to the rule of night, the sorrowing family and sympathizing friends, gather around the sacred mound, and with their faces turned toward the dying light, murmur a low, mournful chant, pleading the virtues of the lost one, and perhaps also recommending him to the good offices of the "supreme power"

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

765 —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are be-
[533] lieved to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who,
[775] being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings. During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of
[533] the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday
[534] and holding a picnic in the woods. Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one
[775] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de-
[292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up
[535] and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

entrances to the savage hall. Meanwhile, stepping outside the great hut, I saw, crouching close to the wall of the hut, the mother of the recently deceased, weeping, wailing and jibbering in a low, squeaky voice which was almost gone, her body emaciated, covered with gashes and besmeared with blood. She was a most pitiable appearing creature. How cruel are the customs of savagery! 765

The soul representative and his adjutants next danced and jerked themselves outside the great hut into the open air, then to the public playground on the edge of the village. Here, the trio, totally exhausted, sat on the ground, while an assistant proceeded to call the *bopi* in the persons of a few of his fellow savages who were to represent them, or act as the materialization of the demons. Standing in the center of the *ring*, he beckons and calls, offering perhaps a bit of tobacco to induce a few men to volunteer, while the remaining males of the village—for only the males participate in this part of the funeral rites—stand scattered about in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees beyond the *ring*. At length, a savage offers to represent the *bopi* by dropping on all fours and beginning to creep very slowly toward the caller, or ringmaster, uttering constantly abdominal squeaks, in imitation, perhaps, of the note of the tapir, or of the wild pig. Approaching the center of the ring, he springs up suddenly on his *hind feet*, and with upraised arms rushes to the caller, where he takes his stand upon a spot prepared for him. Another and another volunteers in the same way until five *bopi* representatives are in line in the center of the ring. Balls of clay mud are now produced and the five *bopi* impersonators are painted drab from head to foot, black rings are marked around their eyes, the black figure of a serpent is sketched coiled around the body of one or two, and a quantity of mud is massed into their hair. 765 775 [302]

The caller now places himself in the path leading to the village, and beckons and calls as before, and the *bopi* representatives again drop on all fours and begin to creep very slowly toward him, emitting continuously their weird notes.

Brazil.

765 At the same time, the remainder of the savage band break
775 forth instantly into a wild uproar, yelling and screaming, throwing up their hands, dancing and jumping in their mad, though mock efforts to drive the *bopi* into the village, suggesting a squad of men and boys trying to drive a herd of obstinate hogs. Suddenly, a horrible shriek rends the air just in advance of the materialized *bopi*. This appears to frighten them, for they turn and begin to creep away from the village. The drivers now become still more frantic, yelling and shrieking, bellowing, chattering and jumping fiercely. Soon, however, the *bopi* are again headed toward the village; and entering the path, all spring up suddenly on their *hind feet*, mount their horses—fellow savages—gallop into the village, dismount, and crouch around the mound where the body lies buried, and claw the earth slightly, as if about to unearth the remains. They now quietly retire, their part in the savage rites having ended for the day.

The soul representative, who had re-entered the village in advance of the *bopi* representatives, now seated himself astride
[789] of the grave, and the father of the deceased having crouched beside him, he performed over him some enchantments to route any evil spirit that might be threatening him, or to make him invulnerable to their assaults. This he did making passes over the bereaved man's head, and muttering and blowing in his mouth, nose and ears. Following this, the soul representative deposited all his rigging on the mound save the *pariko*, or fan of brilliant feathers that adorned his head.

765 We now witnessed the ceremony of the transference of the
768 personal effects of the deceased from this world to the spirit world, for the Bororó, in their peculiar way, believe firmly in "laying up treasures in heaven." A fire was kindled, around which the soul representative, accompanied by an adjutant, danced sidewise, stiff-legged, while each article that had belonged to the deceased was passed by the father to the adjutant, who, in turn, handed them to the soul representative, who cast them one by one into the fire until all were consumed. They were only a few dirty toys, some rude ornaments made

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

of feathers, or of the teeth and claws of beasts, and one or two 765
articles of wearing apparel made of bark. To us, they were 768
merely a heap of rubbish, but to the poor natives, precious
treasures. Having vanished in flame, the effects were con- [775]
sidered transferred to the invisible world, and so *transub-*
stantiated that they could be of service to the newly arrived
shade, or *bopi*.

One reason that the Bororó give for burning the belong-
ings of the deceased is, that if they were allowed to remain in
the hut, the family, constantly reminded by them of their lost
ones, would be weeping, wailing and uttering lamentations
continually, for it is their custom to cry and jibber loudly
whenever anything revives the memory of their dead. An- [775]
other reason for burning the effects is, that if they should not
be burned, and hence not transferred to the shadow land, the
soul would return to haunt and injure the family.

It was now about sunset, and the ceremonies of the day 765
being concluded, all the men seated themselves cross-legged
upon mats in two groups just outside the great hut, and a
primitive banquet, or collation, was served. The banquet
always forms an important part of every social function among
savages.—Indeed, a social function among them is inconceiv-
able without it. But do not banquets, suppers and buffet
lunches constitute an important part, if not the most impor-
tant part, of social events among civilized men? Yet civilized
men do not usually have a banquet at a funeral, with the
decomposing corpse lying but a few yards in front of them.

The chief items on the menu at this savage banquet were 765
big clay potfuls of a kind of broth made of a starchy liquid 262
wrung from the spongy stems of a dwarf palm and mixed with
a sauce made from the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm,
called *pyky* (peekee), *pyky* eaten raw, three kinds of wild
potatoes, boiled or baked in the ashes, and a sort of cocoa-
nut bread made by pulverizing in a mortar the meats of palm-
nuts and baking the mass in the ashes. There were no condi-
ments. As each pot or tray of food appeared, a cheer was
given by the group for whom it was intended.

Brazil.

765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *bopi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from [237] the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

At the *méri ritu*—the birth of the sun—the following morning, the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus [533] and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, [785] was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; [202] and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with [226] the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

When the immediate family of the deceased have howled, wailed and chanted until they can scarcely articulate, they drink clay water, asserting that this relieves the throat somewhat. 765 [271]

Finally, I saw the basket of bones taken by the mother of the deceased, and buried in the little cemetery two or three miles from the village, where, it was believed, the *bopi* would take possession of them in a few weeks. The sorcerer is believed to know when the *bopi* removes the bones. [775]

A day or two after the conclusion of the funeral rites I witnessed, the father of the deceased, sent by the village authorities, disinterred the basket of bones and brought it back to the great hut. Three of the chief men from a distant village had arrived on a visit, whom it was necessary to receive with honors and entertain with the best festival the village could get up. And what could equal for entertainment a good funeral *bakororó?* But how could they have a funeral *bakororó* without a corpse, or at least the bones? As soon as the basket of bones was again brought into the great hut, pandemonium was once more in session, and the rattling, roaring, groaning, squatting, snorting, barking, weeping and wailing continued all the rest of the day and all night. At daybreak, the following morning, an intermissión was taken in order that the players and actors in this savage drama might go fishing. They fished and hunted all day that they might have something to feast upon, for, of course, a *bakororó* without a banquet would scarcely be a *bakororó.* But when the darkness of night again enshrouded the land, the hideous uproar of the savage horde again burst upon our ears and did violence to the peace and tranquillity of the night until the dawn, when it was once more hushed, and the basket of bones was again entombed. [574]

Some of the Indians of the Rio Negro, hereinbefore mentioned, a score or two of families of whom live in one immense hut,—a primitive "flat,"—always bury their dead inside this hut under a few inches of earth, depositing the tobacco, ornaments and trinkets of the deceased in the grave with him. Some days after burial, a large quantity of fermented liquor is

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
•765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
[276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on
[533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.
[956] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink-
[534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/458 cont./

765 obligation has been fulfilled; everybody leaves the ranchão and wanders about outside, talking, laughing, as on most evenings.
512 In the huts one can still hear maize being pounded, here and there a little fire flares up, illuminating a picturesque group, there is singing, noisemaking, the boys romp, couples appear and disappear -- in short, country fair in front of the village, but with extraordinarily many booths in which wild rabbits eat and worship the stars.

000 On the day after Good Friday in Brazil comes the so-called Hallelujah Saturday. At twelve noon the general mourning ceases and changes to gay abandon, there is shooting and popping everywhere, Judas, the traitor, who hangs on a tree, is treated roughly and destroyed.

In the colony the beginning of the Hallelujah is announced for eight o'clock in the morning because a cow and a pig must be slaughtered. The river rose, fish were not caught for Good Friday because of the full stream, /459/ and the meat transport has come to an end. The good Eliseo excuses himself to us in all seriousness when under these circumstances he must announce the end of the Passion earlier; we reassure him by pointing out the difference in time with Jerusalem.

Judas has been hung on a young tree one and a half meters above the ground; white fatigue uniform, fine tight boots, paper face, the cheeks painted with urucú red, mustache and hair made of the hair of Indian women, stuffed with sawdust. "Kababábá?" "What is that?" ask the astonished Bororó. Judas is holding a wooden sword in his right sleeve, out of one pocket appears the neck of a beer bottle, a piece of paper stuck in the coat is the testament of the betrayer. At eight o'clock, however, the soldiers line up spick and span in white linen suits; European eyes would be somewhat surprised by the naked feet. Eliseo is wearing a red sash. The cook sticks a powder cartridge into the body of Judas -- a bang, smoke seeps out and Judas slowly begins to burn. The trumpeter blows a fanfare during which three salvos explode, and in the pauses a penetrating howl of lament from a hut is coupled with the musical accompaniment. The

/459 cont./

000 Indians, who are standing about in tight bunches, hold their ears and remember the time when shots went off in their forest. Moguyokuri and his son, who even exceeds him in body height, come forward in order to send a few arrows as well into the crumbling remains of Judas Iscariot. Cautiously they first put it out so that the arrows will not burn up. The soldiers are dismissed; powder is now exploded everywhere, and even our comrades cannot resist the temptation; from the cook-yard where the pig is being slaughtered there is murderous screaming, joy predominates everywhere: Hallelujah!

● 765 Kayapó! The burial ceremony for Coqueiro's widow /sic/, which I shall describe in detail, fell on Easter Monday (1 April); we guests never stopped marveling at the strange contrasts which were set before our eyes every day in the restless life of the colony. Scarcely had the lamentation died away and the burial
721 basket been removed, when there was new excitement. The Bororó maintained they had seen two Kayapó, whom they called Kayámo, in the forest. Their mortal enemy in close proximity
722 to the colony! Leave the colony that very evening -- it seemed almost unbelievable -- was the general solution of the Indians. The soldiers had to be called up; a patrol was sent out and was to discharge a dozen shots in the suspected corner in the forest. Thus they calmed themselves temporarily, but as a precaution the great chief Moguyokuri, the terror of the Mato Grosso, did not sleep with his two wives and his children that night, but at Eliseo's.

726 During the night of 2 to 3 April, too, everyone was awake. Our Indian friends took us to the ranchão and invited us to take part in a meeting, the purpose of which was to fortify themselves with music in the hope of victory over the evil Kayapó. At first
[535] we all stood and danced /460/ on one spot, while an old chief in the center sang and ponderously shook the rattle-gourd. The rest of us held our hands in front of our mouths and bellowed a hollow u, u... into them and flexed our knees in rhythm. Since we noticed how greatly this comforted the Bororó, we did not hold back in our enthusiastic participation. Our band was working in the dark; only occasionally did someone throw a little straw into

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical
757 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/
413 itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage
765 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the
304 result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one.
512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable
[224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the
302 men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally,
757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after
237 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children
30 were always doéte /sick/(Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply
[164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/476 cont./

757 has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-
237 strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like
301 a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front
[302] edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face,
[302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed
●765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeletonized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamentation of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú
531 /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any
237 implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on
136 the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize
302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was
[237] mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing
[386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing, but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

/478 cont./

237 301 Teeth were primarily worked into chest ornaments; the most popular ones were large jaguar teeth, usually two pairs plaited together, and small monkey teeth, several transverse rows of which were joined into a piece up to 30 centimeters wide /479/ extending almost across the entire chest; cf. Plate I /see p. i/ and Fig. 129 /see p. 589/. It was extremely seldom that women were also given these ornaments and, since it is usually reported of the other Bororó that only the men adorned themselves, is probably to be traced back to the upheaval caused by the colonization. It was characteristic that the Indian-thinking and Portuguese-speaking Clemente called the teeth plaited together rosarios, rosaries; in connection with this ornament, the Indians had the idea that it makes one strong [927] and agile. They also extracted teeth from Brazilian prisoners and hung these around themselves; lower jaws of the enemy were worn [283] in the same way. They also promised themselves protec- [765] tion from hair of the dead, which was spun into thread and then plaited into cords which were very difficult to obtain; bunches of hair hung down, along with the feathers, from the arm bands.

Fig. 134. Arara ear-feather. Bororó. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 135. Chest ornament of armadillo claws. Bororó. (1/3 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

285 [765] → [142] [301] [302] ←

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

/495 cont./

526 suddenly become very serious; the problem is to trip up the other one and thus bring him down. One of them opens the attack by trying to get his heel into the hollow of the knee of the other one and to bend it, but the latter places his tensely straightened leg so far back that the former cannot exert any pressure. Soon the attempts follow one another extremely rapidly on both sides until one falls. He may always take revenge. A small, agile, but ugly and one-eyed man whom we called the clown, but who was called Camões by his Cuyaban baptismal name, was excellent at this sort of entertainment in the ranchão, in that he threw three or four of his tallest fellow-tribesmen, one after the other. /496/ His stronger rivals, and surpassing him in size, used to point him out proudly, but at the same moment had his heel in the hollow of their knees and crashed to the ground.

[411] Shooting with the bow on the open plaza was often practiced. The photographs of Plate 28 /see p. 600/ and Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ were taken in connection with this.

Very popular among old and young was the burika, an invention of the soldiers: a horizontal beam, with short ropes at both ends, which turned in the center on a post; cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/ where a crowd /Fig. 143 appears here/ of boys is having fun with the game. While one would sit astride on either end and others would run along hanging onto the ropes, the beam was swung around in faster and faster rotation by someone who remained a few moments longer at the post, until the riders were usually hurled to the ground.

524 In Figure 143 /see p. 621/ two kinds of toys are combined: papá, the ball plaited out of maize straw with an arara feather, and tagóra, a whip with a black urubu feather at the end of the string. The boys would swing the feather whip and enjoy the mild excitement of seeing the feather stand upright for a moment upon the ground if the handle of the whip was moved downward with a flick of the wrist. I once saw two boys make a bee and a butterfly flutter on a string.

534 Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Only the large rattle
● 765 gourds up to 20 centimeters long and a small blow-gourd, poári,

/496 cont./

534 were to be found in ordinary use. The poari served as a signal horn
965 in hunting; it was a gourd of the shape and size of a large apple,
[202] had a round cutout below, and a finger-long, thin little tube set on top, into which a tongue was cut at the side. With small bundles of the hair of the deceased hanging on them, the poaris were to be acquired from the Bororó only with difficulty. The only flute or trumpet that we saw is shown in Fig. 144; it was 1.21 meters long and was blown at the ceremony for the dead and when the bone-baskets were carried back to the house. A drum which was used at the same ceremony in the ranchão did not give the impression /497/ of originality; it was a wooden mortar with a piece of oxhide stretched over it; a couple of sticks of seriba palm wood served as drumsticks.

Of greater interest are the whizzer sticks, both on account of the air of mystery connected with them, and on account of the

[524] Fig. 143. Maize ball and feather whip. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

painting, for they represent the only painted implement. I have reported on page 381 how the whizzer sticks are used. Whereas they are used on the Kulisehu only for the jolly masquerades or as a toy, they are put to use on the S. Lourenço only in connection with the

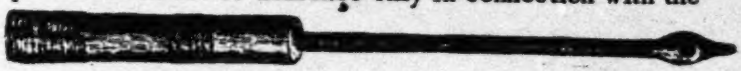

Fig. 144. Death flute. Bororó. (1/11 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

practices of the ceremony for the dead, first of all when the belongings of the dead person are burned and, in a pantomimic dance, it is made clear to the dead, who themselves appear, that nothing

/497 cont./

534 belonging to their new associate is being withheld, that in the
765 future they therefore have nothing more to seek in the village, and then later when the bone-basket is disposed of and the deceased leaves the village. The underlying idea of all the ceremonies is the fear that the deceased will return to take away the
534 living. In the ceremonies undertaken to ward off this possibility,
765 the weaker sex is apprehensively excluded. During this time the
562 women run into the forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by the whizzer stick, whose booming noise has a warning or uncanny character by nature. If they were present, they would risk the danger of dying. Up to this point everything
534 is logical and natural. Now, however, something more than is
562 necessary happens; in connection with these practices there has
784 developed a danger for the women at even the mere sight of the whizzer stick. They would die if they saw it.

000 Certainly a reinforcement of an exaggerated nature, but not at all incomprehensible. One finds similar exaggerations among our women in their fear of firearms; a lady whom I know held her ears when I showed her a revolver with an open, empty barrel and, in a state of excitement which refused to see and hear anything, begged that it be taken away because -- quoted strictly historically -- "it happens often enough that those things
[828] go off even if they are not loaded." When the whizzer stick is heard among the Bororó on the two occasions mentioned, it corresponds to the loaded revolver; there is danger for both men and women, but the apprehension for the latter is greater because in general in the view of the Indian it is part of a woman's nature that she always weeps, "trembles," when animals, enemies, indeed, even waterfalls threaten, and that she is always in need of protection. Now if even the sight of the whizzer stick is dangerous for the woman, this is still partly the fear of the unloaded revolver, partly also a thoughtless form acquired by her as the result of the practice of generations, which is employed with anxious eagerness without examination. In exactly the same way Wallace observed in the Amazonas region that the women flee when the flutes of the jurupari-demon dance are heard, and he was

/503 cont./

855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about 854 their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was 593 less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú [114] from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure 765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

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764 "The departed remains on his deathbed untouched for three days until decomposition is already far advanced and there is a disagreeable, nauseating odor; on the third day the corpse is wrapped in skins, mats, and green leaves, laid in the pit, and this again covered with earth, palm leaves, and mats.

"The burial place is in the center of the village and is kept very clean; it had the appearance of a European cemetery."

● 765 174 114 In this valuable account one point must be discussed in more detail. Waehneldt, with his short visit in the Mato Grosso, regards the Bororó as ancient inhabitants of the region and believes, since he saw burial in urns, that urns, too, which are found "in abundance in old habitations now forsaken, largely filled with bones," originated among the ancestors of the Bororó. His Bororó, however, are the ones who were settled here by the fazendeiro Leite after long struggles; there are many old urn-cemeteries of the same type in the vicinity of Villa Maria; they have nothing to do with the modern Bororó and 765 are yet to be investigated. Waehneldt himself says that he only 174 "came across a few pots of clay which were made by them and [323] in addition several larger vessels for storing various objects, which were heirlooms from the ancestors because they are no longer made today." Either the Bororó had taken such urns as models and replaced their bone-baskets -- a /illustration appears here/ /505/ first step toward the urn -- with them, or, what I consider more likely in view of their acknowledged inferior performance in ceramics, which corresponds exactly to our Bororó, and the statement that old urns were used for other things, they buried their dead in the old urns which are to be found in such numbers and in part empty at the old dwelling sites 765 now abandoned. The original custom of the Bororó is the same 171 as that of Humboldt's Aturen /Ature/, of whom the traveler found only remnants in the form of 600 well-preserved skeletons colored red with urucú and packed in baskets of palm-leaf ribs as in a square bag, and of whose language only an old parrot of the nearby mission was still able to prattle a few words. The Aturen also, in accordance with tradition, had first laid their corpses in the earth for a time, let the flesh decompose, and

[Text Continues on p. 634]

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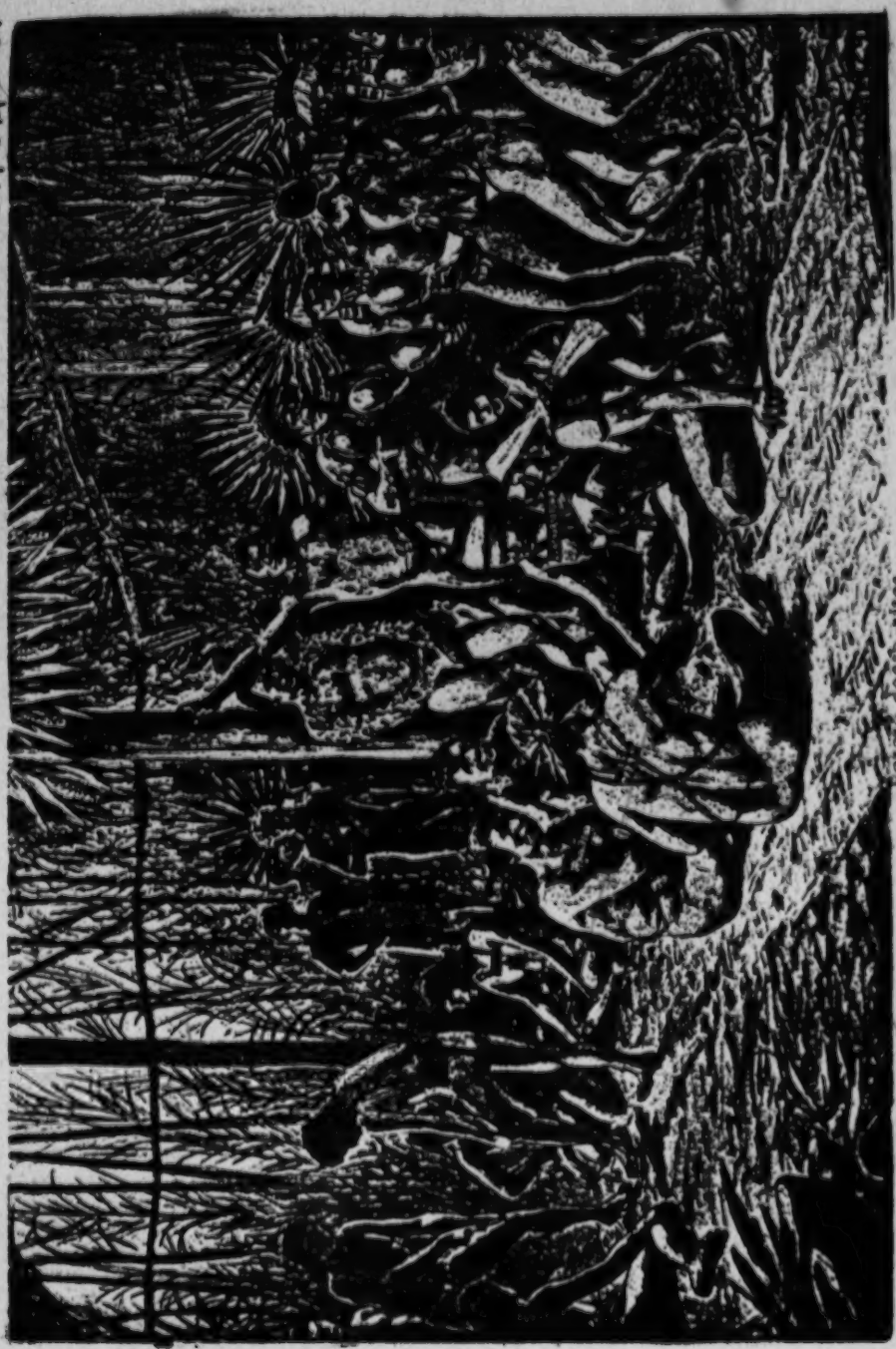

Bororo death-rites.

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765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in-between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

[302] Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[301] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/506 cont. /

765 brush-like and fastened them on the most attractively adorned young man, at the shoulders, where he had black tar spots, on his arms, knees, ankles. This Bororó in the green foliage adornment represented the dead in its present state, buried under a covering of green leaves. Four men stepped up with a basket-bag, brought out clothes of Coqueiro's wife, and hung them on the green one who stood there groaning and rocking with his knees -- a picture of misery, according to our concepts a "poor soul," looking strange in the "overloaded" costume of blue arara feathers, green garlands, and five colored cotton skirts. The others, too, hung skirts on themselves, one man a jaguar
[534] skin; they gave the green one a small gourd flute with little
[535] white feathers pasted on it and performed a dance. A man with two rattle-gourds led the dance, behind him danced the green one, and behind this one the other four, all six sang in chorus and danced, stepping to the right and stepping to the left, first to the ranchão, then turned back, and, dancing, stamped out a circle on the ground. Suddenly they veered off and, in disorder, ran toward the forest where they disappeared.

With the little gourd flute the late deceased called two dead persons who had lain in the earth for a long time. They were supposed to be present when the belongings were surrendered, to receive their new companion, and to be convinced that no one was withholding anything of his which on subsequent disagreeable visits he might demand back from the survivors.

After a quarter of an hour the swarm came storming back with frightful whoops, two of them carried on their backs -- hurrah, the dead ride fast -- two truly ghastly figures, naked, unadorned, plastered from head to foot with wet river loam.
765 With bestial cries the loam-monsters leaped about like wild
768 animals, three whizzer sticks buzzed and whirred through the air
[534] like huge bluebottle flies -- no female creature was to be seen
[562] far and wide, and the huts lay as though uninhabited, closed up with mats -- in the middle of the recently stamped circle a bright fire was lighted with great bustle, a tremendous load of all kinds of household equipment was dragged up, baskets, fire fans,

/506 cont. /

[765] [768] bast bands, bark belts, a red coverlet, many maize ears, gourds, shells; bows and bunches of arrows were broken up, and everything thrown together in a heap. Soon the scene took on a [535] semblance of order; the men formed a circle around the fire and moved slowly round and round, leaping up with both feet. The green one was seized and held down by the two loam creatures, whom we at first scarcely recognized as good old Moguyokuri and the chief bari (the archer on Plate 28). The gourds rattled, the whizzer sticks buzzed, the fire now blazed up. The green [535] one was released, and he and a second man behind him in the [768] parfko, /507/ dancing all around and always stepping to the side, first to the right, then to the left, threw the things into the [755] flames. Meanwhile -- and that, it seemed to me, was the strangest thing in the entire performance -- the two old dead persons cured a sick woman who had suddenly arrived, I know not how. They blew upon her and probably gave her the comforting assurance that she would not be fetched away so very soon. Several ran to the nearby river and threw knives and axes into it. Coqueiro tended the fire, dance and song ceased, the feather ornaments were placed beside the fire, and the green one added his garlands, the baris squatted in a row, one behind the other, and [622] were doused with water. Immediately thereafter great commotion: the dog of a soldier had bitten a child; Moguyokuri, still covered with loam, angrily accosts the owner, who, for his own safety, betakes himself to prison; this satisfies the chief, and with his hand he closes the mouth of the scolding mother, who now goes off silently, but grinning happily and sticking her tongue out.

[533] The following night uninterrupted aróe singing on the part of the Indians; no one stayed in the huts or in the ranchão; men, women, and children were outside. Uninterrupted music-making, dancing, laughing and bad singing among the soldiers. Magnificent moonlight. The first solemn hour of the Easter festival revealed marvelous contrasts between the groups for the resurrection.

/507 cont./

765 In the morning, led by Moguyokuri, a long procession entered the ranchão, all with green twigs in their hands; in the center, the brother of the deceased with the square basket-bag containing the skeleton parts, which had been dug out and cleaned early in the morning. The basket was placed on a mat; four men took out the skull and the lower jaw, which looked smooth and white like the most beautiful specimens, and set about decorating them as well as a new basket-bag with feathers. [302] [301] Moguyokuri sat on a jaguar skin in gala array, skin and hair painted red, an akuri palm branch wrapped around his hips, dark-blue mutung feathers glued on his shoulders, the yellowish red lappets of toucan feathers hanging down from his ears, the most beautiful parfko on his head, the shell chain in the hole of his lower lip. Beside him stood four medicine men [756] adorned with parfkos, who busily shook the rattle-gourds and, rhythmically stamping, jumped up and down, their eyes closed. The entire ranchão was filled with people, chiefly women and children; they joined in the singing and clapped their hands rhythmically. Several of the women stepped up to the bone-basket and laid their hands on it. The oldest woman scratched [785] her arms with broken glass in quick, sharp cuts; the blood dripped on the hands of the others and colored the palm straw of the basket-bag.

[302] [301] The young men in the center first had their lower jaws painted with urucú and covered with white down feathers. Be- [237] side them on the mat they had urucú pigment in an armadillo shell, a little pot containing fish oil, a shell with gum-resin, a mat with little loose white feathers, and a /508/ large bowl filled with little purple feathers. They painted the new basket generously inside and out with urucú, and, while some of them glued feathers on the basket, the others devoted themselves to the skull, into which they set the lower jaw and on which they most carefully pasted the small purple feathers, starting at the back of the skull. Each feather was brushed on the end with a resin stick and set on individually.

/508 cont./

765 Meanwhile Coqueiro also arrived, holding a child by the
[152] hand. He sat down quietly to one side, sobbed and wept. He wore no ornament, except the black cord around his waist, which he had spun and plaited out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he squeezed his eyes shut as though weeping were painful.

Gradually the vault of the skull was covered with red arara velvet. If a person had to wipe off his hands, he used the basket. Some of those present soon no longer paid any attention to the celebration. The children were running about gaily, a few men were munching on ears of maize and working, a couple of women were delousing each other, but kept on singing devoutly. It also became emptier.

One eventually became drowsy from all the whirring and booming tones. A drummer joined in, a pelt of small parrot feathers pasted on his arms. The room filled up again. Seven
765 women stepped up to the old bone-basket, scratched themselves,
785 and placed their feet on it so that their blood soaked the straw too. Cf. Plate 29 /see p. 633/. The wounds were two to three centimeters apart, a red network covered legs and arms, chests and abdomens. Their facial expression remained calm and showed no pain; the scratching was done with extremely quick movements. They all wrapped their sliver of glass in a leaf, handed
[562] it to Coqueiro, and sat down beside him. New groups came to scratch themselves, always only women and girls, and did what the preceding ones had done; each one, before she made a scratch, put the sliver to her mouth and moistened it. Booming and droning, two flutes joined the music of the rattling gourds, the drum, the singing and stamping. The singers danced with incredible endurance. Coqueiro also squatted down beside the basket and scratched his arms, while a woman stood beside him with her child on her back.

765 Toward noon the skull and the basket were finished. In the case of the former, the red velvet cap was interrupted by a pretty yellow cross-line, corresponding to the cranial suture. Snowy white feathers were glued on the new basket, and on either side, in the white area, two rows of red squares, like

/508 cont./

765 windows, were put on. It looked quite charming and dainty, what the crude hunters had worked out there. Now a special act was performed, the "consecration" of the skull and new basket. A sort of chapel or sanctuary was built in that five bows were planted in a semicircle, mats leaned against them, and coverlets hung on them and over them. In this niche /509/ was placed the decorated basket, three whizzer sticks as yet unpainted were leaned against it, and the skull laid on a mat filled with a loose heap of feathers; the most active of the baris sat down in the entrance, which was blocked by his body and the drummer standing behind him -- now without his drum. To encourage them, two pots of water, loam-yellow river water, and three [533] cigars had been put in the niche. Starting slowly, in a deep voice, the two began their song, and the bari swung a rattle in each hand. The others sat around happily, played little pranks, begged for tobacco, and merely hummed along in the final measure. Gradually, however, the singing became more animated, high women's voices joined in energetically, and at the niche the two leaders of the singing worked with all their might, until, after three-quarters of an hour, they were utterly exhausted. They bent down in the niche in order to drink, but their whole bodies shook as in fever, so that the water jug had to be held; they wiped off the perspiration and were able to stammer only a few inarticulate sounds, to which the chorus responded in [276] unison with several restrained grunts of approval. Trembling, they smoked their cigars.

[535] The coverlets were removed; six men, Coqueiro now among them, swung the rattles, sang, and danced, always with eyes closed, wholly absorbed in themselves. We, too, danced and rattled for a while, to the delight of the Indians. Only one or another would occasionally pause for a while, smoke his cigar meanwhile with great haste, and wipe off the sweat that poured in streams from the bodies of the six. Numerous women sang along, passing the time with delousing, or fanned the dancers rhythmically to cool them, standing behind them; a large number of men lay stretched out along the wall and rested. There was a general pause only once, and the singing was supplanted by the merry jingle of the harmonica coming

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765 from the soldiers' huts, but after three or four minutes Moguyokuri's gourd rattled as a signal to continue. All the bones are separately painted with urucú -- successively the thigh, upper arm, lower arm, lower leg, the pelvis split into two parts, the ribs and the bones of the hands and feet down to the last little bone of the toes. For a child there is less work; it is packed in toto. If too much of the oil dripped from the bones, covers and mats were placed underneath; nothing was to be lost. Hands were wiped on the palm branches that had been brought along. All the parts of the skeleton, the small bones of the hands and feet wrapped in separate leaves, were carefully placed in the basket, articles of clothing -- three pairs of trousers (Mrs. Coqueiro!), a woman's jacket, three shirts -- were added, and finally the used palm branches were stuffed into the basket-bag, which was full to bursting. It was sewed shut with foot-long wooden needles; Moguyokuri's powerful fist was required to bring the edges together. The palm branches sticking out at both corners were cut off.

/510/ At 5:15 they were finished; they sang a little longer, but during the final hour it had become uncannily quiet and the proceedings came to an end without any kind of ceremonious conclusion; they simply stopped. Moguyokuri asked for my pipe and chatted contentedly. The ceremony was already forgotten. An old woman took the bone-basket on her back, and a [534] young chap strode ahead of her, blowing the large death flute in melancholy fashion. No one paid any attention to them. Thus the two walked along in the gathering darkness, youth and age -- a mood-invoking little evening scene, as in a fairy tale. With a few moaning sounds they delivered the basket to Coqueiro, who was sitting in his empty hut, and hastily came back to the others. And two hours later on this Easter Sunday the Kayapó /Cayapo/ hullabaloo broke out.

[768] Coqueiro had kept nothing. His friends made bow and arrows and presented them to him. On the third morning after the ceremony he took the bone-basket away, and a woman laden with a like burden strode behind him. For it is the custom that

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765 one deceased waits for the next and the two leave the village together. Again no one seemed to pay any attention to them, and one would have thought two baskets of mandioca were being carried away. But soon four young people came along rather hurriedly and followed them into the forest: the first was swinging a whizzer stick; the second and third uttered loud cries of terror; the fourth cleared a broad path behind him with a palm leaf in order to obliterate the footprints and make it difficult for the dead to return. No woman was to be seen. One also carried a hoe /Hacke/. The baskets were buried, it was believed, on a small island lying upstream.

827 Soul and existence after death. For a person who is awake, there is action at a distance, which reminds one of our belief in ear-ringing. On the Kulisehu Tumayaua said to me once when I sneezed that my wife was calling me and that she was said because I had not yet returned. On a similar occasion, the very same thing was maintained by the Bororó; another time, when I stood beside an Indian woman and sneezed, she immediately asked me the names of my relatives: "What is your mother's name? Your brother's? Your brother-in-law's?"

774 828 The "soul" is called búpe. In the dream it leaves the body. The fear of waking up one who is sleeping was clearly expressed. Even Clemente believed that it was very harmful. It also has its advantages, however, as we once saw in the ranchão. Wilhelm wanted to draw a sleeping man. Now this seemed to be the [754] greater evil, apparently because one could practice sorcery with the picture; the Bororó generally resisted Wilhelm's efforts, but, on the other hand, they were pleased later when he showed them portraits made surreptitiously. In any case, the drawing of this sleeping man seemed hazardous to them. They wanted to waken him, and, when I prevented them from doing so and criticized them, /511/ they also tried surreptitiously (by spitting and throwing little pieces of wood) to achieve their purpose.

I do not know the exact meaning of búpe. During the dream, the soul flies away in the shape of a bird. Then it sees and hears many things. What the waking person reported is firmly believed.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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764 (534) slightly in unison with each note, and shaking huge calabash rattles. This was accompanied by the wailing chant of a chorus of women standing just behind the quartette and waving fans to keep away the flies. The snort of two huge flutes, the barking of the calabash trumpets, the lament of the savage mother, her body besmeared with her own blood, kneeling by the corpse of her child, the hairs jerked from her head, half a dozen at a time, by a female crouched behind her, the lamentations of the father, with his hair clipped, as he kneeled on the other side of the body and recited the virtues of the deceased loved one, and the low mournful chant of female relatives or friends as they slashed their legs and arms, or even their entire bodies, with sharpened shells—this was the drama that unfolded itself one beautiful summer morning as we crept into the baehytu of the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village. The little daughter of a chief had been summoned from her earthly bae to wander with the bope (evil spirits), and the funeral ceremonies were in progress.

When a Bororó dies, his body is wrapped in the palm-leaf rug which has served as his bed and is carried to the baehytu, where the spectacle described above makes night and day hideous until the first sunset after death; then as the sun goes down the chorus becomes hushed, and the bundle of remains, with a nine-foot pole passing through the roll, is carried to the public play-ground just outside the baehytu, and about ten inches of earth heaped over it. 766 Here it rests a week that the flesh may separate from the bones, and each evening at sunset the sorrowing family and friends gather around the little mound, their faces toward the fading light, and murmur a low chant, pleading the virtues of the departed one. Every evening, also, water is thrown on the little mound to hasten decay. The day before the remains are to be resurrected is again a gala time. A bamboo whistle brilliantly decorated with feathers is blown at intervals to summon the bope, while within the baehytu the man who invites the bope to resurrect the body is decorated and fêted. He wears a skirt of palm leaves hanging loosely from a belt, over his shoulders a cloak of the same material descending below the waist, and over his head is a veil of slender palm leaves to prevent his recognition, and his name must not be spoken. On his head, to represent the setting sun, is a pariko, an ornament of brilliant feathers of the makaw and parrot. Thus arrayed, he dances up and down sideways like a crab, while a companion and a rear guard execute similar movements. After a time, accompanied by all the males, they leave the baehytu for the play-ground just beyond the village, all dancing as they go. Here the soul-representa-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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tive and his body guard, exhausted, sit on the ground to rest, and a substitute, or rather those who are to represent them, his brother tribesmen, proceed to call the bope by offering some tobacco or other delicacy. Soon one offers himself as a bope-representative by dropping on all fours and creeping slowly toward the caller, emitting a noise like the grunt of the tapir; and finally, springing to his feet, he rushes with outspread arms to the center and quietly stands on a spot prepared for him. Others repeat the performance, until five are in line in the center. They are smeared from head to foot, hair and all, with a coat of clay. Black streaks are painted around the eyes and other decorations added, and the five bope again drop on all fours, and the caller (still acting as adjutant for the decorated soul-representative, standing in the path to the village) beckons and calls as before. At the same time the remaining band seeks to drive the bope to the village by pushing them with instruments used to frighten evil spirits, jumping, screaming, and swinging their arms. But the bope advance slowly, constantly making their squeaky grunt. Just as they enter the village path a man suddenly springs up before them, frightens them with a yell, and they wheel and begin creeping away from the village. The drivers then become more frantic than ever to prevent the escape of the bope without resurrecting the body. Finally the bope again head toward the village, enter the path, suddenly spring to their feet, mount their "horses," fellow red men, gallop into the village, dismount, squat around the burial mound, and claw the earth with their fingers. But this is only a feint of what is to happen later, and the body still lies covered, while the bope retire, having finished their part in the drama for the present. A large fire has now been kindled, and in order that the spirit of the departed may not return to haunt the family his belongings are passed piece by piece to the adjutant, who hands them to his master, who throws them in the fire while they both dance and waltz around it. This done, the soul-representative and his adjutant sit astride the grave, and having called the father of the deceased, who crouches beside them, he fortifies him against evil spirits by passing a hand over his head and face, whispering and blowing in his mouth and ears, after which he deposits all his paraphernalia, except the pariko, upon the grave. The day's performance concluded, all the males sit in two groups just outside the bachytu, and the daily feast is served by the females.

Early next morning the bope-representatives resurrect the remains by means of the pole, carry them to the river, scrape and wash the bones and pack them in a basket, keeping the skull separate when

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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766 they wish to decorate it. They say that the resurrectionists are not called by men, but directly by the bope, and no one is supposed to know who they are.

When the village awakes to find the bones already prepared, the din is again unchained, the mother and female friends again slash themselves from head to foot, wail, and daub their bodies with black paste made principally from a fruit called genipa-pa, while two men sit on a palm-leaf rug and decorate the skull with a layer of bright red makaw feathers. This weird drama continues all day with little interruption, the players and singers relieving one another from time to time. And if some of their brethren from a neighboring village should visit them, the bakororo, as this noise is called, may continue all night and all the next day. Finally the concert ceases, and at sunset the basket of bones is laid away in the little cemetery outside the village, where the bope will take possession of them in due season, though only the priest is supposed to know when. Through constant howling during the bakororo, the family of the deceased become so hoarse that they cannot speak above a whisper, but the drinking of clay water, they say, relieves them.

775 As the Bororó is "very bad," they say, he is doomed forever to
755 wander and suffer in the lower regions and be subject to constant eviction. He takes up his abode in the bodies of certain fish and mammals, and when the creature dies the spirit must seek a new dwelling and be exorcised from the bodies of fish, fowl, or beast by the priest before the meat can be eaten. To eat it without this ceremony would cause sickness and death. Not every creature, nor even every member of certain species, is inhabited by a bope. Its presence is indicated only by certain markings or other peculiarities. In exorcising the bope the priest faces and calls upon the sun with loud yells, ecstatic jumping and trembling, slapping the fish, spitting and blowing into its mouth. Corn also must be exorcised, as they say they were once made desperately sick by eating it without this ceremony. Only the priests are exalted to an abode with the sun at death; they are not chosen by men, but by the bope. It comes
755 about somewhat in this manner: Some day a Bororó may be taken with a fit, and a priest of the tribe will be called to determine the disease and to say whether he will live or die. After consideration he may say to those present, "Piadudu [humming-bird] is in deadly combat with a bope. If he surrenders to the bope he will become a priest, but if he continues to resist he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is considered that he has given himself up to the bope, and is therefore qualified for the priesthood. But the certificate of

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone.

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IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

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One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

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ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

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Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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renewed effort to call forth the spirit of the dead Bororo.

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The ritual dances of the Bororo depict in lively and vigorous fashion many aspects of their relations with the spirit world. All the dances take place in the village plaza, and most of them continue for hours at a time, requiring tremendous physical endurance. As one by one the dancers become exhausted, they drop out of line. Weary and covered with perspiration, each one squats unceremoniously on the shallow grave, while someone pours a pot of water over him. These shower baths have a twofold purpose: they refresh the dancers and also moisten the ground, thus hastening decomposition of the body.

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Before the dancers return to strenuous activity, they may sip palm "wine." This weakly fermented beverage is prepared from sap of the *acuri* palm, a tree that grows in profusion near the village. To collect the sap, a man climbs to the top of the tree and cuts off the uppermost fronds. Next, his wife ascends and, with a shell, scrapes the pith from the heart of the

[p.45-c]

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter II

THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*601 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [846] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [555] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

The following di-
*601 agram presents the summary of semantic analysis of the ad-
602 jectives as they are suffixed to Ego's senior and junior kinsmen:

	Senior	Junior
ø	Formality Addressee relatively young	Formality Addressee relatively old
Pega	Old addressee (Affection)	Affection
Rogu	True kinsman	Young Addressee (True kinsman)
Pega-rogu	Very old addressee Compassion	Very young addressee Compassion

The Bororo, however, do not use the combinations illustrated in the diagram for all theoretically possible kin
[604] types. For example, HB, who may be a young child, will be
[593] always addressed formally, as will the class of <u>inodowu</u> ("stepfather"). The diagram on page 59 illustrates the matchings of kin terms with the different adjectives that
*601 are normally used. The diagram does not include some spe-
602 cial cases related to changes of kinship terms in connection
● 768 with death. For example, if the living representative of one's dead son is older than Ego, he may be addressed as
*601 <u>itonaregedu</u> <u>pega</u>. An ironic use of <u>imuga</u> <u>rogu</u> and <u>imarugo</u> <u>pega-rogu</u> will be taken up later in discussing kinship terminology used for joking.

*601 my lineage is traditionally bound in reciprocal exchange of
613 spouses and ceremonial duties." I will translate yorubodare as "allié," and the relationship between yorubodare as "alliance." Members of the opposite sex of an allied lineage, e.g., potential or actual spouses, are also alternatively designated as ikoge ("my husbands") and ivire ("my wives"). Even if a person does not marry into an allied lineage he will continue to call its members by these terms. Also, one's "initiator" ideally should be chosen from such an allied lineage, but he will still be designated as yorubodare even if he was chosen from some other nonallied lineage. The definition of yadu, of which yadumage is the plural, is more
*601 controversial. When somebody dies his relatives from the
613 same lineage call the person chosen to represent the dead,
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768 yadu. But, when speaking of yadumage as a group, the Bororo have discordant opinions whether or not this term should be applied to: (a) all the people from the other moiety, part of whom are more specifically considered yorubodarege; (b) the members of the lineages which are not yorubodarege (in this case the moiety is conceived as being divided into yorubodarege and yadumage); (c) some specific lineages with which one's own lineage stands in a relationship of traditional exchange of representatives of the dead;[1] or (d) actual representatives of the dead, who preferentially should be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages.

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[1] this is a theoretical supposition, since no Bororo can give any concrete example of this kind.

*601 it will be considered the person's father or grandmother.
82 If a Bororo killed a bird and brought it into the village, it is quite common to hear another Bororo jokingly tell the hunter: "Alas! You killed my poor little grandfather" (Aru! Ichare are iyedaga pega-rogu bitto).

*601 Change of Kinship Terms on the Occasion of Death
768 Another important transfer of terms is connected with
616 funeral ceremonies. On this occasion, the terms that are normally used only for people of one's own moiety are extended to the people of the other moiety. Every person who dies must have a living mother who will continue to take care of him, cooking for him the food for the festive "meal of the spirits" which takes place in the plaza of the village.
[765] If the true mother is already dead, some other woman of her lineage will take her place and the new mother will be called "mother" by all the people who slash themselves to express their sorrow, without regard to whether they are from one or the other moiety. The husband of this woman will be called "father." Thus somebody may acquire a "mother" of the other moiety and a "father" who was a "brother" before that. The new terms are used both referentially and vocatively and the previous designations are dropped. Every person who dies should also have his living representative chosen from the male members of the opposite moiety. This man will take the place of the dead person within the lineage, and he will be addressed by the kinsmen of the dead person by the same term they used for the dead. Necessary adjustments are made for

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.
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616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] ovuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 A different set of terms, which are considered more po-
533 etic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:
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000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [574] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

6;Kosfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

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ORNATE BOW, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

[p. 42-A]

765 At the same time, the remainder of the savage band break
775 forth instantly into a wild uproar, yelling and screaming, throwing up their hands, dancing and jumping in their mad, though mock efforts to drive the *bopi* into the village, suggesting a squad of men and boys trying to drive a herd of obstinate hogs. Suddenly, a horrible shriek rends the air just in advance of the materialized *bopi*. This appears to frighten them, for they turn and begin to creep away from the village. The drivers now become still more frantic, yelling and shrieking, bellowing, chattering and jumping fiercely. Soon, however, the *bopi* are again headed toward the village; and entering the path, all spring up suddenly on their *hind feet*, mount their horses—fellow savages—gallop into the village, dismount, and crouch around the mound where the body lies buried, and claw the earth slightly, as if about to unearth the remains. They now quietly retire, their part in the savage rites having ended for the day.

The soul representative, who had re-entered the village in
[789] advance of the *bopi* representatives, now seated himself astride of the grave, and the father of the deceased having crouched beside him, he performed over him some enchantments to route any evil spirit that might be threatening him, or to make him invulnerable to their assaults. This he did making passes over the bereaved man's head, and muttering and blowing in his mouth, nose and ears. Following this, the soul representative deposited all his rigging on the mound save the *pariko*, or fan of brilliant feathers that adorned his head.

765 We now witnessed the ceremony of the transference of the
768 personal effects of the deceased from this world to the spirit world, for the Bororó, in their peculiar way, believe firmly in "laying up treasures in heaven." A fire was kindled, around which the soul representative, accompanied by an adjutant, danced sidewise, stiff-legged, while each article that had belonged to the deceased was passed by the father to the adjutant, who, in turn, handed them to the soul representative, who cast them one by one into the fire until all were consumed. They were only a few dirty toys, some rude ornaments made

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

of feathers, or of the teeth and claws of beasts, and one or two articles of wearing apparel made of bark. To us, they were merely a heap of rubbish, but to the poor natives, precious treasures. Having vanished in flame, the effects were considered transferred to the invisible world, and so *transubstantiated* that they could be of service to the newly arrived shade, or *bopi*. 765 768 [775]

One reason that the Bororó give for burning the belongings of the deceased is, that if they were allowed to remain in the hut, the family, constantly reminded by them of their lost ones, would be weeping, wailing and uttering lamentations continually, for it is their custom to cry and jibber loudly whenever anything revives the memory of their dead. Another reason for burning the effects is, that if they should not be burned, and hence not transferred to the shadow land, the soul would return to haunt and injure the family. [775]

It was now about sunset, and the ceremonies of the day being concluded, all the men seated themselves cross-legged upon mats in two groups just outside the great hut, and a primitive banquet, or collation, was served. The banquet always forms an important part of every social function among savages.—Indeed, a social function among them is inconceivable without it. But do not banquets, suppers and buffet lunches constitute an important part, if not the most important part, of social events among civilized men? Yet civilized men do not usually have a banquet at a funeral, with the decomposing corpse lying but a few yards in front of them. 765

The chief items on the menu at this savage banquet were big clay potfuls of a kind of broth made of a starchy liquid wrung from the spongy stems of a dwarf palm and mixed with a sauce made from the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm, called *pyky* (peekee), *pyky* eaten raw, three kinds of wild potatoes, boiled or baked in the ashes, and a sort of cocoanut bread made by pulverizing in a mortar the meats of palmnuts and baking the mass in the ashes. There were no condiments. As each pot or tray of food appeared, a cheer was given by the group for whom it was intended. 765 262

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones;
[439] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for
768 the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[802] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/505 cont./

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

[302] Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[301] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/506 cont./

765 brush-like and fastened them on the most attractively adorned young man, at the shoulders, where he had black tar spots, on his arms, knees, ankles. This Bororó in the green foliage adornment represented the dead in its present state, buried under a covering of green leaves. Four men stepped up with a basket-bag, brought out clothes of Coqueiro's wife, and hung them on the green one who stood there groaning and rocking with his knees -- a picture of misery, according to our concepts a "poor soul," looking strange in the "overloaded" costume of blue arara feathers, green garlands, and five colored cotton skirts. The others, too, hung skirts on themselves, one man a jaguar
[534] skin; they gave the green one a small gourd flute with little
[535] white feathers pasted on it and performed a dance. A man with two rattle-gourds led the dance, behind him danced the green one, and behind this one the other four, all six sang in chorus and danced, stepping to the right and stepping to the left, first to the ranchão, then turned back, and, dancing, stamped out a circle on the ground. Suddenly they veered off and, in disorder, ran toward the forest where they disappeared.

With the little gourd flute the late deceased called two dead persons who had lain in the earth for a long time. They were supposed to be present when the belongings were surrendered, to receive their new companion, and to be convinced that no one was withholding anything of his which on subsequent disagreeable visits he might demand back from the survivors.

After a quarter of an hour the swarm came storming back with frightful whoops, two of them carried on their backs -- hurrah, the dead ride fast -- two truly ghastly figures, naked, unadorned, plastered from head to foot with wet river loam.
765 With bestial cries the loam-monsters leaped about like wild
768 animals, three whizzer sticks buzzed and whirred through the air
[534] like huge bluebottle flies -- no female creature was to be seen
[562] far and wide, and the huts lay as though uninhabited, closed up with mats -- in the middle of the recently stamped circle a bright fire was lighted with great bustle, a tremendous load of all kinds of household equipment was dragged up, baskets, fire fans,

/506 cont./

765 bast bands, bark belts, a red coverlet, many maize ears, gourds,
[768] shells; bows and bunches of arrows were broken up, and every-
[535] thing thrown together in a heap. Soon the scene took on a semblance of order; the men formed a circle around the fire and moved slowly round and round, leaping up with both feet. The green one was seized and held down by the two loam creatures, whom we at first scarcely recognized as good old Moguyokuri and the chief bari (the archer on Plate 28). The gourds rattled, the whizzer sticks buzzed, the fire now blazed up. The green
[535] one was released, and he and a second man behind him in the
[768] parfko, /507/ dancing all around and always stepping to the side, first to the right, then to the left, threw the things into the
[755] flames. Meanwhile -- and that, it seemed to me, was the strangest thing in the entire performance -- the two old dead persons cured a sick woman who had suddenly arrived, I know not how. They blew upon her and probably gave her the comforting assurance that she would not be fetched away so very soon. Several ran to the nearby river and threw knives and axes into it. Coqueiro tended the fire, dance and song ceased, the feather ornaments were placed beside the fire, and the green one added his garlands, the baris squatted in a row, one behind the other, and
[622] were doused with water. Immediately thereafter great commotion: the dog of a soldier had bitten a child; Moguyokuri, still covered with loam, angrily accosts the owner, who, for his own safety, betakes himself to prison; this satisfies the chief, and with his hand he closes the mouth of the scolding mother, who now goes off silently, but grinning happily and sticking her tongue out.

[533] The following night uninterrupted aróe singing on the part of the Indians; no one stayed in the huts or in the ranchão; men, women, and children were outside. Uninterrupted music-making, dancing, laughing and bad singing among the soldiers. Magnificent moonlight. The first solemn hour of the Easter festival revealed marvelous contrasts between the groups for the resurrection.

/509 cont./

765 from the soldiers' huts, but after three or four minutes Moguyokuri's gourd rattled as a signal to continue. All the bones are separately painted with urucú -- successively the thigh, upper arm, lower arm, lower leg, the pelvis split into two parts, the ribs and the bones of the hands and feet down to the last little bone of the toes. For a child there is less work; it is packed in toto. If too much of the oil dripped from the bones, covers and mats were placed underneath; nothing was to be lost. Hands were wiped on the palm branches that had been brought along. All the parts of the skeleton, the small bones of the hands and feet wrapped in separate leaves, were carefully placed in the basket, articles of clothing -- three pairs of trousers (Mrs. Coqueiro!), a woman's jacket, three shirts -- were added, and finally the used palm branches were stuffed into the basket-bag, which was full to bursting. It was sewed shut with foot-long wooden needles; Moguyokuri's powerful fist was required to bring the edges together. The palm branches sticking out at both corners were cut off.

/510/ At 5:15 they were finished; they sang a little longer, but during the final hour it had become uncannily quiet and the proceedings came to an end without any kind of ceremonious conclusion; they simply stopped. Moguyokuri asked for my pipe and chatted contentedly. The ceremony was already for-
[534] gotten. An old woman took the bone-basket on her back, and a young chap strode ahead of her, blowing the large death flute in melancholy fashion. No one paid any attention to them. Thus the two walked along in the gathering darkness, youth and age -- a mood-invoking little evening scene, as in a fairy tale. With a few moaning sounds they delivered the basket to Coqueiro, who was sitting in his empty hut, and hastily came back to the others. And two hours later on this Easter Sunday the Kayapó /Cayapo/ hullabaloo broke out.

●[768] Coqueiro had kept nothing. His friends made bow and arrows and presented them to him. On the third morning after the ceremony he took the bone-basket away, and a woman laden with a like burden strode behind him. For it is the custom that

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*púpurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The ●768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured

[p. 110 (B)]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 715 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 715 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 174

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [775]

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave
their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his
possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Boko-
dori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and
the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the
ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the
same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the
black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo
kujagureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black fal-
con) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy
eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the
white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and sim-
ilarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild
tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the
young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several
exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for differ-
ent communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for cere-
monies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

773 Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:
616 imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)
571 imo irogodu (body painting)
[292] Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)
[302] Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo
[534] gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore. [769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it [115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

722 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831
775 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
776 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
[302] a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1 "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin [237] described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: 273 the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk [756] by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

● 771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and 776 rival functionaries.

775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] macréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and [754] confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

CHAPTER XXXIV.

RELIGION—REVOLTING FUNERAL RITES.

SOME of the savage hordes of South America are cannibals. They feast upon their enemies with great pomp and ceremony, even rearing from infancy the offspring of the enemy in order that he may become, when full grown, the material for a grand, human barbecue. These cannibal banquets are "the religion, pride and joy of the Brazilian savage * * * the triumph of the captor, and an expiatory sacrifice to the spirits of their brethren who have been slain." A few tribes have, in times of famine, devoured their own aged and helpless ones; while in still other tribes, the children have eaten their aged parents, believing that in consuming and assimilating their bodies they honor them and perpetuate their existence—a crude form of the doctrine of transmigration of spirits. Other tribes, again, cut off the heads of their enemies, and embalm them by filling them with hot sand, and shrinking them until they are about the size of a grapefruit, preserving perfectly the form and features. Large sums of money have been paid by collectors for these ghastly trophies, which has doubtless inspired the head hunters with greater zeal. Some tribes are notorious for the revolting practice of abortion, which is brutally effected by jumping on the abdomen of the victim.

Religion, "the conception of the infinite," as Max Müller defines it,—the fixed belief that a world of spirits exists, which, though encompassing men in the flesh and pervading natural objects, yet is hidden from human eyes—occupies a supreme

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

place in the thoughts and doings of the Bororó as it does in the minds of all the peoples of the earth. Elucidating further, Prof. O. T. Mason says that, "In a general sense, religion is the sum of what is thought or believed about a spirit world and what is done in consequence of such thinking. What is thought about such a world constitutes *creed*, what is done or what a people does under its inspiration constitutes the *cult*. The *creed* and the *cult* together form the religion of any individual or people."

The religion of the Bororó is expressed chiefly by an elaborate system of diabolical rites and ceremonies for the placation of disembodied souls, or spirits, which they call *bopi*—demons; and a funeral is the occasion for the greatest display of the savage ritual, or *cult*. It is a great *musical* pandemonium, savage dirge, or hell's concert; or a sort of wild man's opera or tragic play, enacted by a primitive male quartette, mixed chorus and orchestra, and lasts several days and nights, first with the body present, and a week later, with the bones present.

When a member of the tribe becomes so ill that the family begins to fear for his life, one of the tribal priests, or sorcerers, is summoned to his hut where he lies naked on a palm-leaf mat spread upon the ground, to declare whether he will live or die. This primitive ecclesiastic may think, inspired with wicked cunning, that the sick one will die naturally within a certain number of days. Or, he may hold a grudge against the stricken man, and may consider this a good opportunity to balance accounts. So, in announcing to the family the number of days the patient will live, he mentally resolves that if death should not occur naturally at the time he shall name, he will see to it that it occurs, nevertheless, in some other way. Or, again, he may feel that life in the village has long been very dull and monotonous, and that there is immediate and urgent need of a social function or festival of some kind; and what could be more entertaining to the savage public than a good funeral *bakororó!* In this case, also, he will see to it that the victim dies at the time he indicates. In any event, he will take steps to have his predictions "come true" to the letter, in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

our hut, and immediately thereafter a horde of excited and 775
frightened savages swarmed in upon us. The cause of their alarm was quickly explained to us: One of their number had imagined he saw the forms of strange men moving about mysteriously in the jungle near the village, which was interpreted by some of his fellows to mean that the soldiers were coming to attack and carry them away. At another time, apparitions of the dead were thought to have been seen; [789]
so the following day the natives solemnly and mysteriously prepared the *roarers* in order to frighten away the threatening evil.

It is partly, or chiefly, to pacify departed souls by honoring 782
them and giving them a good send off, that the elaborate 775
funeral ceremonies already described, occur. And the fact that nearly all the rites and ceremonies of the Bororó are observed for the pacification of demons is the reason why the ritual is so hideous and diabolical. Men whose gods are devils only, can have nothing but a devilish ceremonial.

As already stated, the Bororó, like the Karayá, entertain 776
an anamistic conception of the world. They do not appear 791
to have any idea of a good spirit, or good spirits. Attempting to translate the word God into their language, or to communicate to them in a small degree the thought that this word stands for, we had to make use of the words, *Bopi camahina pimégáre irnducáre*, which is literally, Spirit, greatest, good, without equal. But this is quite unsuitable for a permanent translation and a word for God would have to be transliterated, or a new word coined.

Mingling with the Bororó, one somehow gets the impression that perhaps they once had a conception of a good spirit. But, as the good spirits never did them any harm, nor threatened them with evil, while numerous evil spirits are constantly menacing them, they came naturally to devote so much attention to the latter that they long ago forgot all about the
former. Thus they have degenerated in mind and heart, it 000
would seem, with the result that in the whole outward expression of their lives, they have retrograded from a higher to a lower social and moral state.

Chapter X

CHARACTERISTIC KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS

114 In a chapter of Tristes Tropiques (1970: 183-231) and
121 in two articles reprinted in Structural Anthropology (1969,
772 "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" pp. 132-163; "Social Structures of Central and Eastern Brazil" pp. 120-131), Lévi-Strauss discusses the dual organization of the Bororo, having found that there are, in fact, two kinds of dual organization, one concentric, the other diametric, and in addition, a triadic structure.

Christopher Crocker saw Bororo society as regulated by two organizational principles: "opposition between members of the same clan, or kinsmen, but solidarity between members of different moieties, or affines" (1969: 44). He continued:

> As I mentioned above, the Bororo consider each clan to possess a distinctive character and to be totally unlike any other clan. Since a single principle of comparison cannot be applied to all the clans, they are non-comparable and cannot be ranked. Monkeys and armadillos are two completely different creatures which contrast in all respects, and it is impossible to speak of one or the other, or of the clans they represent, as 'better,' 'smaller' or uglier.' But one may discuss older and younger monkeys, bigger and smaller armadillows, handsomer and uglier tapirs, and consequently the lineages may be compared and ordered through a hierarchy, or the sub-class be ranked as superior and inferior. The Bororo universe, which includes nature as well as society, expresses two principles of organisation: the inequality of like items related asymmetrically and the equality of unlike items related symmetrically. Such structures, as Bateson pointed out some

114 121 772 time ago (1936: 178-97), imply that the units involved in the first case exchange dissimilar objects or acts (e.g. obedience for leadership) while those in the second case relate through the exchange of similar or equivalent things (women for women). To establish the validity of this deduction for the Bororo and to relate it to the contradiction mentioned above requires the exposition of another dimension of Bororo normative order, that found in the two origin myths" (1969: 50).

121 772 There are, however, two other logically possible "principles of organization:" First, like items could be equal: one monkey could be just as good as another; second, unlike items could be unequal. Although Crocker says that monkeys and armadillos are non-comparable, he then proceeds to compare them by saying that they are equal. If they are comparable then they could also be unequal: tapirs could be better, bigger, or handsomer than monkeys. Thus, there exist four logically possible kinds of relationships:

	inequality ignored	inequality recognized
like items	A	B
unlike items	C	D

772 181 It is my belief that the structure of the Bororo society rests upon the first three "principles of organization:"

772
181

A. Equality of like items, or the relationships of equivalence,[1]

B. Inequality of like items, or the relationships of proper inequality,

C. Equality of unlike items, or the relationships of symmetrical reciprocity.

I did not find the fourth possibility expressed in the Bororo social structure: inequality of unlike items; though the work of other researchers indicates that certain forms of hierarchical relationships may exist even between moieties (see page 186).

[61] All three kinds of relationships are expressed most clearly through the idiom of kinship, and all three are necessary to understand the Bororo social and cosmological universe. In previous chapters we have already had the opportunity to see some of these relationships at work. In this chapter I will present the case in greater detail.

A. Relationships of Equivalence

593 The first kind of relationship originates in that between a woman and her child, and by successive extensions includes the relationships between sister and brother (≈ child), sis-

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[1] Equality should be distinguished from equivalence. I consider two items to be equal if they have the same value in respect to some attribute (here it is social status). Equivalent items, in addition to having the same value in regard to the relevant attribute, are also like each other and substitutable for each other.

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

Chapter XI

CULTURE AND NATURE: AROE AND BOPE

593 Many of the relationships between older and younger
772 brothers show the older brother associated with culture and the younger brother associated with nature. Since older and younger brothers are hierarchically related as superior and inferior, we would expect culture and nature to stand in similar hierarchical relationship. Instead, as will be shown in this chapter, culture and nature are not valued as superior and inferior. Their characteristics can be compared, their features can be contrasted, but in most cases culture and nature are not directly related and do not interact with each other.

772 The opposition between culture and nature does not af-
616 fect the relationship of reciprocity between yorubodare, i.e., between moieties. Neither of the two moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature. As we shall see in greater detail later, both moieties can claim some cultural characteristics, and both moieties can claim some natural characteristics.

772 Finally, culture and nature, though not in hierarchical relationship, remain in sharp opposition; and yet from another perspective they could be regarded as equivalent: they

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 361 82 [101] [562] [775] The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings, the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe--the spirits or souls--which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It [772] [222] [229] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the [551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] [531] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
772 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Clebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigso bororo, the dogs' village.
[775] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. *The first "human" village* was Eclera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
831 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
775 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
776
[301]
[237]

asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo. Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most important cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege man, Tadugo (ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
775 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
776 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
616 Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the vil-
[361] lages published by the Salesian missionaries before the <u>Enciclopedia Bororo</u> show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

772 561 Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture

The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

844 787 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [264] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the ike: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Iwagudoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

763 personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is
[819] total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the
778 other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored
[553] feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing
[833] and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and with-
[609] out enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a
[772] cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

769 But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are de-
[825] pendent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

769
825 Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that
[264] we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

772 Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and
[593] younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1 "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi. Tugiyarigodu tuje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe—the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

/352 cont./

B 772 811 interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse, that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in B [186] the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in B [171] all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó BO [827] maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied. I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their B [186] neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals, and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with BO 772 811 [775] strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death, /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they designate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give themselves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B 772 811 [171] Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears, nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

/493 cont./

533 Dance and play. On the basis of the preceding, the aróe song, opening every communal hunting and fishing expedition, loses all [756] its strangeness. The barí, who solemnly divides up the booty at the end, also takes care of the solemn preliminaries for the undertaking. We shall not yet go into the underlying view of the relationship between animal and human being, without which these ceremonies could scarcely have been invented except by charlatans, but with which they are probably justified in their origin.

The hunting song is the same as the one sung at the ceremony for the dead! It makes a very dignified and, at night, if one likes, horrible impression. At the ceremony for the dead, men and women sing together, the women, to be sure, standing to one side and in the background and often stopping, while the men do not permit themselves a pause. During the nocturnal preparations for the hunt, one heard only the deep booming voices of the men's chorus. I owe the notes on the next page /see p. 618/ to the [115] cadet Caldas. He made a distinction between a first song by the men alone and a second one by the men and women. The text which he wrote down for the first one is unfortunately useless. It is about the gull, schibáyu, which also occurs in the second, and, in spite of several repetitions, it is nothing but a mere listing of names. This latter – aróe is the text of the second song and, in a long sequence, is also what is usually sung -- not much poorer in variety in the text than in the music, which, though I have no technical knowledge, seems to me to achieve the ultimate in "monotony." The following "verses" were translated by Clemente and are given in the proper sequence: bakororó aróe, okóge aróe, schibáyu aróe, kurugúge aróe botoroé aróe imayaré aróe dyuretóto aróe kayatóto aróe manotóto aróe. The words listed are: water (a specific kind? otherwise póbe), dourado fish, gull, falcon, another predatory bird that eats fish, "its breast," water snake sukurí, mortar, swamp grass. The scene, therefore, is on the water; more I cannot say; whether the dead person experiences all kinds of things in the vicinity of his skeleton-basket buried there, whether the rival animals that catch fish are desired in the mortar, which would seem more /494/ credible -- I was unable to discover. Alternating with this song, "jaguar," "capibara," "paríko" (feather

/511 cont./

775 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form; at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are 775 Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned 772 on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent 825 exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists, or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, [262] they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

775 The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes 825 become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color, [186] emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in [774] life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
[?61] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

/513 cont./

792 schema "transmigration of souls." They experience "transmigra-
775 tion of souls" every night. That animals and human beings are
825 merely different persons is far more important than that one assumes a closer relationship to some animal-person or other as a result of subsequent considerations. I can really understand these people most readily if I regard the assertion, which seems to be the most recent and the most confusing, namely, their saying "we are birds," as the most ancient and the simplest, and not imagine them as saying "I shall become a bird," but rather "I have a bird -- please, not in the sense of the Berliners /who would mean, "I'm a bit touched" (Translator)/ -- I am a bird who now flies about at night but some day, hopefully in the distant future, will no longer fly back to his family if some other person, a human being, a bird, or a mammal, that I have fatally injured succeeds in preventing this, and who will then be forced to retain its nocturnal form and henceforth, as a white egret, will catch fish in the lagoon and earnestly hope that child and grandchildren will not shoot and eat him, but merely, if necessary, pluck out his feathers."

821 Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration. Sun and moon are arara feathers. I did not succeed in discovering what ideas exist about their owners. The Bororó laughed at me, however, when I asked them whether sun and moon were like human beings, and repeated "arara feathers," arara feathers and not merely arara, as though they might be birds. We live on a large island in the middle of a river called the "baruparu" -- the reduplication of "baru," "heaven." Moon and sun (or their owners) are on one side and wander across the river; when they come together, the moon passes over and the new moon comes.

The Southern Cross is the toes of a large ostrich, Centaurus is an accompanying leg, Orion is a jabuti turtle and, in the part toward Sirius, a cayman, the Pleiades are the tuft of flowers of the angico tree, Acacia; the Bororó showed me all this with great pleasure, /514/ and in doing so they often uttered an ih... of admiration, but they did not always agree about the interpretation, so that it was doubly difficult for me to discover it. About one

/514 cont./

821 thing, however, perfect agreement prevailed, and this was most amazing to me. The ordinary stars not included in particular constellations, scattered over the sky as small and large dots, which one also sees streaking across the firmament as shooting stars, were all sand fleas; the Milky Way where they are most closely crowded together was ashes, and Venus the "large sand-flea."

[792] As among the Bakaïrí, the underlying interpretation is that the heavenly animals get up there by magic and differ in their appearance from terrestrial creatures; for as soon as some particular phenomenon appears, the bari is ready with an explanation. The large colorful water-snake which we call "rainbow" is a bari. A splendid meteor that fell during our stay was the "soul of a bari" which suddenly appeared in order to inform the Bororó that he wanted to have "jaguar meat" and that he would send one of them dysentery. The scene in which they tried to ward off the disaster merits a detailed description. Cf. Plate 30 /see p. 645/.

The meteor flared up in the south on 14 April at 8:26 in the evening as a ball about a quarter of the size of the moon; there was a bright glow over the entire area. It fell very rapidly in 45° towards the west and left a streak approximately the width of four heavenly fleas of the first magnitude and was divided into two parts like a staff, the free end gleaming like a star, the area toward the ball a brilliant blue. For another four minutes I seemed to see the streak, which was fading more and more, as a bright whitish mist.

821 789 At the same moment that the meteor became visible a shrill, prolonged cry of a hundred voices resounded from the Indian plaza. From all sides they rushed to the ranchão, where for a while there was a commotion inside and out as in a stirred-up ant hill. Then they turned to the part of the plaza facing the riverbank, started a few campfires, and soon numerous small, fantastically illuminated groups of men, women, and children were sitting along the huts. I had gone off to one side for a few minutes and was called back by a loud uproar. Two baris painted bright red with urucú stood in the midst of the company and, in

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po^{a}ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarer
[173] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Āróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on p. 36]

/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113] 1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775] 2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage" and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after [775] the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awãra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeõ," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bãdejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 773 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bãdejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 571 787 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin of the O Čera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to [E92] establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Čera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/) comes from a subdivision of Bãdejebage Čębegeʷõge: Iparečeba, of the Bãdejebage Čabogẽʷõge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bãdejeba Čębegeʷõ had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement.

614 [787] Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ewãguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
● 773 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
[262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character.
[614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

571 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
[115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from the beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tuǰawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębegeʷō clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[713] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

/The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 **Dances.**—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 273 **Beverages.**—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots [756] or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baere (plural of 775 bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] macréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a [754] jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 775 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 775 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 174

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [775]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

773 Sun (Meri) and Moon (Ari) are another pair of brothers, but figure largely as tricksters. Thus they put out the Indians' fire, which, however, is salvaged by a toad. The Indians pursue the mischief-makers, who climb trees, and kill Moon, who has sought refuge in a low tree and is eaten by a canid. Sun kills the canid and resuscitates Moon from fragments of his bones. This revival motif recurs in different contexts. In one game Moon kills Sun, but cannot restore him. However, Sun rises by his own power and turns into a red arara. Moon vainly looks for him and nearly starves, when Sun transforms himself into a fish, letting Moon harpoon him. Finally, Sun and Moon neglect the Buriti clansmen's warning, and break their hosts' bottles. They are pursued, caught, and blown skyward by their captors, who bid them remain above.

Other myths describe a flood caused by an angry spirit and the jaguar's swallowing of a monkey, who cuts his way out. In one tale boys climb to the sky on a rope, which they cut in order to prevent their mothers from following. As a penalty the boys must remain in the sky, their eyes becoming the stars.

773 171 The ascent to the sky by a rope or creeper is widespread in South America, being found, e. g., among the *Cariban Taulipang*. In the Twin story, the pacification of the jaguar by the offer of a woman, her death through an older kinsman of the husband, the post-mortem extraction of the heroes, and their revenging the woman's death recall *Guarani* motifs, as well as the *Bacairi* tale of Keri and Kame. On the other hand, these *Bacairi* names and their linkage with Sun and Moon, respectively, rather suggest the second *Bororo* myth of a pair of brothers.

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113 Baldus, 1938; Caldas, 1890, 1903; Chamberlain, 1910, 1912; Colbacchini, 1925; Cook, 1907; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1912, 1913; Frič and Radin, 1906; Koslowsky, 1895 b; Lévi-Strauss, 1936; Magalhães, 1918; Missão Salesiana, 1908; Petrullo, 1932; Steinen, 1894; Tonelli, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1928 c; Waehneldt, 1884.

[complete bibliography not processed]

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[273] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies--no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz., naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[553] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is
[773] not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [533] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [301] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony--the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere- [723] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

881 Peru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation—employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense—gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.

626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.

124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities <u>are</u> differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (<u>Boroge rore ino jamedu</u>). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujagureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and repre-
616 sentatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

571 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije
613 Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the
539 head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also baku-
773 gumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumae, a kind
616 of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo Iwararege eimejera (the chief of the Iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."

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1 "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure Iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

723 These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black
616 Arorce) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged.
571 The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

301 Bakororo and his paraphernalia:
539 <u>imo</u> <u>ke</u> (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the <u>Ke</u> ceremony)
293 <u>uku</u> <u>ika</u> (a musical instrument)
237 <u>periko</u> (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
304 <u>baragara</u> (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
302 <u>okwadawu</u> "<u>meriri</u> <u>bokodaga</u>" (one kind of labret)
292 <u>biyadawu</u> "<u>chugui</u> <u>biri</u>" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
<u>enotadawu</u> "<u>kurugugwa</u> <u>o</u> <u>burugo</u>" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:
<u>imo</u> <u>irogodu</u> (body painting)
<u>imo</u> <u>toro</u> (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
<u>imo</u> <u>periko</u> (a headdress)

773 616 571 [292] [302] [534]

Temigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

imo irogodu (body painting)

Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore. [769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it [115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

773 616 571 But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'Itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'Itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'Itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'Itubore.'[1]

Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many sub-clans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the adugodoge [825 776] (jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aije (water spirits represented by the bull-roarers) be-[774] longing to the Aroroe. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aije, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

Bakororo gave:

Aije choreu (black Aije) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Aije kujaqureu (red Aije) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Aije baru-baru (Aije of the horizon) to Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Aije akirireu (down Aije) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

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1 "A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu mode iwo maku akai. Kodire i mode maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare ituborere ema pugeje."

773 616 571 [776] Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[776] Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

[776] Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[614] The Aroroe entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 616 614 613 As a second example I list the lineages with which the clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 616 613 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [57] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

835 but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for
[829] their actions. I could not detect any great concern over
[273] what had happened.

773 Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical
183 past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man
835 will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If
[616] he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with
[614] his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when
[614] he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

773 The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it
183 was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae
835 were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells
616 of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 [554] hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.
Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
12 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[772] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[229] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure arego-
dure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
722 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village.
[773] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
831 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
775 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
776
[301]
[237]

772 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831
775 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
776 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
[302] a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe
and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo them-
selves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored
ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead
people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.
773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and
when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves
into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[616] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
[614] lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare re-
lationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who
are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the
harpy eagle), kurugugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:

773 [539]

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together--they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
754

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1 "Ao pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu boturio jamedu. e kije. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

773

	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

[825] First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equip-
773 ment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings
776 there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the animal traits of the first beings found their strongest expression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for their father, who had a special predilection for penes, vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae,
775 a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived
[103] in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first orna-
825 ments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lineages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one Tugarege man, Tadugo. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
775 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
776 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
616 Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the vil-
[361] lages published by the Salesian missionaries before the <u>Enciclopedia Bororo</u> show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/, Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already found out "that any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral." Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

562 We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco (Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner: "When the contention within the hut reached the culminating point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass /148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure, the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.
[776] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
[171] pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
misfortunes.

114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

/162 cont./

273 fixed; but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

/515 cont./

821 searchingly, squirted into their faces, pzũ pzũ, and, with the
789 hollow of their hands held against their mouths, again uttered their threatening vóu or a shrill hahahó, not forgetting to smoke up their bundle as they did so. The chorus had in general remained grave and quiet; only now and then did it break out in a one-part huhá and now triumphantly repeated it at the end as the two doctors, teeth chattering and murmuring a shivery tédede tedéte, retired. Aróe singing was heard all night long.

The tobacco smoke had been used here in exactly the
[276] same way as the puffing against the thunderstorm, and I gained the impression that the doctor's smoking was very similar to a fumigation. Perhaps, for the original meaning of the method of curing, this should not be underestimated.

755 Domingo had an attack of weakness two days after the meteor conjuration. On the third day, 17 April, he was ill and apparently had a very ominous feeling. He crept about anxiously, his hands tied up in rags and his head and face covered so that he would not be recognized. Since we left the colony on 18 April we were unfortunately unable to find out whether this remedy helped him.

● 773 Ancestor legend. Arigá-Bororó is the tribal ancestor of the Indians. He had a wife. The puma is called arigá. Later, two men and two women came /516/ to the earth east of the baruparu river (cf. page 646) and reached the S. Lourenço. I was unable
[124] to learn anything more. Clemente was quite useless here; he himself did not know anything and, on the basis of his knowledge of Brazil, interpreted those statements as meaning that the Bororó came from Rio de Janeiro. As far as I was able to understand, the Bororó lived on the source rivers of the S. Lourenço since the time they left heaven, and this origin from the east has nothing to do with tribal migrations, but is again only the result of the very natural reflection that the sun was in the possession of the oldest people and that the oldest people therefore lived where the sun originates.

/516 cont./

115 Moguyokuri é muito criança, "is purely a child," said Clemente, who knows nothing, and this certainly agreed with the fact that the chief, as he told me, no longer knew who his grandfather was. A hoary old man who really knew something about the creation of the world -- for he had heard the details from his grandfather, who was himself present at the time -- this valuable informant was unfortunately off hunting.

829 Even information about other tribes with whom the Bororó were said to be in contact was extremely meager and limited to a few statements about the Kayapó, who were said to have smooth, short, but very strong and tough bows, rather small arrows made of tacoarasinha with feathers sewed on and two iron barbs, as well as a flat club, one meter long, shaped somewhat like a fish, made of seriba palm wood, and worn around the neck on a string.

•773 Besides these, however, there were other strange neighbors in the tribe of the Rarái, also called baredyeragúdo. One sees them only in twos or threes, and only at night; they wear bast cloth and have a blackish, never a light skin-color. They are monkeys. They threw Bororó to the ground at such and such a place and ran away. Clemente -- and this is not without value because he repeated the very words of the Indians themselves -- solemnly swore that the Rarái were monkeys; they do not have arrows, they pick up stones or wood from the ground to throw, and they also have garruchas -- "pistols," such as the Brazilian comrades and hence also the Negroes and the fleeing slaves (cf. for example, our lovers, page 23 /untranslated/) quite generally possessed. "They are monkeys and they shoot with pistols?" "Yes, they are monkeys with iron pistols." The Negro, accordingly, has the agreeable choice of being regarded as a monkey or as a black carrion-vulture. One must constantly remember and make clear to oneself, however, that there is no boundary here between human being and animal and even the possession of an implement of civilization does not mean a thing. If monkeys have pistols, one cannot very well say that they do not have them.

601 sister (*ashimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *mesundé*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other families. After marriage a young man lives 591 with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys [606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were [627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabéla* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabéla* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*uwasé*), and out of the other, the *abusé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[p. 108 (1)]

773 *Aípuku* then made holes in the ears of the *abusé*, but the *uwasé* refused to have their ears pierced. He then asked them to live with him, but they refused. The *abusé* went north, and the *uwasé* went south. *Aípuku* was sad because his children disobeyed him. It is interesting to note that the *abusé* and *uwasé*, who were the traditional enemies of the Umotina, came from the sores in *Aípuku's* legs, were unasked for, and were disobedient. After creating all the people, *Aípuku* and his wife left.

In the old days the Umotina did not have maize. One day when a woman was out in the woods collecting she found some sucuri (anaconda) eggs. She thought that they were birds' eggs and put them in the basket which she carried on her back. The eggs broke, leaked down her back and into her womb. She became pregnant and gave birth to a snake. She liked the snake very much because it was her child and could talk. In order to hide it from her sons she let the snake go into her womb. One day, however, the sons saw the snake as it went up into a buriti tree to collect nuts. They asked their mother who it was. At first the woman denied seeing it, but her sons insisted. Finally she said it was her son. The boys were very angry and said they would kill the snake when they saw it again. The snake heard this while he was hiding in the woman's womb. For a long time the woman carried the snake in her womb but one day it came out and went into the woods to collect buriti nuts. The woman's sons saw it, killed it, and cut it into pieces. The mother went into the woods and cried when she saw what had happened to her snake-son. She picked up the pieces and buried them and from each piece a maize plant grew up. She gave the ears to the other women in the village who planted them. Since then the Umotina have had maize.

One day a woman caught a "lambari," a small fresh-water fish. She liked this particular fish very much and, as she had no children, she took it home and hid it under a mat. Soon she heard it crying and when she lifted the mat she saw a boy instead of a fish. For a long time the woman hid the fish-boy from her husband, but the boy insisted on going out and following the man when he went into the woods. One day as he was following the man he called out and asked him

773 to wait for him, but the man would not wait and continued walking and whistling. The fish-child returned home and asked, "Why does my father act like this, he does not like me for he always leaves me behind." The mother then explained, "You are not his son, you are a little fish." The boy was very sad and answered, "As I have no father I do not wish to live." He then went out in the woods, climbed a tree, and began jumping from one tree to another until he became tired and fell down and died. The woman went looking for him and found his body and brought it back to her house. The woman was very angry with her husband and explained who the boy was. The husband was sorry for what he had done and both of them went out and buried the fish-boy. From his corpse grew the following crops: Sweet-potatoes from his testicles, pepper from his eyes, and beans from his ears.

GHOSTS

775 When a person dies his ghost (*arumuntú*) goes into the sky, climbing up on a ladder made of sipo vine. The ladder is guarded by a *cotia*, a rabbitlike rodent, who calls out everytime a ghost is going up or down. Another version states that in the old days the ghosts went up the ladder and later came down as living beings, but one day the *cotia* gnawed away the ladder so that when a person dies today he can no longer go into the sky and return to the earth as a living being but must remain here as a ghost. The *arumuntú* sometimes enter the bodies of birds and animals. The ghost of an old bearded hunter is believed to enter the body of a jaguar or an eagle so that he can continue hunting. When a jaguar is killed the Umotina examine it carefully, for they believe that they can recognize whose ghost lived in it.

Some ghosts are good; others are evil and cause sickness. The good ghosts are those who have a living human representative whose body they can enter during the annual *arduelo* ceremony and who have living relatives who make offerings to them. Evil ghosts are foreign ghosts or the ghosts of Umotina who have died away from the village or who have no relatives to make offerings
764 to them. When a person dies, the relatives in-
vite some man from another family to bury the
775 corpse. This man then becomes the ceremonial or spirit father, mother, brother, sister, son, or

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers. 616 406 764

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question. 614 114 [616]

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents. [794] [552]

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section. 614 184

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names. 614 424 422 [582] [551]

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic. 622 614 621 [611] [173] [616]

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud. 622 [626] [627] [683]

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo- 643 177

/510 cont./

765 one deceased waits for the next and the two leave the village together. Again no one seemed to pay any attention to them, and one would have thought two baskets of mandioca were being carried away. But soon four young people came along rather hurriedly and followed them into the forest: the first was swinging a whizzer stick; the second and third uttered loud cries of terror; the fourth cleared a broad path behind him with a palm leaf in order to obliterate the footprints and make it difficult for the dead to return. No woman was to be seen. One also carried a hoe /Hacke/. The baskets were buried, it was believed, on a small island lying upstream.

Soul and existence after death. For a person who is awake,
827 there is action at a distance, which reminds one of our belief in ear-ringing. On the Kulisehu Tumayaua said to me once when I sneezed that my wife was calling me and that she was said because I had not yet returned. On a similar occasion, the very same thing was maintained by the Bororó; another time, when I stood beside an Indian woman and sneezed, she immediately asked me the names of my relatives: "What is your mother's name? Your brother's? Your brother-in-law's?"

774 The "soul" is called búpe. In the dream it leaves the body.
828 The fear of waking up one who is sleeping was clearly expressed. Even Clemente believed that it was very harmful. It also has its advantages, however, as we once saw in the ranchão. Wilhelm
[754] wanted to draw a sleeping man. Now this seemed to be the greater evil, apparently because one could practice sorcery with the picture; the Bororó generally resisted Wilhelm's efforts, but, on the other hand, they were pleased later when he showed them portraits made surreptitiously. In any case, the drawing of this sleeping man seemed hazardous to them. They wanted to waken him, and, when I prevented them from doing so and criticized them, /511/ they also tried surreptitiously (by spitting and throwing little pieces of wood) to achieve their purpose.

I do not know the exact meaning of búpe. During the dream, the soul flies away in the shape of a bird. Then it sees and hears many things. What the waking person reported is firmly believed.

/511 cont./

774 828 The Kayapó were truly in the vicinity of the village; no one doubted it. From his own experience Clemente confirmed the accuracy of their predictions. If the wife left behind in the village while her husband is absent on a hunting expedition, sitting half the night alone in her hut, has loudly lamented and grieved for a few hours and then lies down to sleep, her soul will certainly find the hunters, and, after awakening, the women will always give accurate accounts of where they are now and when they will return. The proximity of the enemy is discovered in the dream, people flee, and he enters a deserted village.

763 It is quite true that in the case of a person who is very ill the baris accurately predict the day of his death. Not only was the child whom I mentioned on page 568 killed when the time came, but even in the case of Coqueiro's wife artificial means were employed. She was brought, still alive, into the ranchão; her face was covered with a cloth and she suffocated under the cover. According to the baris, she was to die on the fourth day, and she died. I believe one can easily understand this tampering with Atropos' handiwork, particularly in the case of a frequently roving hunter tribe, even if it does not put human beings and animals on the same level quite as seriously as the Bororó, because they are accustomed to giving dying animals the finishing stroke and are not in a position to remain for an arbitrary period in some localities. The fact that the baris know how to benefit by this custom is another matter.

761 775 [171] Ideas about death and the existence after death differ essentially from those of the Kulisehu Indians insofar as the medicine men responsible for the death do not live in a neighboring village and carry on their magic art there, but are in certain animals, which are unfortunately or foolishly killed and which now avenge themselves by taking away the living. [171] Whereas the medicine man of the Bakaïrí transforms himself into animals only temporarily in narcosis and after death goes to heaven in human shape, here death itself is nothing but a transformation into animals, a dream, the reality of which has become visible to all.

/511 cont./

775 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form; at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and
775 should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are
792 Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned
825 on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists,
[262] or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

775 The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes
825 become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color,
[186] emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in
[774] life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

[Additional information on the bope or evil spirits (the souls of dead shamans who normally dwell in the sky but occasionally visit earth), may be found in category 776.]

/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113]

1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage" and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after [775] the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

/299 cont./ Colbacchini

614 [114] counts 18 names for the Paiwe, four for the Bokodori, six for the Ki, three for the Bādejeba, seven for the Āróre, five for the Ewāguddu, eight for the Apibore, etc.... We did not arrive at an equal /300/ number, but as those which we collected on the Río Vermelho are most often not the same as those which he obtained on the Garças River, it is probable that the true number, expressing the combined whole of different local traditions, is much higher. Moreover, among these names, all do not express rigorously identical traditions. If the Paiwe make use of the names corn, cotton, resin, and tobacco, it is that these plants were born from the ashes of a miraculous child, who in the form of a serpent was conceived by a Paiwe woman. One is hence really in the presence of a commemoration of magical events, in the most general sense of the term.

After this, it is futile to search for another explanation for the origin of the clan eponym than that which is applicable to the collection of names and clan emblems. The eponym is not of a special nature. It only recalls the most striking event, and this is why one finds an illustrious hero just as well as an animal, a plant, or an object. One clan is proud of having brought tobacco to the collectivity, as another recalls that its ancestor was the inventor of the labial pendant. Moreover: this event is not always sufficiently striking to create unanimity among the clan members or among fellow citizens of other clans. Hence the utilization in one village of a name not used elsewhere; hence the secondary divisions of clans.

[175] [187] The maximal expression of the system then would be the following: a philosophical doctrine, based on belief in the reincarnation of the soul in animal form, which took on the quality of a personal revelation for certain individuals, celebrated by their descendants in the form of a commemorative name. It is possible that the Čiba Čera, for example, may have been led to extend to all their descendants the experience of an illustrious ancestor, and may have begun to think that they were all destined to live again in the form of the red arara. But it has not been

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

(1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 715 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 715 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 174

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [715]

614 lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage,
823 which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one.
829 The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

613 The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied
614 similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu
613 within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned—and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important—they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[1] A few informants would object to this statement. They [775] say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[72] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[229] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
772 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village.
[773] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
831 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
775 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
776
[301]
[237]

722 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831
775 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
776 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
[302] a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.
773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[616] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
[614] lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kurugugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:
773
[539]

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together--they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
754

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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

776 5. Human vs. non-human; mortal vs. eternal

Bope is not part of the human race. "He does not get sick, he does not get old, he does not die. He does not have a human mother. He does not have a mother, a father, a companion."[1] He is eternal.

775 Aroe, on the other hand, have their human mothers; they are the souls of the dead; they are the ancestors of the Bororo, i.e., the things first seen and named. In the after-life they have to go through different tests, and it may happen that they vanish completely over the precipice of Akarubo; they are mortal.

82 6. Conscious vs. unconscious; multiplicity vs. unity

775 The Badajebage were the first to see the plaza, but they
776 did not become aware of it. To see something is not enough; it should be consciously perceived and named. Anything seen and named for the first time is Aroe. To see something and to give it a name is to isolate it from the continuity of amorphous, undifferentiated unconscious matter (Bope). It is a cultural process by which the universe is taken apart so that it can be comprehended. There are many names, there are many Aroe, but Bope is just one. Bope is one, yet he has a wife; and he and his wife are still conceived of as one. And he has children; and he and his wife and children

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[1] "Kogodu kare, pega kare, bi kare. Paje kare ji. Uche kare, uwo kare, metuya kare."

82 are still one. The sun is Bope, his younger brother the
775 moon is Bope, Burekoibo is Bope, jaguar, puma, ocelot are
776 Bope, but all of these are just different names for one Bope.

When recounting the deeds of the sun (Meri) and the moon (Ari), my informant said: "The sun did this, not the moon. But I think that they are not separated. What one does, the other does it too. They are just one."[1]

7. Earth vs. sky; meaningful speech vs. animal cry; singing vs. barking

Bope and Aroe occupy the same space. Aroe are everywhere; Bope too is everywhere: "Bope is in everything. There is not one thing in which Bope is not present."[2] On the other hand both Bope and Aroe have their more particular places. Bope lives in the sky, the Aroe are on the earth. Like the sun and the moon with which he is identified, Bope lives in the sky; the Aroe inhabit the villages of Bakororo (west) and Itubore (east). Coming from the sky to the earth in three steps, as he does in the preceding myth, the macaw is spatially making transition from nature to culture, from Bope to Aroe.

The same transition is made in the macaw's speech. First

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1 "Meri rore oino, Ari ema karega. Mare imearudae mitodure Meri ro rema. Ekare tuginoi ma ero padure pu me keje. Kode pu ro mitodure erore ema. Oino."

2 Awu Bope meture boe jamedu boe tada. Kodire iya metu kare t tada jiboe bokware."

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; ariqao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773

	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

[825] First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equip-
773 ment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings
776 there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the animal traits of the first beings found their strongest expression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for their father, who had a special predilection for penes, vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae,
775 a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived
[103] in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first orna-
[825] ments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lineages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one Tugarege man, Tadugo. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Hugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
[361] Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the <u>Enciclopedia Bororo</u> show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7; Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the description of the Marido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echerae door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

844
787
764 denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into
787 the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the
772 meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature;
533 it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It
is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially
302 the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child
237 is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries.
593 She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of
152 them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is
534 also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the
775 arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the
Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo
304 can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are
593 done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given
614 to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child be-
comes a member of the human race, but particularly a member
of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society.
787 After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams
533 were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to
764 put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their <u>poari</u>, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into <u>nabure</u>, <u>kuido</u>, <u>kudoro</u> [varieties of macaws] <u>kurugugwa</u> [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into <u>tubore</u> [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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[1] "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Ou wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[286] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and
[171] weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of
128 labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 How much the sexual life is related to the social
562 position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to
123 me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

/143 cont./

833 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day:
562 "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down
123 one beside the other, because one day they will die and then
775 they are reunited."

864 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from
115 Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 From Naliki, old Tereno chief, I received the
171 following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayaki, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 [797] [533] [776] The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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DEATH CAUSES GREAT CONCERN among peoples of all levels of culture. Among primitive peoples, anxiety about death is especially keen because of the widespread belief that the spirit of the dead person may be displeased and may remain in the community to haunt and disturb the survivors. Consequently, it is extremely important to the survivors to dispose of the remains of a dead person in the prescribed manner and to demonstrate their concern for the deceased through the proper rituals. For this reason, the

761

[773]

764

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone. 765 535 825 762

IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun. 764 302 301 292 [435]

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue. 765 535 767 776 767 776 765

ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound. [302] [775]

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

766 they wish to decorate it. They say that the resurrectionists are not called by men, but directly by the bope, and no one is supposed to know who they are.

When the village awakes to find the bones already prepared, the din is again unchained, the mother and female friends again slash themselves from head to foot, wail, and daub their bodies with black paste made principally from a fruit called genipa-pa, while two men sit on a palm-leaf rug and decorate the skull with a layer of bright red makaw feathers. This weird drama continues all day with little interruption, the players and singers relieving one another from time to time. And if some of their brethren from a neighboring village should visit them, the bakororo, as this noise is called, may continue all night and all the next day. Finally the concert ceases, and at sunset the basket of bones is laid away in the little cemetery outside the village, where the bope will take possession of them in due season, though only the priest is supposed to know when. Through constant howling during the bakororo, the family of the deceased become so hoarse that they cannot speak above a whisper, but the drinking of clay water, they say, relieves them.

775 As the Bororó is "very bad," they say, he is doomed forever to
755 wander and suffer in the lower regions and be subject to constant eviction. He takes up his abode in the bodies of certain fish and mammals, and when the creature dies the spirit must seek a new dwelling and be exorcised from the bodies of fish, fowl, or beast by the priest before the meat can be eaten. To eat it without this ceremony would cause sickness and death. Not every creature, nor even every member of certain species, is inhabited by a bope. Its presence is indicated only by certain markings or other peculiarities. In exorcising the bope the priest faces and calls upon the sun with loud yells, ecstatic jumping and trembling, slapping the fish, spitting and blowing into its mouth. Corn also must be exorcised, as they say they were once made desperately sick by eating it without this ceremony. Only the priests are exalted to an abode with the sun at death; they are not chosen by men, but by the bope. It comes
755 about somewhat in this manner: Some day a Bororó may be taken with a fit, and a priest of the tribe will be called to determine the disease and to say whether he will live or die. After consideration he may say to those present, "Piadudu [humming-bird] is in deadly combat with a bope. If he surrenders to the bope he will become a priest, but if he continues to resist he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is considered that he has given himself up to the bope, and is therefore qualified for the priesthood. But the certificate of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

771 place in the thoughts and doings of the Bororó as it does in the
000 minds of all the peoples of the earth. Elucidating further, Prof. O. T. Mason says that, "In a general sense, religion is the sum of what is thought or believed about a spirit world and what is done in consequence of such thinking. What is thought about such a world constitutes *creed*, what is done or what a people does under its inspiration constitutes the *cult*. The *creed* and the *cult* together form the religion of any individual or people."

771 The religion of the Bororó is expressed chiefly by an elab-
775 orate system of diabolical rites and ceremonies for the placa-
782 tion of disembodied souls, or spirits, which they call *bopi*—demons; and a funeral is the occasion for the greatest display
764 of the savage ritual, or *cult*. It is a great *musical* pandemonium, savage dirge, or hell's concert; or a sort of wild man's opera or tragic play, enacted by a primitive male quartette, mixed chorus and orchestra, and lasts several days and nights, first with the body present, and a week later, with the bones present.

763 When a member of the tribe becomes so ill that the family
755 begins to fear for his life, one of the tribal priests, or sorcerers,
756 is summoned to his hut where he lies naked on a palm-leaf mat spread upon the ground, to declare whether he will live or die. This primitive ecclesiastic may think, inspired with wicked cunning, that the sick one will die naturally within a certain number of days. Or, he may hold a grudge against the stricken man, and may consider this a good opportunity to balance accounts. So, in announcing to the family the number of days the patient will live, he mentally resolves that if death should not occur naturally at the time he shall name, he will see to it that it occurs, nevertheless, in some other way. Or, again, he may feel that life in the village has long been very dull and monotonous, and that there is immediate and urgent need of a social function or festival of some kind; and what could be more entertaining to the savage public than a good funeral *bakororó!* In this case, also, he will see to it that the victim dies at the time he indicates. In any event, he will take steps to have his predictions "come true" to the letter, in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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skin deep, but now and then they accidentally cut deep and 764
bleed profusely. The reader will have observed that the males 785
do not cut themselves, nor pluck out their hair. They are [562]
careful not to injure themselves. It is only the nearest female
relative of the deceased that has her hair jerked out.

Witnessing these hideous, uncanny and revolting scenes
of savagery, in the sickening atmosphere and dismal gloom of
the great hut, and listening to the pandemoniacal uproar or
medley of infernal noises, one could well imagine that he had
somehow been cast into the dungeons of the damned, and was
hearing their shrieks, and wails, and moans of unspeakable
anguish and despair. While this hideous drama, that only
savage tragedians are capable of interpreting, was being en-
acted, and pandemonium was singing and playing its hellish
hymns, and saying its mass, in this cavernous place; outside,
a tropical sun was silently inundating the earth with its glor-
ious effulgence, and all Nature, arrayed more beautifully than
Solomon in all his glory, sang for joy.

The first part of this horrid nightmare within the great hut 764
with the body present, continues night and day without inter-
mission, until the first sunset after death; then, as the king of
light sinks slowly and majestically behind the western wilder-
ness, and the shadows of night begin to gather, symbolical of
the closing forever of life's bright, happy day, and the ushering
in of the black, sad, hopeless night of the invisible world, the
savage choir, chorus and orchestra become hushed; and the
enwrapped remains are borne solemnly to the public play-
ground just outside the great hut, placed on top of the ground
and covered by a little mound of earth. Here the body lies for 765
a week or more in order that the flesh may decay and separate
from the bones. Each evening during this time, at the *meri de*
códu—the setting of the sun—as the prince of day resigns the [533]
earth to the rule of night, the sorrowing family and sympathiz- [715]
ing friends, gather around the sacred mound, and with their
faces turned toward the dying light, murmur a low, mournful
chant, pleading the virtues of the lost one, and perhaps also
recommending him to the good offices of the "supreme power"

[765] —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are be-
[533] lieved to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who,
[775] being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings. During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of
[533] the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday
[534] and holding a picnic in the woods. Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one
[775] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de-
[292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up
[535] and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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entrances to the savage hall. Meanwhile, stepping outside the great hut, I saw, crouching close to the wall of the hut, the mother of the recently deceased, weeping, wailing and jibbering in a low, squeaky voice which was almost gone, her body emaciated, covered with gashes and besmeared with blood. She was a most pitiable appearing creature. How cruel are the customs of savagery! 765

The soul representative and his adjutants next danced and jerked themselves outside the great hut into the open air, then to the public playground on the edge of the village. Here, the trio, totally exhausted, sat on the ground, while an assistant proceeded to call the *bopi* in the persons of a few of his fellow savages who were to represent them, or act as the materialization of the demons. Standing in the center of the *ring*, he beckons and calls, offering perhaps a bit of tobacco to induce a few men to volunteer, while the remaining males of the village—for only the males participate in this part of the funeral rites—stand scattered about in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees beyond the *ring*. At length, a savage offers to represent the *bopi* by dropping on all fours and beginning to creep very slowly toward the caller, or ringmaster, uttering constantly abdominal squeaks, in imitation, perhaps, of the note of the tapir, or of the wild pig. Approaching the center of the ring, he springs up suddenly on his *hind feet*, and with upraised arms rushes to the caller, where he takes his stand upon a spot prepared for him. Another and another volunteers in the same way until five *bopi* representatives are in line in the center of the ring. Balls of clay mud are now produced and the five *bopi* impersonators are painted drab from head to foot, black rings are marked around their eyes, the black figure of a serpent is sketched coiled around the body of one or two, and a quantity of mud is massed into their hair. 765 775 [302]

The caller now places himself in the path leading to the village, and beckons and calls as before, and the *bopi* representatives again drop on all fours and begin to creep very slowly toward him, emitting continuously their weird notes.

Brazil.

765 At the same time, the remainder of the savage band break
775 forth instantly into a wild uproar, yelling and screaming, throwing up their hands, dancing and jumping in their mad, though mock efforts to drive the *bopi* into the village, suggesting a squad of men and boys trying to drive a herd of obstinate hogs. Suddenly, a horrible shriek rends the air just in advance of the materialized *bopi*. This appears to frighten them, for they turn and begin to creep away from the village. The drivers now become still more frantic, yelling and shrieking, bellowing, chattering and jumping fiercely. Soon, however, the *bopi* are again headed toward the village; and entering the path, all spring up suddenly on their *hind feet*, mount their horses—fellow savages—gallop into the village, dismount, and crouch around the mound where the body lies buried, and claw the earth slightly, as if about to unearth the remains. They now quietly retire, their part in the savage rites having ended for the day.

The soul representative, who had re-entered the village in advance of the *bopi* representatives, now seated himself astride
[789] of the grave, and the father of the deceased having crouched beside him, he performed over him some enchantments to route any evil spirit that might be threatening him, or to make him invulnerable to their assaults. This he did making passes over the bereaved man's head, and muttering and blowing in his mouth, nose and ears. Following this, the soul representative deposited all his rigging on the mound save the *pariko*, or fan of brilliant feathers that adorned his head.

765 We now witnessed the ceremony of the transference of the
768 personal effects of the deceased from this world to the spirit world, for the Bororó, in their peculiar way, believe firmly in "laying up treasures in heaven." A fire was kindled, around which the soul representative, accompanied by an adjutant, danced sidewise, stiff-legged, while each article that had belonged to the deceased was passed by the father to the adjutant, who, in turn, handed them to the soul representative, who cast them one by one into the fire until all were consumed. They were only a few dirty toys, some rude ornaments made

of feathers, or of the teeth and claws of beasts, and one or two 765
articles of wearing apparel made of bark. To us, they were 768
merely a heap of rubbish, but to the poor natives, precious
treasures. Having vanished in flame, the effects were con- [775]
sidered transferred to the invisible world, and so *transub-*
stantiated that they could be of service to the newly arrived
shade, or *bopi*.

One reason that the Bororó give for burning the belongings of the deceased is, that if they were allowed to remain in the hut, the family, constantly reminded by them of their lost ones, would be weeping, wailing and uttering lamentations continually, for it is their custom to cry and jibber loudly whenever anything revives the memory of their dead. An- [775]
other reason for burning the effects is, that if they should not be burned, and hence not transferred to the shadow land, the soul would return to haunt and injure the family.

It was now about sunset, and the ceremonies of the day 765
being concluded, all the men seated themselves cross-legged upon mats in two groups just outside the great hut, and a primitive banquet, or collation, was served. The banquet always forms an important part of every social function among savages.—Indeed, a social function among them is inconceivable without it. But do not banquets, suppers and buffet lunches constitute an important part, if not the most important part, of social events among civilized men? Yet civilized men do not usually have a banquet at a funeral, with the decomposing corpse lying but a few yards in front of them.

The chief items on the menu at this savage banquet were 765
big clay potfuls of a kind of broth made of a starchy liquid 262
wrung from the spongy stems of a dwarf palm and mixed with a sauce made from the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm, called *pyky* (peekee), *pyky* eaten raw, three kinds of wild potatoes, boiled or baked in the ashes, and a sort of cocoanut bread made by pulverizing in a mortar the meats of palm-nuts and baking the mass in the ashes. There were no condiments. As each pot or tray of food appeared, a cheer was given by the group for whom it was intended.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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When the immediate family of the deceased have howled, wailed and chanted until they can scarcely articulate, they drink clay water, asserting that this relieves the throat somewhat. 765 [271]

Finally, I saw the basket of bones taken by the mother of the deceased, and buried in the little cemetery two or three miles from the village, where, it was believed, the *bopi* would take possession of them in a few weeks. The sorcerer is believed to know when the *bopi* removes the bones. [775]

A day or two after the conclusion of the funeral rites I witnessed, the father of the deceased, sent by the village authorities, disinterred the basket of bones and brought it back to the great hut. Three of the chief men from a distant village had arrived on a visit, whom it was necessary to receive with honors and entertain with the best festival the village could get up. And what could equal for entertainment a good funeral *bakororó?* But how could they have a funeral *bakororó* without a corpse, or at least the bones? As soon as the basket of bones was again brought into the great hut, pandemonium was once more in session, and the rattling, roaring, groaning, squatting, snorting, barking, weeping and wailing continued all the rest of the day and all night. At daybreak, the following morning, an intermission was taken in order that the players and actors in this savage drama might go fishing. They fished and hunted all day that they might have something to feast upon, for, of course, a *bakororó* without a banquet would scarcely be a *bakororó*. But when the darkness of night again enshrouded the land, the hideous uproar of the savage horde again burst upon our ears and did violence to the peace and tranquillity of the night until the dawn, when it was once more hushed, and the basket of bones was again entombed. [574]

Some of the Indians of the Rio Negro, hereinbefore mentioned, a score or two of families of whom live in one immense hut,—a primitive "flat,"—always bury their dead inside this hut under a few inches of earth, depositing the tobacco, ornaments and trinkets of the deceased in the grave with him. Some days after burial, a large quantity of fermented liquor is 000

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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Chapter XXXV.

000

THE SORCERERS.—EXORCISING AND FRIGHTENING AWAY DEMONS.—THE MYSTERY INSTRUMENTS.

The souls of the departed are believed by the Bororó to dwell, for a time at least, in the bodies of certain fish and mammals. But they do not appear to identify the disembodied soul—*bopi*—with the creature it inhabits, as do those people who believe in what is known as "transmigration of the soul." The Bororó soul is simply a tenant in the body of the creature it inhabits, maintaining a separate, independent existence, and continuing forever, supposedly, without any change occurring in its personality or character; though it is doomed to suffer evictions everlastingly from its temporary fleshly abodes at the hands of the conjurer, or because of the natural death and destruction of the body of the creature it lives in. The Bororó say that the moment a newly disembodied spirit—the soul of a member of their tribe who has just died—enters the body of some creature, the bones of the soul's former self disappear from the cemetery. The evil-minded sorcerer, doubtless, is responsible for the disappearance of the bones—if they really disappear. The Bororó do not think that every wild creature is tenanted by some wandering *bopi*—soul—but only those that bear unusual markings, such as especially bright colors, or are very large, or have some other peculiarity. They much admire a fish called *dourada* by the Brazilians, part of the body of which is a bright,

775 825 [262]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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775 825 262 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while 775 825 262 756 789 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir, and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

775 825 756 789 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish, for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 262 756 789 Corn also appears to have some connection with the demons, or is under a *tabou*, for the Bororó will not, under any

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circumstances, eat corn from a field until a few ears have first been brought to the sorcerer that he may perform his incantations over them, biting into them, dog-like. After this, the corn from that field may be freely gathered and eaten without further ceremony. 241 262 756 789

The souls of the departed, the *bopi*, are believed also to haunt and plot evil against the living, who pass their days in almost constant fear, and even in terror, because of them. Every few days, one or another of these superstitious children of the wilds imagines he sees a ghost or spook skulking in the jungle, or some strange object or shadow, or peculiar movement of the branches of the trees, or hears an unusual or seemingly uncanny sound. In a frenzy, he hastens to report what he has seen or heard, and, instantly, the whole city of savagery is wildly excited. These spooks, or wandering souls are nearly always seen just as solemn, mysterious night is taking possession of the land. Sometimes, the scare is a pure invention of the sorcerer. 775

These sorcerers, or tribal priests, are not chosen or appointed by men, the Bororó say, but by the *bopi*. Their calling to the priestly office appears to be somewhat in this manner: Some day, a Bororó is taken with some kind of a fit, and the village sorcerer, is called in to declare the nature of the case, and to say if the patient will live or die. Having considered the matter cunningly, he may say to the family something like this: "Piadudu is in mortal combat with a *bopi*. If he surrenders to the demon he will become a sorcerer, but if he continues to resist, he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is thought that he has given himself up to the *bopi*, and therefore fully qualified for the priesthood. But it seems to me that the certificate of priesthood lies largely in the ability of a Bororó to throw himself at will into a savage ecstasy or trance; or he may possess some powers of "mediumship," or metaphysical powers believed to emanate from the *bopi*, together with a good degree of native cunning and ready wit. These sorcerers are the most depraved men in the tribe. They are the bane of tribal life. They must nurture the illusion 756

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that they have communications with and influence in the spirit world, and know what is occurring there; and have power to cause and avert evils and calamities. Hence, they are ever on the alert to seize upon every propitious occasion, and even to invent occasions to make merchandise of the superstitious fears of their fellow tribesmen for their own profit and aggrandizement.

As regards the ordinary civilized man, knowledge forces the mysterious, the unknown, the infinite, back from his immediate presence, compelling it to remain at a distance, thus enabling him to pass his days more or less unmindful of its existence. But to the primitive man, with his limited knowledge of the processes of Nature, the world about him is pregnant with mystery; it presses close upon him on all sides and he cannot be indifferent to it. The mysterious—that which is beyond his knowledge—the infinite—literally stares him in the face at every turn, and he is unable to fathom it. Ignorant of causes, he views with superstitious thoughts every event, and everything in Nature that is in any degree unusual or abnormal—everything that seems to project, never so little, beyond the dead monotony of natural phenomena. Indeed, his knowledge is so limited, and his imagination so easily inflamed, that he readily creates for himself all sorts of unusual occurrences and phantasms without any foundation. His imagination is most active during the hours of darkness. Like a timid child, he sees terrifying shapes everywhere. The thunder and lightning, the wind, the sun and the moon in their various phenomena, the cries of birds and beasts, and the direction from which they cry, all convey to his uncultured mind some omen of good or evil. If the *kowi* (a bird) utters its cry at evening from the east, it means that "white man come;" and if from the west, "Bororó die."

Our Bororó friends who crowded about us during the whole of every day, always withdrew from our hut at sunset, retiring to their village, and we usually saw no more of them until daybreak. But late in the evening on two or three occasions, we heard a tramping of barefooted men approaching

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our hut, and immediately thereafter a horde of excited and 775
frightened savages swarmed in upon us. The cause of their alarm was quickly explained to us: One of their number had imagined he saw the forms of strange men moving about mysteriously in the jungle near the village, which was interpreted by some of his fellows to mean that the soldiers were coming to attack and carry them away. At another [789]
time, apparitions of the dead were thought to have been seen; so the following day the natives solemnly and mysteriously prepared the *roarers* in order to frighten away the threatening evil.

It is partly, or chiefly, to pacify departed souls by honoring 782
them and giving them a good send off, that the elaborate 775
funeral ceremonies already described, occur. And the fact that nearly all the rites and ceremonies of the Bororó are observed for the pacification of demons is the reason why the ritual is so hideous and diabolical. Men whose gods are devils only, can have nothing but a devilish ceremonial.

As already stated, the Bororó, like the Karayá, entertain 776
an anamistic conception of the world. They do not appear 771
to have any idea of a good spirit, or good spirits. Attempting to translate the word God into their language, or to communicate to them in a small degree the thought that this word stands for, we had to make use of the words, *Bopi camahina pêmêgáre iruducáre*, which is literally, Spirit, greatest, good, without equal. But this is quite unsuitable for a permanent translation and a word for God would have to be transliterated, or a new word coined.

Mingling with the Bororó, one somehow gets the impression that perhaps they once had a conception of a good spirit. But, as the good spirits never did them any harm, nor threatened them with evil, while numerous evil spirits are constantly menacing them, they came naturally to devote so much attention to the latter that they long ago forgot all about the
former. Thus they have degenerated in mind and heart, it 000
would seem, with the result that in the whole outward expression of their lives, they have retrograded from a higher to a lower social and moral state.

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Brazil.

776 [821] [756] [795] The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them, is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

789 534 Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons, or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarer*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

534 562 788 No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

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B 772 811 interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse, that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in B [186] the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in B [171] all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó BO [827] maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied. I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their B [186] neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals, and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with BO 772 811 strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death, /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the [775] araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they designate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give themselves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B 772 811 [171] Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears, nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

/492 cont./

756 simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same
784 ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their
825 death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as
[775] the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vái vái, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara,
[262] tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends,"
[824] who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: piki, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akuri nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

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794 828 The Kayapó were truly in the vicinity of the village; no one doubted it. From his own experience Clemente confirmed the accuracy of their predictions. If the wife left behind in the village while her husband is absent on a hunting expedition, sitting half the night alone in her hut, has loudly lamented and grieved for a few hours and then lies down to sleep, her soul will certainly find the hunters, and, after awakening, the women will always give accurate accounts of where they are now and when they will return. The proximity of the enemy is discovered in the dream, people flee, and he enters a deserted village.

763 It is quite true that in the case of a person who is very ill the baris accurately predict the day of his death. Not only was the child whom I mentioned on page 568 killed when the time came, but even in the case of Coqueiro's wife artificial means were employed. She was brought, still alive, into the ranchão; her face was covered with a cloth and she suffocated under the cover. According to the baris, she was to die on the fourth day, and she died. I believe one can easily understand this tampering with Atropos' handiwork, particularly in the case of a frequently roving hunter tribe, even if it does not put human beings and animals on the same level quite as seriously as the Bororó, because they are accustomed to giving dying animals the finishing stroke and are not in a position to remain for an arbitrary period in some localities. The fact that the baris know how to benefit by this custom is another matter.

761 795 [171] Ideas about death and the existence after death differ essentially from those of the Kulisehu Indians insofar as the medicine men responsible for the death do not live in a neighboring village and carry on their magic art there, but are in certain animals, which are unfortunately or foolishly killed and which now avenge themselves by taking away the living. [171] Whereas the medicine man of the Bakaïrí transforms himself into animals only temporarily in narcosis and after death goes to heaven in human shape, here death itself is nothing but a transformation into animals, a dream, the reality of which has become visible to all.

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•775 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form; at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and
775 should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are
772 Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned
825 on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists,
[262] or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

775 The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes
825 become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color,
[186] emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in
[774] life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
[261] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

/513 cont. /

792 schema "transmigration of souls." They experience "transmigra-
775 tion of souls" every night. That animals and human beings are
825 merely different persons is far more important than that one assumes a closer relationship to some animal-person or other as a result of subsequent considerations. I can really understand these people most readily if I regard the assertion, which seems to be the most recent and the most confusing, namely, their saying "we are birds," as the most ancient and the simplest, and not imagine them as saying "I shall become a bird," but rather "I have a bird -- please, not in the sense of the Berliners /who would mean, "I'm a bit touched" (Translator)/ -- I am a bird who now flies about at night but some day, hopefully in the distant future, will no longer fly back to his family if some other person, a human being, a bird, or a mammal, that I have fatally injured succeeds in preventing this, and who will then be forced to retain its nocturnal form and henceforth, as a white egret, will catch fish in the lagoon and earnestly hope that child and grandchildren will not shoot and eat him, but merely, if necessary, pluck out his feathers."

821 Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration. Sun and moon are arara feathers. I did not succeed in discovering what ideas exist about their owners. The Bororó laughed at me, however, when I asked them whether sun and moon were like human beings, and repeated "arara feathers," arara feathers and not merely arara, as though they might be birds. We live on a large island in the middle of a river called the "baruparu" -- the reduplication of "baru," "heaven." Moon and sun (or their owners) are on one side and wander across the river; when they come together, the moon passes over and the new moon comes.

The Southern Cross is the toes of a large ostrich, Centaurus is an accompanying leg. Orion is a jabuti turtle and, in the part toward Sirius, a cayman, the Pleiades are the tuft of flowers of the angico tree, Acacia; the Bororó showed me all this with great pleasure, /514/ and in doing so they often uttered an ih... of admiration, but they did not always agree about the interpretation, so that it was doubly difficult for me to discover it. About one

773 to wait for him, but the man would not wait and continued walking and whistling. The fish-child returned home and asked, "Why does my father act like this, he does not like me for he always leaves me behind." The mother then explained, "You are not his son, you are a little fish." The boy was very sad and answered, "As I have no father I do not wish to live." He then went out in the woods, climbed a tree, and began jumping from one tree to another until he became tired and fell down and died. The woman went looking for him and found his body and brought it back to her house. The woman was very angry with her husband and explained who the boy was. The husband was sorry for what he had done and both of them went out and buried the fish-boy. From his corpse grew the following crops: Sweet-potatoes from his testicles, pepper from his eyes, and beans from his ears.

GHOSTS

•775 When a person dies his ghost (*aruwuntá*) goes into the sky, climbing up on a ladder made of sipo vine. The ladder is guarded by a *cotia*, a rabbitlike rodent, who calls out everytime a ghost is going up or down. Another version states that in the old days the ghosts went up the ladder and later came down as living beings, but one day the *cotia* gnawed away the ladder so that when a person dies today he can no longer go into the sky and return to the earth as a living being but must remain here as a ghost. The *aruwuntá* sometimes enter the bodies of birds and animals. The ghost of an old bearded hunter is believed to enter the body of a jaguar or an eagle so that he can continue hunting. When a jaguar is killed the Umotina examine it carefully, for they believe that they can recognize whose ghost lived in it.

Some ghosts are good; others are evil and cause sickness. The good ghosts are those who have a living human representative whose body they can enter during the annual *arduato* ceremony and who have living relatives who make offerings to them. Evil ghosts are foreign ghosts or the ghosts of Umotina who have died away from the village or who have no relatives to make offerings to them. When a person dies, the relatives in-
764 vite some man from another family to bury the
775 corpse. This man then becomes the ceremonial or spirit father, mother, brother, sister, son, or

[p. 109 (A)]

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died, and once every year the ghost returns and enters
775 the body of the person who did the burying and
[782] dances in the *arduato*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina is the *arduato*, which is given every year at the
775 beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by
[782] the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arduato;* and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male
292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear
796 long mantles made from buritĩ leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear
775 macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buritĩ bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buritĩ leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kdto*) and
534 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in
533 length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *arduato* are those men who have lost relatives since the *arduato* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.

[p. 109 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
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584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has *some of his own they go out* in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motokdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*púpurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The 768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

● 775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured

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4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

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775 another while living, he might be punished after death by having his ghost killed. There appears, thus, to be a relationship between the life of the ghosts in the spirit world and the tensions existing between the families which were not direct kin with one another. Even while alive the ghosts

[p. 111 (1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

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775 punished evildoers. If a man does an injury to another, the injured man's father's or brother's ghost would come at night and beat him. To be sure that one's ghost would survive, the Umotina say a man must be good to his relatives and must not quarrel with the people in the village.

[p. 111 (B)]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 **Dances.**—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 **Beverages.**—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: 273 the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk [756] by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baere (plural of 775 bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a [754] jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most [262] important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[824] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[776] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

773 616 571 But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'Itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'Itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'Itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'Itubore.'[1]

Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many sub-[825] clans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the adugodoge [776] (jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aije (water spirits represented by the bull-roarers) be-[776] longing to the Aroroe. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aije, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

Bakororo gave:

Aije choreu (black Aije) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Aije kujagureu (red Aije) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Aije baru-baru (Aije of the horizon) to Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Aije akirireu (down Aije) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

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1 "A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu mode iwo maku akai. Kodire i mode maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere Itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare Itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure Itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare Ituborere ema pugeje."

773 616 571 [776] Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[776] Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

[776] Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[614] The Arorce entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 616 614 613 As a second example I list the lineages with which the clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.
Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe--the spirits or souls--which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[772] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[224] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
722 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village.
[773] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
831 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
775 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
776
[301]
[237]

asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo. Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most important cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:
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[537]

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together--they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e koje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

776 just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are
[761] enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to
[759] spy on the Bororo. These are makao, tuiwo torogo, churugu-
[825] churugu, kadogwareu (different kinds of birds), and ruke (flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human flesh. Aroe's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and
[688] juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness or kill people, Aroe punish infractions of cultural rules—they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed, that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

776 Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death
761 is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the
825 Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of Bope: adugo, aigo, aipobureu, aimeareu (varieties of felines), ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), okwa, riye, moribo (varieties of canines), kugu, tagogo (varieties of owls), makao (a variety of hawk), and bakure (a carnivorous monkey). The Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. a. They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and
[821] by the people through their offerings. b. They are night animals and the night is Bope's time. c. Nobody ever sees these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and they do not die, except when they are killed by people for compensation (mori).

776 5. Human vs. non-human; mortal vs. eternal

Bope is not part of the human race. "He does not get sick, he does not get old, he does not die. He does not have a human mother. He does not have a mother, a father, a companion."[1] He is eternal.

775 Aroe, on the other hand, have their human mothers; they are the souls of the dead; they are the ancestors of the Bororo, i.e., the things first seen and named. In the after-life they have to go through different tests, and it may happen that they vanish completely over the precipice of Akarubo; they are mortal.

82 6. Conscious vs. unconscious; multiplicity vs. unity

775 The Badajebage were the first to see the plaza, but they
776 did not become aware of it. To see something is not enough; it should be consciously perceived and named. Anything seen and named for the first time is Aroe. To see something and to give it a name is to isolate it from the continuity of amorphous, undifferentiated unconscious matter (Bope). It is a cultural process by which the universe is taken apart so that it can be comprehended. There are many names, there are many Aroe, but Bope is just one. Bope is one, yet he has a wife; and he and his wife are still conceived of as one. And he has children; and he and his wife and children

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[1] "Kogodu kare, pega kare, bi kare. Paje kare ji. Uche kare, uwo kare, metuya kare."

82 are still one. The sun is Bope, his younger brother the
775 moon is Bope, Burekoibo is Bope, jaguar, puma, ocelot are
776 Bope, but all of these are just different names for one Bope.

When recounting the deeds of the sun (Meri) and the moon (Ari), my informant said: "The sun did this, not the moon. But I think that they are not separated. What one does, the other does it too. They are just one."[1]

7. Earth vs. sky; meaningful speech vs. animal cry; singing vs. barking

Bope and Aroe occupy the same space. Aroe are everywhere; Bope too is everywhere: "Bope is in everything. There is not one thing in which Bope is not present."[2] On the other hand both Bope and Aroe have their more particular places. Bope lives in the sky, the Aroe are on the earth. Like the sun and the moon with which he is identified, Bope lives in the sky; the Aroe inhabit the villages of Bakororo (west) and Itubore (east). Coming from the sky to the earth in three steps, as he does in the preceding myth, the macaw is spatially making transition from nature to culture, from Bope to Aroe.

The same transition is made in the macaw's speech. First

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1 "Meri rore oino, Ari ema karega. Mare imearudae mitodure Meri ro rema. Ekare tuginoi ma ero padure pu me keje. Kode pu ro mitodure erore ema. Oino."

2 Awu Bope meture boe jamedu boe tada. Kodire iya metu kare t tada jiboe bokware."

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

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	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

[825] First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equipment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the animal traits of the first beings found their strongest expression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for their father, who had a special predilection for penes, vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae, a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived [103] in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first ornaments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lineages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one Tugarege man, Tadugo. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
772 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
616 Crocker writes:
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> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
775 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
776 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
616 Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the vil-
[361] lages published by the Salesian missionaries before the <u>Enciclopedia Bororo</u> show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7; Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the description of the Harido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echerae door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 [797] [533] [776] The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

/160 cont./

756 of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons
[184] might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.

[778] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
[171] pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of
misfortunes.

114 In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter;
Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

AFTER BITING FISH, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only them can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

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[p. 40-F]

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone. 765 535 835 762

IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun. 764 302 301 292 [435]

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue. 765 535 767 776 767 776 765

ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound. [302] [775]

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

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renewed effort to call forth the spirit of the dead Bororo.

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The ritual dances of the Bororo depict in lively and vigorous fashion many aspects of their relations with the spirit world. All the dances take place in the village plaza, and most of them continue for hours at a time, requiring tremendous physical endurance. As one by one the dancers become exhausted, they drop out of line. Weary and covered with perspiration, each one squats unceremoniously on the shallow grave, while someone pours a pot of water over him. These shower baths have a twofold purpose: they refresh the dancers and also moisten the ground, thus hastening decomposition of the body.

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Before the dancers return to strenuous activity, they may sip palm "wine." This weakly fermented beverage is prepared from sap of the *acuri* palm, a tree that grows in profusion near the village. To collect the sap, a man climbs to the top of the tree and cuts off the uppermost fronds. Next, his wife ascends and, with a shell, scrapes the pith from the heart of the

[p.45-c]

the combined action produces a strange, moaning whir. The rest of that day and all of the following night the bull-roarers are whirled, and their noise is believed to represent the voice of the evil spirit *Bope*. (No woman may see the bull-roarers, for the sight, it is believed, would kill her.) The bones are carried to their final resting

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[p. 48-C]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

priesthood seems to lie largely in the ability to throw themselves at 755
will into a savage ecstacy.

When a Bororó is ill, a priest is called to determine whether he will recover or die. On entering the hut and looking at his sick tribesman and concluding that he will probably die or should die, he will count his fingers, and each time he touches one finger will repeat, "Meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, bi," meaning that the sick man will see five suns, five days, and die, or he may say, "Nadua, nadua, nadua," etc., "bi," meaning sleep, sleep, etc., five days, and die. If at the end of this time he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the priest, will suddenly appear in the hut, sit astride his stomach, and strangle him to death, for the reputation of the priest must be maintained. The priests are probably responsible for not a few deaths. They are the bane of life in the tribe. They must nurture the delusion that they can communicate with and have influence in the other world and power to avert or cause evils and calamities. They are therefore on the alert to take advantage of any propitious occasion to prey upon the superstitious fears of their fellow-tribesmen. They are freely supplied with food by their tribesmen in order to retain their good will.

The Bororó seem to have no idea of God as the Christian under- 776
stands Him. They consider the sun as the fountain head of majesty and power and even of beneficence, and as the abode of the great priests who have passed to the spirit world and fear him. Bope means spirit or disembodied soul, but they seem to have no idea of a good spirit. The bope, who are evil spirits, must therefore not be offended though they must be driven away. To drive the spirits 755
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wood about half an inch thick, shaped something like a fish, and of varying size, hung by a long cord from the end of a stick like a fishing rod, and swung round and round through the air. As it swings and rapidly revolves, it sends forth loud sounds to a surprising distance, pitched from a sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek, the wail rising and descending the scale according to the rapidity of the swing or the size of the instrument. To hear several of these roarers at once certainly produces most unusual sensations, particularly when operated, as we heard them, during a tropical storm amid the play of the lightning, the crash and roar of thunder, the falling floods, and dismal gloom. No female is allowed to see this instrument under pain of death. New ones are made as occasion demands, and they are burned immediately after their need has passed. We entered the baehytu as some of these roarers were 778
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8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

our hut, and immediately thereafter a horde of excited and 775
frightened savages swarmed in upon us. The cause of their alarm was quickly explained to us: One of their number had imagined he saw the forms of strange men moving about mysteriously in the jungle near the village, which was interpreted by some of his fellows to mean that the soldiers were coming to attack and carry them away. At another time, apparitions of the dead were thought to have been seen; [789]
so the following day the natives solemnly and mysteriously prepared the *roarers* in order to frighten away the threatening evil.

It is partly, or chiefly, to pacify departed souls by honoring 782
them and giving them a good send off, that the elaborate 775
funeral ceremonies already described, occur. And the fact that nearly all the rites and ceremonies of the Bororó are observed for the pacification of demons is the reason why the ritual is so hideous and diabolical. Men whose gods are devils only, can have nothing but a devilish ceremonial.

As already stated, the Bororó, like the Karayá, entertain 776
an anamistic conception of the world. They do not appear 771
to have any idea of a good spirit, or good spirits. Attempting to translate the word God into their language, or to communicate to them in a small degree the thought that this word stands for, we had to make use of the words, *Bopi camakina pimîgâre irududre*, which is literally, Spirit, greatest, good, without equal. But this is quite unsuitable for a permanent translation and a word for God would have to be transliterated, or a new word coined.

Mingling with the Bororó, one somehow gets the impression that perhaps they once had a conception of a good spirit. But, as the good spirits never did them any harm, nor threatened them with evil, while numerous evil spirits are constantly menacing them, they came naturally to devote so much attention to the latter that they long ago forgot all about the former. Thus they have degenerated in mind and heart, it 000
would seem, with the result that in the whole outward expression of their lives, they have retrograded from a higher to a lower social and moral state.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them, is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

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Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons, or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarer*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

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No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

126 534 562 delivered them to me with a solemn, mysterious air. Even after the instruments were in our possession, these superstitious people manifested great solicitude in having us hide them away in the bottom of a box, and placing the box itself in an inaccessible place.

126 534 797 We also had difficulty in securing the big bass flutes used at the funeral *bakororó*. They were not kept hidden from any member of the tribe, yet the savages were loathe to part with them for some superstitious reasons. When I asked a captain to get me a pair, he looked solemn and mysterious, and said by words and signs: "The captain" (myself) "must not take this instrument away with him. It is a very bad instrument; whoever carries it away will never more return." In saying that it was "bad," he meant that it was "bad medicine," that it would bring "bad luck" to the possessor. Perhaps the old pagan was not far wrong after all, for contrary to my expectations, and to my great disappointment, I have not yet been able to return to their villages.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
556 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
324 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
324 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

[706] [224] [782] [237] [825]

272 273 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

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RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baero (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

[821] [753] [262] [756] [787] [773]

771 756 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

[787] [754] 771 756 755 [562] [262] [778]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

[p. 40-F]

AFTER BITING FISH, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

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SP8 Bororo SP8

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7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

778 being made for the funeral prelude. There was deep silence, and
123 the word hope was whispered low and mysteriously. Certain warning calls are given some hours in advance of the time for bringing the roarers into use, and, hearing these warnings, the females enter their huts, close the openings, and hide their heads. The roarers are manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush. We had difficulty in securing examples of these instruments. They were brought to us at night securely wrapped and amid the greatest secrecy, every precaution being taken to make sure that we would keep them where there would be no possibility of a female seeing them. We also had much difficulty in obtaining the base flute which is played only over the bones of their dead. A captain said to me, "That is a very bad instrument; you must not take it. If you do you will never return."

481 The Bororó are expert swimmers and are fishermen of the highest
226 order. One mode of fishing is to swim out into the river, three or four miles above the village, with a net called buke, like a great bag, its mouth secured to two parallel rods nine to twelve feet long, bound together at their ends. When one or more fish are seen, the mouth of the sack is opened by springing the rods apart, and with wonderful dexterity the fish are bagged and the mouth of the net quickly closed by allowing the rods to spring together. The fisherman then plays the game, especially if it be large; gradually rolls the net over the rods till the fish cannot move, brings it to the surface and kills it with a club, which he trails by a cord from his neck. The fish is now taken from the net, strung on a cord, and floated along with the club. Sometimes two or more fish of twelve or fifteen pounds will be taken at one catch, or maybe one weighing as much as the man himself will be bagged in this way. A Bororó will remain in the water an hour or two continuously, and return ashore with six or eight large fish. They have learned to turn their bodily strength to the greatest account while in the water.

226 Another method of fishing is with a bone harpoon, to which is secured a long cord and a short detachable bamboo staff. With this the fisherman enters the water, and, finding a large fish in the shadow of a rock, following it with great expertness if it moves, he plunges the harpoon into it even at a depth of fifteen or twenty feet, while the staff detaches itself and remains in his hand with the end of the cord secured to it. The fisherman now returns to shore and plays the fish until he lands it.

Another method, when fish are scarce, is for one gang of men to enter the water with their sack nets, three or four miles above the

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Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never ob-
[283] served spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the
[345] men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only
[283] two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and
[286] various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

/298/ Note I

614 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans
779 bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Čera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ewãguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
773 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
[262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character.
[614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

571 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
[115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from the beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and 776 rival functionaries.

775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and [754] confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] [748] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and women.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[273] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies--no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
[555] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [441] [531] [756]

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

765 535 825 782

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone.

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IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

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One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

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ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

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Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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771 place in the thoughts and doings of the Bororó as it does in the
000 minds of all the peoples of the earth. Elucidating further, Prof. O. T. Mason says that, "In a general sense, religion is the sum of what is thought or believed about a spirit world and what is done in consequence of such thinking. What is thought about such a world constitutes *creed*, what is done or what a people does under its inspiration constitutes the *cult*. The *creed* and the *cult* together form the religion of any individual or people."

771 The religion of the Bororó is expressed chiefly by an elab-
775 orate system of diabolical rites and ceremonies for the placa-
782 tion of disembodied souls, or spirits, which they call *bopi*—demons; and a funeral is the occasion for the greatest display
764 of the savage ritual, or *cult*. It is a great *musical* pandemonium, savage dirge, or hell's concert; or a sort of wild man's opera or tragic play, enacted by a primitive male quartette, mixed chorus and orchestra, and lasts several days and nights, first with the body present, and a week later, with the bones present.

763 When a member of the tribe becomes so ill that the family
755 begins to fear for his life, one of the tribal priests, or sorcerers,
756 is summoned to his hut where he lies naked on a palm-leaf mat spread upon the ground, to declare whether he will live or die. This primitive ecclesiastic may think, inspired with wicked cunning, that the sick one will die naturally within a certain number of days. Or, he may hold a grudge against the stricken man, and may consider this a good opportunity to balance accounts. So, in announcing to the family the number of days the patient will live, he mentally resolves that if death should not occur naturally at the time he shall name, he will see to it that it occurs, nevertheless, in some other way. Or, again, he may feel that life in the village has long been very dull and monotonous, and that there is immediate and urgent need of a social function or festival of some kind; and what could be more entertaining to the savage public than a good funeral *bakororó!* In this case, also, he will see to it that the victim dies at the time he indicates. In any event, he will take steps to have his predictions "come true" to the letter, in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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our hut, and immediately thereafter a horde of excited and 775
frightened savages swarmed in upon us. The cause of their alarm was quickly explained to us: One of their number had imagined he saw the forms of strange men moving about mysteriously in the jungle near the village, which was interpreted by some of his fellows to mean that the soldiers were coming to attack and carry them away. At another time, apparitions of the dead were thought to have been seen; [789] so the following day the natives solemnly and mysteriously prepared the *roarers* in order to frighten away the threatening evil.

It is partly, or chiefly, to pacify departed souls by honoring 782
them and giving them a good send off, that the elaborate 775
funeral ceremonies already described, occur. And the fact that nearly all the rites and ceremonies of the Bororó are observed for the pacification of demons is the reason why the ritual is so hideous and diabolical. Men whose gods are devils only, can have nothing but a devilish ceremonial.

As already stated, the Bororó, like the Karayá, entertain 776
an anamistic conception of the world. They do not appear 791
to have any idea of a good spirit, or good spirits. Attempting to translate the word God into their language, or to communicate to them in a small degree the thought that this word stands for, we had to make use of the words, *Bopi camahina pêmêgâre irnducâre*, which is literally, Spirit, greatest, good, without equal. But this is quite unsuitable for a permanent translation and a word for God would have to be transliterated, or a new word coined.

Mingling with the Bororó, one somehow gets the impression that perhaps they once had a conception of a good spirit. But, as the good spirits never did them any harm, nor threatened them with evil, while numerous evil spirits are constantly menacing them, they came naturally to devote so much attention to the latter that they long ago forgot all about the former. Thus they have degenerated in mind and heart, it 000
would seem, with the result that in the whole outward expression of their lives, they have retrograded from a higher to a lower social and moral state.

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died,
775 and once every year the ghost returns and enters the body of the person who did the burying and
[782] dances in the *arduato*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina is the *arduato*, which is given every year at the
775 beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by
[782] the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arduato*; and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male
292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear
796 long mantles made from buritî leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear
775 macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buritî bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buritî leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kdto*) and
534 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in
533 length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *arduato* are those men who have lost relatives since the *arduato* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.

[p. 109 (8)]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the
southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho
River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
392 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground,
352 over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[859] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
942 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[881] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

/491 cont./

756 the latter "doutor." Let us confine ourselves to the term bari or medicine man. His training seems to be less ceremonious than is otherwise the case; it depends more on natural talent. During [273] the dry season -- the name does not actually refer to thirst -- the most akurí palm wine is drunk; the trees are tapped, and the sap runs into a pot or mortar and is drunk from bamboo beakers. The wine is somewhat sour, but plentiful. Both sexes become as intoxicated as possible. The one who holds out the longest becomes the medicine man. If it is said of him that the birds of the forest understand him, that he converses with trees and with animals of all sorts in their language, hopefully that does not mean /492/ a medical man who is still inspired by palm wine, but refers to study in solitude and to the aróe song in which the animals are 755 called upon. The bari treats his patients in the well-known manner: he groans, writhes, smokes, and sucks the cause of the illness -- customarily a bone here -- out of the body of the patient. Two things should be noted, however: first, the bone is merely displayed and does not leave his hand, and the doctor gives treatments only at night.

Waehneldt reports correspondingly about the Bororó on the Jauru. Curing is done amid great clouds of smoke, unintelligible words, and, "the most important thing," convulsive movements: "I was present at the cure by such a padre, which consisted of his sucking at various parts of the body, and meanwhile he smoked his pipe and chewed up the mouthpiece. After each sucking he spit out the chewed-up pieces of his pipe, telling the patient that it 756 was the cause of his suffering." Furthermore--and now we come 784 back to the hunting booty -- a capibara pig had to be blessed in 825 the "sanctuary" by one of the four to six padres before it could be eaten or even touched. The baris cut off the best pieces and left the rest to the others.

On the S. Lourenço, too, the doctors likewise still lived in the golden age. It would be unjust to speak here of a delightful outgrowth of primitive hierarchy, for the bari was no "padre," but a "doutor" who merely did not yet know more than a "padre." The "consecration" was done in exactly the same way as the attempt to bring a dead person back to life. The logic is very

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756 simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same
784 ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their
825 death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as
[775] the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vãi vãi, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara,
[262] tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends,"
[824] who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akurí nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

Z:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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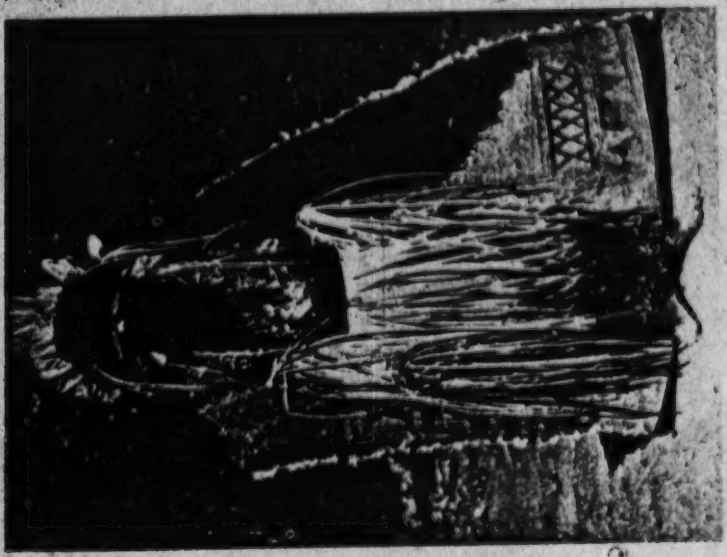

Plate 18.—Bororo jaguar impersonator. At Cururu. Front and rear view. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-G]

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[Still done to oppose spirit of the commercial film. - Artist]

[p. 43-C] [For caption, see p. 43-B]

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6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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MEDICINE MAN, at the left, holds rattle as he leads strenuous dance. Men and women jump, then kneel, to raise and lower palm fronds held between them.

[p. 44-A]

/497 cont./

534 belonging to their new associate is being withheld, that in the
765 future they therefore have nothing more to seek in the village, and then later when the bone-basket is disposed of and the deceased leaves the village. The underlying idea of all the ceremonies is the fear that the deceased will return to take away the
534 living. In the ceremonies undertaken to ward off this possibility,
765 the weaker sex is apprehensively excluded. During this time the
562 women run into the forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by the whizzer stick, whose booming noise has a warning or uncanny character by nature. If they were present, they would risk the danger of dying. Up to this point everything
534 is logical and natural. Now, however, something more than is
562 necessary happens; in connection with these practices there has
784 developed a danger for the women at even the mere sight of the whizzer stick. They would die if they saw it.

000 Certainly a reinforcement of an exaggerated nature, but not at all incomprehensible. One finds similar exaggerations among our women in their fear of firearms; a lady whom I know held her ears when I showed her a revolver with an open, empty barrel and, in a state of excitement which refused to see and hear anything, begged that it be taken away because -- quoted strictly historically -- "it happens often enough that those things
[828] go off even if they are not loaded." When the whizzer stick is heard among the Bororó on the two occasions mentioned, it corresponds to the loaded revolver; there is danger for both men and women, but the apprehension for the latter is greater because in general in the view of the Indian it is part of a woman's nature that she always weeps, "trembles," when animals, enemies, indeed, even waterfalls threaten, and that she is always in need of protection. Now if even the sight of the whizzer stick is dangerous for the woman, this is still partly the fear of the unloaded revolver, partly also a thoughtless form acquired by her as the result of the practice of generations, which is employed with anxious eagerness without examination. In exactly the same way Wallace observed in the Amazonas region that the women flee when the flutes of the jurupari-demon dance are heard, and he was

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000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
784 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
784 founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

301 Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
556 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
428 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
433 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest
425 relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
324 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
●785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

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846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order 785 to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

8: Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909 SP8 Bororo SP8

122

Camping in the Matto Grosso Wilds.

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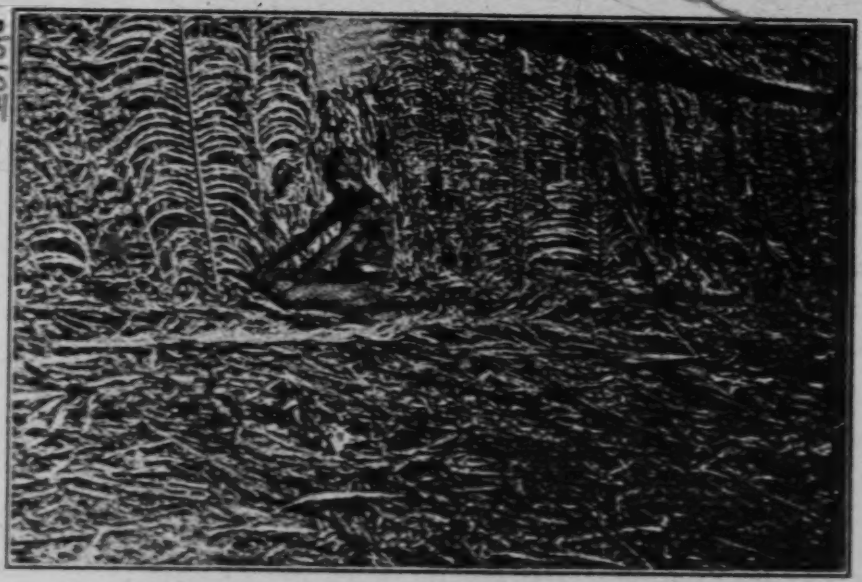

Bororó Funeral Ceremonies. The mother of the deceased, her hair jerked out and her body slashed from head to foot, is chanting just outside the great hut.

Facing 398]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

764 quartette and chorus, the men usually sitting cross-legged on palm-leaf mats on the ground, and the women standing. The male members of these outer groups are the orchestra, or band, composed of four or more pieces, in the manipulation of which the primitive musicians relieve one another from time to time. These instruments are of two kinds only, and of native manufacture. One kind is a sort of bass flute forty inches long and three inches thick in the outer half. It is made by splitting and hollowing a sapling, then binding the halves together into a rough tube by winding them from end to end with long strips of bark. The upper half of the instrument is but an inch or so in diameter. The second instrument is a sort of trumpet, made by gouging large openings in each end of several oblong calabash shells, five inches in diameter, and gumming them together, end to end, with beeswax. But one note can be produced with each instrument. The flute emits a snorting, snoring sound, the trumpet a barking, roaring, groaning, diapason note.

764 534

764 785 On one side of the corpse—which, at the rites I witnessed, was that of a child seven years old—crouched the bereaved father and brothers, who moaned, muttered and lamented continually in low tones. On the opposite side, kneeled the mother, sitting on her heels, her body completely besmeared with blood from having been slashed from head to foot with sharp-edged shells, while behind her crouched another female who, having first rubbed ashes into her scalp, slowly jerked out her hair, consuming five or six hours in the operation. At the same time, the poor, tortured creature wailed and moaned, and uttered lamentations, and jibbered and muttered, reciting the virtues of her beloved child. Meanwhile, female relatives [302] and friends of the stricken family, placing, each in turn, a foot upon the corpse, slashed their legs and arms scores of times, and sometimes their entire bodies, with jagged-edged shells—reminding one of the priests of Baal—and daubed their bodies from head to foot with a black substance, made chiefly from the genipapa fruit, all the while moaning, muttering and chanting. They do not intend to cut themselves more than

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

skin deep, but now and then they accidentally cut deep and bleed profusely. The reader will have observed that the males do not cut themselves, nor pluck out their hair. They are careful not to injure themselves. It is only the nearest female relative of the deceased that has her hair jerked out.

Witnessing these hideous, uncanny and revolting scenes of savagery, in the sickening atmosphere and dismal gloom of the great hut, and listening to the pandemoniacal uproar or medley of infernal noises, one could well imagine that he had somehow been cast into the dungeons of the damned, and was hearing their shrieks, and wails, and moans of unspeakable anguish and despair. While this hideous drama, that only savage tragedians are capable of interpreting, was being enacted, and pandemonium was singing and playing its hellish hymns, and saying its mass, in this cavernous place; outside, a tropical sun was silently inundating the earth with its glorious effulgence, and all Nature, arrayed more beautifully than Solomon in all his glory, sang for joy.

The first part of this horrid nightmare within the great hut with the body present, continues night and day without intermission, until the first sunset after death; then, as the king of light sinks slowly and majestically behind the western wilderness, and the shadows of night begin to gather, symbolical of the closing forever of life's bright, happy day, and the ushering in of the black, sad, hopeless night of the invisible world, the savage choir, chorus and orchestra become hushed; and the enwrapped remains are borne solemnly to the public playground just outside the great hut, placed on top of the ground and covered by a little mound of earth. Here the body lies for a week or more in order that the flesh may decay and separate from the bones. Each evening during this time, at the *meri de códu*—the setting of the sun—as the prince of day resigns the earth to the rule of night, the sorrowing family and sympathizing friends, gather around the sacred mound, and with their faces turned toward the dying light, murmur a low, mournful chant, pleading the virtues of the lost one, and perhaps also recommending him to the good offices of the "supreme power"

Brazil.

765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *bopi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from [237] the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

At the *mári ritu*—the birth of the sun—the following morning, the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus [533] and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, [785] was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; [302] and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with [226] the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

/466 cont./ Four women in particular were lamenting
179 pitifully, their faces bathed in tears, and reported on the events
152 since the parting; the most excited one cut the skin on her breast,
785 arms, and legs and, in wild distress, with her wet, loam-yellow body streaming with blood, writhed before her husband sitting stiffly on the bench in his theatrical costume.

The commander of the colony was followed, on 12 April, by two huge carts loaded with goods, each of which was drawn by a dozen oxen. For the soldiers a change took place when, in the evening orders, it was announced that the sale of alcoholic spirits was to be suspended from now on in view of the fact that many had been intoxicated when the Lieutenant arrived.

After such business was finished, Duarte was given a proper welcome by his subjects on the following day. First at breakfast with good port wine. To be sure, two cadets drank from one glass, but there was no shortage of the stuff. Duarte himself was very moderate out of consideration for his liver. The wine was followed by a collection of bottles of light export beer, the labels of which reminded us of home: the brewery was in Hannover. Six toasts were drunk to Duarte, as a Paraguayan soldier, as a family man, etc.; again and again he was offered a wealth of eulogies, to all of which he responded with a friendly "obrigado," "thank you very much."

This session, however, was merely a prelude to the "serenade" in the evening: Caldas violin, Duarte guitar, Ildefonso coxó fiddle. It turned into a fine, jolly evening, and it filled us with the greatest respect for Brazilian drinking ability; I would never have believed that there could be such hearty guzzling in the sertão. Two good-sized cases of beer were emptied to the last drop before the liquor came. But even more endless was the stream of talk. I dedicated my toast to the originator of the Bororó catechesis, President Galdino Pimentel, who is not to blame if wrong methods were subsequently adopted, and in this way I avoided the dilemma of lying or offending needlessly. Duarte thereupon also spoke and rather well. He was dissatisfied with the government; the "governo ingrato" was blamed for whatever prevented conditions from being perfect. It was also unfair that

/507 cont./

765 In the morning, led by Moguyokuri, a long procession entered the ranchão, all with green twigs in their hands; in the center, the brother of the deceased with the square basket-bag containing the skeleton parts, which had been dug out and cleaned early in the morning. The basket was placed on a mat; four men took out the skull and the lower jaw, which looked smooth and white like the most beautiful specimens, and set about decorating them as well as a new basket-bag with feathers. [302] [301] Moguyokuri sat on a jaguar skin in gala array, skin and hair painted red, an akurí palm branch wrapped around his hips, dark-blue mutung feathers glued on his shoulders, the yellowish red lappets of toucan feathers hanging down from his ears, the most beautiful parîko on his head, the shell chain in the hole of his lower lip. Beside him stood four medicine men [756] adorned with parîkos, who busily shook the rattle-gourds and, rhythmically stamping, jumped up and down, their eyes closed. The entire ranchão was filled with people, chiefly women and children; they joined in the singing and clapped their hands rhythmically. Several of the women stepped up to the bone-basket and laid their hands on it. The oldest woman scratched [785] her arms with broken glass in quick, sharp cuts; the blood dripped on the hands of the others and colored the palm straw of the basket-bag.

[302] [301] The young men in the center first had their lower jaws painted with urucú and covered with white down feathers. Be- [237] side them on the mat they had urucú pigment in an armadillo shell, a little pot containing fish oil, a shell with gum-resin, a mat with little loose white feathers, and a /508/ large bowl filled with little purple feathers. They painted the new basket generously inside and out with urucú, and, while some of them glued feathers on the basket, the others devoted themselves to the skull, into which they set the lower jaw and on which they most carefully pasted the small purple feathers, starting at the back of the skull. Each feather was brushed on the end with a resin stick and set on individually.

/508 cont./

765 Meanwhile Coqueiro also arrived, holding a child by the
[152] hand. He sat down quietly to one side, sobbed and wept. He wore no ornament, except the black cord around his waist, which he had spun and plaited out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he squeezed his eyes shut as though weeping were painful.

Gradually the vault of the skull was covered with red arara velvet. If a person had to wipe off his hands, he used the basket. Some of those present soon no longer paid any attention to the celebration. The children were running about gaily, a few men were munching on ears of maize and working, a couple of women were delousing each other, but kept on singing devoutly. It also became emptier.

One eventually became drowsy from all the whirring and booming tones. A drummer joined in, a pelt of small parrot feathers pasted on his arms. The room filled up again. Seven
765 women stepped up to the old bone-basket, scratched themselves,
●785 and placed their feet on it so that their blood soaked the straw too. Cf. Plate 29 /see p. 633/. The wounds were two to three centimeters apart, a red network covered legs and arms, chests and abdomens. Their facial expression remained calm and showed no pain; the scratching was done with extremely quick movements. They all wrapped their sliver of glass in a leaf, handed
[152] it to Coqueiro, and sat down beside him. New groups came to scratch themselves, always only women and girls, and did what the preceding ones had done; each one, before she made a scratch, put the sliver to her mouth and moistened it. Booming and droning, two flutes joined the music of the rattling gourds, the drum, the singing and stamping. The singers danced with incredible endurance. Coqueiro also squatted down beside the basket and scratched his arms, while a woman stood beside him with her child on her back.

765 Toward noon the skull and the basket were finished. In the case of the former, the red velvet cap was interrupted by a pretty yellow cross-line, corresponding to the cranial suture. Snowy white feathers were glued on the new basket, and on either side, in the white area, two rows of red squares, like

/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113]

1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage* and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should [775] still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine." "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awãra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeõ," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bãdejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 773 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bãdejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 571 787 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin of the O Čera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to [E92] establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Čera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/) comes from a subdivision of Bãdejebage Čębegeʷõge: Iparečeba, of the Bãdejebage Čabogẽʷõge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bãdejeba Čębegeʷõ had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement.

614 [787] Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/299 cont./ Colbacchini

614 [114] counts 18 names for the Paiwe, four for the Bokodori, six for the Ki, three for the Bãdejeba, seven for the Ãróre, five for the Ewãguddu, eight for the Apibore, etc.... We did not arrive at an equal /300/ number, but as those which we collected on the Río Vermelho are most often not the same as those which he obtained on the Garças River, it is probable that the true number, expressing the combined whole of different local traditions, is much higher. Moreover, among these names, all do not express rigorously identical traditions. If the Paiwe make use of the names corn, cotton, resin, and tobacco, it is that these plants were born from the ashes of a miraculous child, who in the form of a serpent was conceived by a Paiwe woman. One is hence really in the presence of a commemoration of magical events, in the most general sense of the term.

After this, it is futile to search for another explanation for the origin of the clan eponym than that which is applicable to the collection of names and clan emblems. The eponym is not of a special nature. It only recalls the most striking event, and this is why one finds an illustrious hero just as well as an animal, a plant, or an object. One clan is proud of having brought tobacco to the collectivity, as another recalls that its ancestor was the inventor of the labial pendant. Moreover: this event is not always sufficiently striking to create unanimity among the clan members or among fellow citizens of other clans. Hence the utilization in one village of a name not used elsewhere; hence the secondary divisions of clans.

[975] [987] The maximal expression of the system then would be the following: a philosophical doctrine, based on belief in the reincarnation of the soul in animal form, which took on the quality of a personal revelation for certain individuals, celebrated by their descendants in the form of a commemorative name. It is possible that the Čiba Čera, for example, may have been led to extend to all their descendants the experience of an illustrious ancestor, and may have begun to think that they were all destined to live again in the form of the red arara. But it has not been

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

[706] [224] [782] [237] [825]

272 273 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

[756]

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

775 [821] [753] [262] [756] [787] [773]

771 756 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

[787] [757] [562] [262] [778]

772 Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture

561 The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

894 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society 787 is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [76] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the <u>ika</u>: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be: the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones: the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous impediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.

847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and especially of the future mother herself. If, for example, the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune in a dream, be i. dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epidemics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe, which does not want to admit anything that might harm its

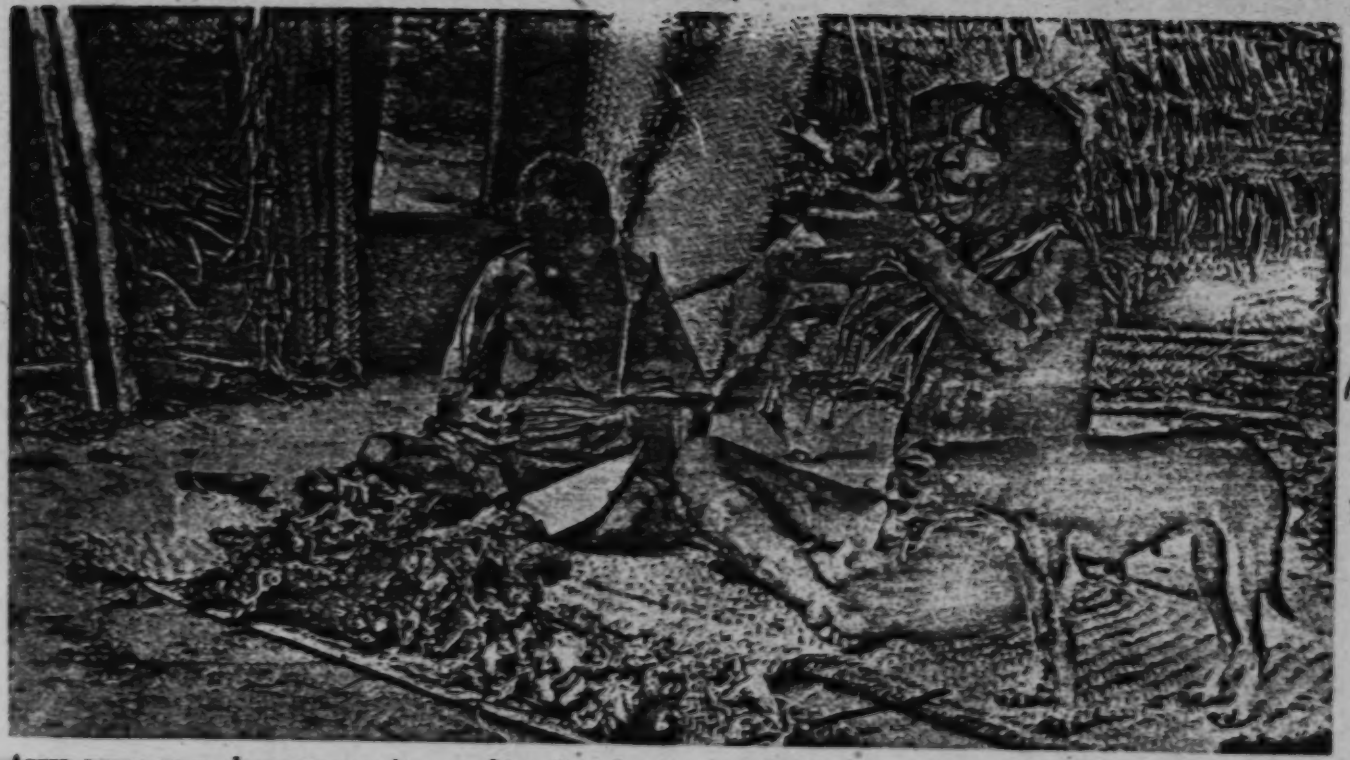
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this

[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete

842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the women forever. They said that only two old men knew this

[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Bororos, Rio de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They



AFTER BITING FISH, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

[p. 40-F]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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[776]
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None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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that they have communications with and influence in the spirit world, and know what is occurring there; and have power to cause and avert evils and calamities. Hence, they are ever on the alert to seize upon every propitious occasion, and even to invent occasions to make merchandise of the superstitious fears of their fellow tribesmen for their own profit and aggrandizement.

As regards the ordinary civilized man, knowledge forces the mysterious, the unknown, the infinite, back from his immediate presence, compelling it to remain at a distance, thus enabling him to pass his days more or less unmindful of its existence. But to the primitive man, with his limited knowledge of the processes of Nature, the world about him is pregnant with mystery; it presses close upon him on all sides and he cannot be indifferent to it. The mysterious—that which is beyond his knowledge—the infinite—literally stares him in the face at every turn, and he is unable to fathom it. Ignorant of causes, he views with superstitious thoughts every event, and everything in Nature that is in any degree unusual or abnormal—everything that seems to project, never so little, beyond the dead monotony of natural phenomena. Indeed, his knowledge is so limited, and his imagination so easily inflamed, that he readily creates for himself all sorts of unusual occurrences and phantasms without any foundation. His imagination is most active during the hours of darkness. Like a timid child, he sees terrifying shapes everywhere. The thunder and lightning, the wind, the sun and the moon in their various phenomena, the cries of birds and beasts, and the direction from which they cry, all convey to his uncultured mind some omen of good or evil. If the *kowi* (a bird) utters its cry at evening from the east, it means that "white man come;" and if from the west, "Bororó die."

Our Bororó friends who crowded about us during the whole of every day, always withdrew from our hut at sunset, retiring to their village, and we usually saw no more of them until daybreak. But late in the evening on two or three occasions, we heard a tramping of barefooted men approaching

/456 cont./

198 Nocturnal howl of Lamantation. Evening after evening, from
224 at least four or five huts, came the incessant howls of lamentation by individual women. These are the wives of men who are on a hunting expedition and are expected back in a few days. Bábela bábela bá.... baba éh. The lament lasts until far into the night; it is scarcely possible for us to sleep. It has a very definite purpose, however. The women say that afterwards,
[787] when they lie down to sleep, they will find out in their dreams when their husbands will return. They will know it the next
763 morning. At the moment they are all the more occupied with this matter since the wife of one of the absent ones, the Indian "Coqueiro" (coconut palm), has just died. In the men's house the red covering of the dead has been spread out, a pot and two work-shells of hers have been added; two baris let resound a lengthy song of lament, while a number of mourning women remained in the background.

080 Vesper prayer. At eight o'clock in the evening the "reza," the vesper prayer of the soldiers, takes place. Yesterday we followed the procedure more closely, and, when the horn-player gave his signal, we took our places in front of the prison door in order to watch. Gradually 32 men, besides the ever present guard, gathered at the main house /457/ and "arranged" themselves in two rows, tall and short, as they happened to come, in whatever garb, but each one equipped with his Comblain rifle. The full moon shed its mild light on the strange fellows. Facing them stood two cadets, one of whom read the names by the light of a candle, the other cut himself pieces of sugar cane and sucked contentedly. As soon as a name was called, the bearer answered, sometimes loudly, sometimes softly, depending on his mood, "pronto," "present." To our astonishment, the "pronto" suddenly sounded behind us in a hollow, sepulchral voice issuing from the guardhouse cell; through a crack in the door we were amused to see, from the shadow moving back and forth, how the culprit in a bright light inside was swinging in his hammock.

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans. Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
756 ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
846 honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with urucu and puts on a pair of feather
[301 ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110 (1)]

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
[622] the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
[554] connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
[611] eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
[613] the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
[538] songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
[533] rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
[788]
[552] Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
[121] missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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Brazil.

776 [821] [756] [795] The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them, is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

789 534 Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons, or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarrr*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

534 562 788 No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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warning calls are given frequently for some hours in advance of the time when the instruments are to be brought into use. Hearing these warnings the females enter their huts, close the openings and hide their heads. The *roarers* are always manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush, and at openings in the forest. 534 562 788

Many other tribes have mystery instruments and practice demon music. Wallace, describing those of some Rio Negro tribes, says that their instruments are pipes, or tubes, like great bassoons or trumpets, and produce sounds somewhat like trombones or clarinets. One kind is made of bamboo or palm-stems, hollowed out, while others are made of bark, twisted spirally and have mouthpieces of leaves. Each instrument produces but one note, but several pairs are played at the same time, each pair being of the same size and emitting the same note. A simple tune is played, revealing unusual taste for savages; and though the music sounds strange and wild, it is somewhat pleasing. The musicians wave the instruments about in a peculiar manner, vertically and sidewise, while playing them, and accompany these movements with corresponding contortions of the body. These instruments are considered a great mystery. No female of the tribe must ever look upon them under pain of death. From the first moment this mystery music is heard, not a female, young or old, is to be seen for all have hidden themselves away in the woods. If a female should see one of these instruments, either accidentally or by design, she would be put to death, usually by poisoning; and a father will not hesitate to become the executioner of his own daughter, or a husband of his wife. Even where there is only a suspicion that the instrument has been seen by forbidden eyes, no mercy is shown. 534 562 171

I experienced difficulty in getting possession of two or three of the *roarers* for my collection. The Bororó were very reluctant to let me have them, fearing that their women might catch sight of them in some way. But they finally brought them to our hut, one at a time, under cover of darkness, after having borrowed blankets from us in which to roll them, and 126 534 562

/162 cont./

723 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this
[262] reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially
[789] powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

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765 At the same time, the remainder of the savage band break
775 forth instantly into a wild uproar, yelling and screaming, throwing up their hands, dancing and jumping in their mad, though mock efforts to drive the *bopi* into the village, suggesting a squad of men and boys trying to drive a herd of obstinate hogs. Suddenly, a horrible shriek rends the air just in advance of the materialized *bopi*. This appears to frighten them, for they turn and begin to creep away from the village. The drivers now become still more frantic, yelling and shrieking, bellowing, chattering and jumping fiercely. Soon, however, the *bopi* are again headed toward the village; and entering the path, all spring up suddenly on their *hind feet*, mount their horses—fellow savages—gallop into the village, dismount, and crouch around the mound where the body lies buried, and claw the earth slightly, as if about to unearth the remains. They now quietly retire, their part in the savage rites having ended for the day.

The soul representative, who had re-entered the village in advance of the *bopi* representatives, now seated himself astride
[789] of the grave, and the father of the deceased having crouched beside him, he performed over him some enchantments to route any evil spirit that might be threatening him, or to make him invulnerable to their assaults. This he did making passes over the bereaved man's head, and muttering and blowing in his mouth, nose and ears. Following this, the soul representative deposited all his rigging on the mound save the *pariko*, or fan of brilliant feathers that adorned his head.

765 We now witnessed the ceremony of the transference of the
768 personal effects of the deceased from this world to the spirit world, for the Bororó, in their peculiar way, believe firmly in "laying up treasures in heaven." A fire was kindled, around which the soul representative, accompanied by an adjutant, danced sidewise, stiff-legged, while each article that had belonged to the deceased was passed by the father to the adjutant, who, in turn, handed them to the soul representative, who cast them one by one into the fire until all were consumed. They were only a few dirty toys, some rude ornaments made

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775 825 262 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while 775 825 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir, 262 756 789 and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

775 825 756 789 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish, for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 262 756 789 Corn also appears to have some connection with the demons, or is under a *tabu*, for the Bororó will not, under any

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circumstances, eat corn from a field until a few ears have first been brought to the sorcerer that he may perform his incantations over them, biting into them, dog-like. After this, the corn from that field may be freely gathered and eaten without further ceremony. 241 262 756 789

The souls of the departed, the *bopi*, are believed also to haunt and plot evil against the living, who pass their days in almost constant fear, and even in terror, because of them. Every few days, one or another of these superstitious children of the wilds imagines he sees a ghost or spook skulking in the jungle, or some strange object or shadow, or peculiar movement of the branches of the trees, or hears an unusual or seemingly uncanny sound. In a frenzy, he hastens to report what he has seen or heard, and, instantly, the whole city of savagery is wildly excited. These spooks, or wandering souls are nearly always seen just as solemn, mysterious night is taking possession of the land. Sometimes, the scare is a pure invention of the sorcerer. 775

These sorcerers, or tribal priests, are not chosen or appointed by men, the Bororó say, but by the *bopi*. Their calling to the priestly office appears to be somewhat in this manner: Some day, a Bororó is taken with some kind of a fit, and the village sorcerer, is called in to declare the nature of the case, and to say if the patient will live or die. Having considered the matter cunningly, he may say to the family something like this: "Piadudu is in mortal combat with a *bopi*. If he surrenders to the demon he will become a sorcerer, but if he continues to resist, he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is thought that he has given himself up to the *bopi*, and therefore fully qualified for the priesthood. But it seems to me that the certificate of priesthood lies largely in the ability of a Bororó to throw himself at will into a savage ecstasy or trance; or he may possess some powers of "mediumship," or metaphysical powers believed to emanate from the *bopi*, together with a good degree of native cunning and ready wit. These sorcerers are the most depraved men in the tribe. They are the bane of tribal life. They must nurture the illusion 756

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our hut, and immediately thereafter a horde of excited and frightened savages swarmed in upon us. The cause of their alarm was quickly explained to us: One of their number had imagined he saw the forms of strange men moving about mysteriously in the jungle near the village, which was interpreted by some of his fellows to mean that the soldiers were coming to attack and carry them away. At another time, apparitions of the dead were thought to have been seen; so the following day the natives solemnly and mysteriously prepared the *roarrrs* in order to frighten away the threatening evil.

It is partly, or chiefly, to pacify departed souls by honoring them and giving them a good send off, that the elaborate funeral ceremonies already described, occur. And the fact that nearly all the rites and ceremonies of the Bororó are observed for the pacification of demons is the reason why the ritual is so hideous and diabolical. Men whose gods are devils only, can have nothing but a devilish ceremonial.

As already stated, the Bororó, like the Karayá, entertain an anamistic conception of the world. They do not appear to have any idea of a good spirit, or good spirits. Attempting to translate the word God into their language, or to communicate to them in a small degree the thought that this word stands for, we had to make use of the words, *Bopi camakina pêmêgâre iruducâre*, which is literally, Spirit, greatest, good, without equal. But this is quite unsuitable for a permanent translation and a word for God would have to be transliterated, or a new word coined.

Mingling with the Bororó, one somehow gets the impression that perhaps they once had a conception of a good spirit. But, as the good spirits never did them any harm, nor threatened them with evil, while numerous evil spirits are constantly menacing them, they came naturally to devote so much attention to the latter that they long ago forgot all about the former. Thus they have degenerated in mind and heart, it would seem, with the result that in the whole outward expression of their lives, they have retrograded from a higher to a lower social and moral state.

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Brazil.

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2: Steinen--645 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Plate XXX

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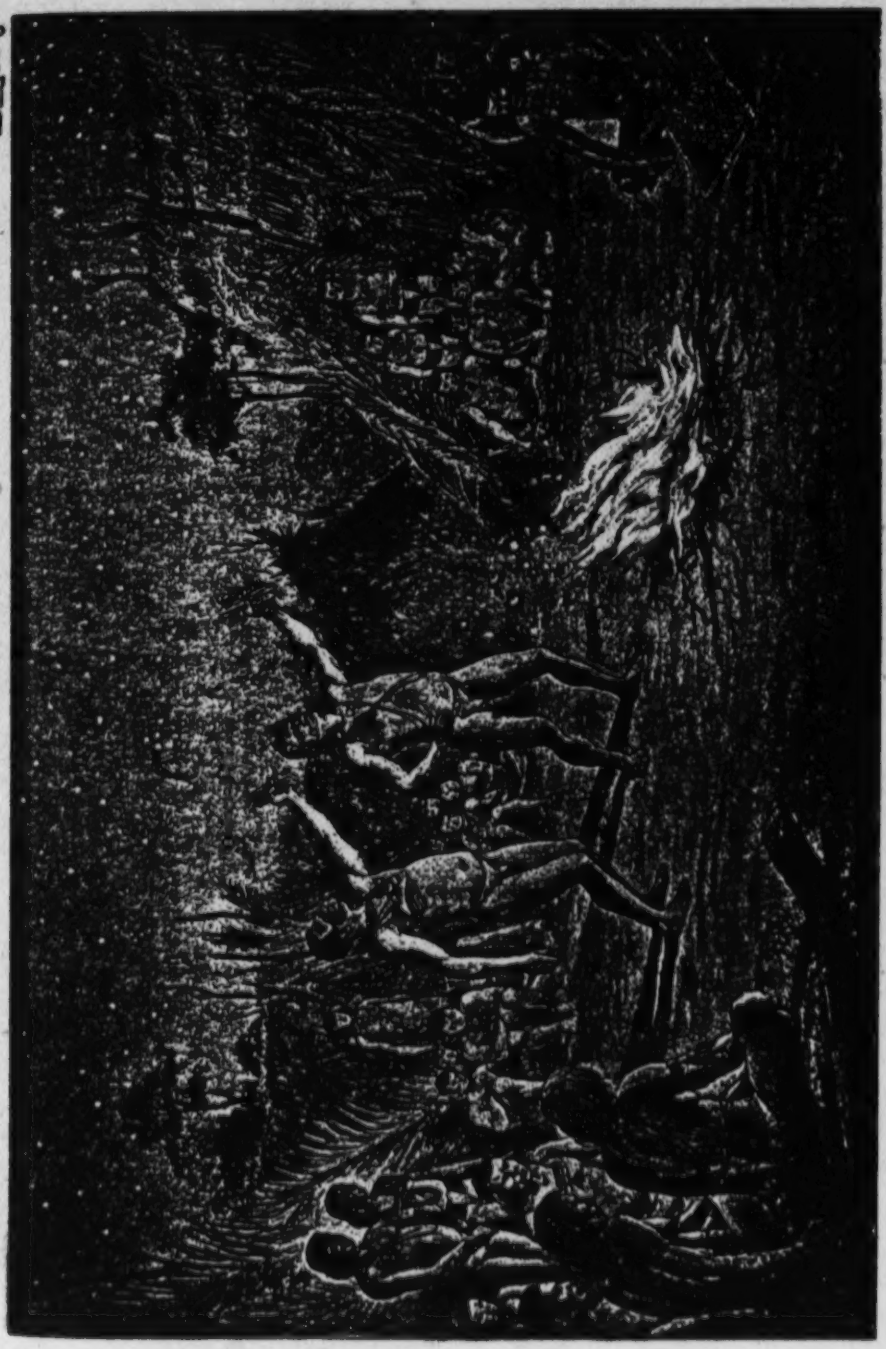

Meteor-conjuration among the Bororó.

/514 cont./

821 thing, however, perfect agreement prevailed, and this was most amazing to me. The ordinary stars not included in particular constellations, scattered over the sky as small and large dots, which one also sees streaking across the firmament as shooting stars, were all sand fleas; the Milky Way where they are most closely crowded together was ashes, and Venus the "large sand-flea."

[772] As among the Bakaïrí, the underlying interpretation is that the heavenly animals get up there by magic and differ in their appearance from terrestrial creatures; for as soon as some particular phenomenon appears, the bari is ready with an explanation. The large colorful water-snake which we call "rainbow" is a bari. A splendid meteor that fell during our stay was the "soul of a bari" which suddenly appeared in order to inform the Bororó that he wanted to have "jaguar meat" and that he would send one of them dysentery. The scene in which they tried to ward off the disaster merits a detailed description. Cf. Plate 30 /see p. 645/.

The meteor flared up in the south on 14 April at 8:26 in the evening as a ball about a quarter of the size of the moon; there was a bright glow over the entire area. It fell very rapidly in 45° towards the west and left a streak approximately the width of four heavenly fleas of the first magnitude and was divided into two parts like a staff, the free end gleaming like a star, the area toward the ball a brilliant blue. For another four minutes I seemed to see the streak, which was fading more and more, as a bright whitish mist.

821 789 At the same moment that the meteor became visible a shrill, prolonged cry of a hundred voices resounded from the Indian plaza. From all sides they rushed to the ranchão, where for a while there was a commotion inside and out as in a stirred-up ant hill. Then they turned to the part of the plaza facing the riverbank, started a few campfires, and soon numerous small, fantastically illuminated groups of men, women, and children were sitting along the huts. I had gone off to one side for a few minutes and was called back by a loud uproar. Two baris painted bright red with urucú stood in the midst of the company and, in

/514 cont./

821 great excitement, were puffing in all directions toward the sky,
789 squirting a little saliva from their lips, much as the Kulisehu Indians had driven away the thunder clouds. They were trembling and tottering so that one feared they would fall to the ground in
[276] a faint. Then they turned toward the place where the meteor had appeared, screamed vué! vué! with a threatening, terrified voice, pressing the hollow of the right hand to the mouth, stretched the left arm toward heaven, and each held up a bundle of span-long maize cigarettes. "Here, look at this," they seemed to say, "all /515/ this tobacco we are spending to drive away the evil. Woe to you, if you do not leave us in peace!"

[152] A strange mixture of fear and courage, the latter, unfortunately, being tinged with something just as artificial as on the occasion of the exorcism of the Kayapó danger. The trembling increased, their entire bodies vibrated, their bent-back heads wobbled, they touched themselves with twitching movements and passed their hands over their chests and stomachs in order to force away everything evil.

[276] After this spectacle had gone on for a while, their cigar bundles were taken out of their hands and lighted at the fire while the excited doctors, whimpering and shuddering, caught their breath for a moment. Half a dozen men got up, took a few puffs for comfort and strength, and gave the cigars to the baris, who resumed their cure. They puffed at the whole bundle, howled even more shrilly and reproachfully toward heaven than before, stroked their bodies even more assiduously, scratched their heads vigorously, puffed at their bundle once more, sucked convulsively at their forearms as though they were drawing the blood up from the depths, cried vué vuáu vuáu ever louder, shook themselves and blew toward the stars; their joints shook, their muscles flew.

[755] Finally, they suddenly began to look searchingly about them in the throng, talked to those standing nearest them, pointed into the crowd, and joined the main group where they undertook a brief cure of a weak old man, the chief Domingo, and several of the most esteemed who alone could be involved in such a special case. They lifted up their heads, looked at them

/515 cont./

821 searchingly, squirted into their faces, pzũ pzũ, and, with the
789 hollow of their hands held against their mouths, again uttered their threatening võu or a shrill hahahó, not forgetting to smoke up their bundle as they did so. The chorus had in general remained grave and quiet; only now and then did it break out in a one-part huhá and now triumphantly repeated it at the end as the two doctors, teeth chattering and murmuring a shivery tédede tedéte, retired. Aróe singing was heard all night long.

[276] The tobacco smoke had been used here in exactly the same way as the puffing against the thunderstorm, and I gained the impression that the doctor's smoking was very similar to a fumigation. Perhaps, for the original meaning of the method of curing, this should not be underestimated.

755 Domingo had an attack of weakness two days after the meteor conjuration. On the third day, 17 April, he was ill and apparently had a very ominous feeling. He crept about anxiously, his hands tied up in rags and his head and face covered so that he would not be recognized. Since we left the colony on 18 April we were unfortunately unable to find out whether this remedy helped him.

773 Ancestor legend. Arigá-Bororó is the tribal ancestor of the Indians. He had a wife. The puma is called arigá. Later, two men and two women came /516/ to the earth east of the baruparu river (cf. page 646) and reached the S. Lourenço. I was unable
[124] to learn anything more. Clemente was quite useless here; he himself did not know anything and, on the basis of his knowledge of Brazil, interpreted those statements as meaning that the Bororó came from Rio de Janeiro. As far as I was able to understand, the Bororó lived on the source rivers of the S. Lourenço since the time they left heaven, and this origin from the east has nothing to do with tribal migrations, but is again only the result of the very natural reflection that the sun was in the possession of the oldest people and that the oldest people therefore lived where the sun originates.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the population. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[439] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
[345] day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage* was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuǰawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuǰawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Kejara Bororo SP8

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PLATE 87.—Bororo festival at village of Kejara. *Top:* Dance of the "Mariddo." *Bottom:* Presentation of the "Mariddo." (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[p. 432-E]

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[538] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[195] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

881 reciprocal, he will be called iyorubodare by them. The only
*601 exception occurs if the initiator is a brother of the boy's true father; then the boy will call his father's mother imarugo, grandmother.

881 When delivering the boy to the initiator, the boy's
539 brother says, "This is your wife (akoreduje); together with him you will cut marido; together with him you will go to get the palm leaves in the forest; with him you will clean the village plaza and Aije muga; you will make a road for mano; with him you will open a path through the bushes, in front of the others carrying their bows and nets; with him
824 you will kill game and fish."[1] (Marido is the plant the Bororo use in making a big wheel, also called marido, with which they dance during a ceremony of the same name. The palm leaves mentioned are those which the Bororo men use to make a fence around the dancing ground during certain cere-
796 monies forbidden to women. Aije muga is the place where the Aije, the bull-roarers, are hidden, where many of the ceremonies have their starting point, and where the actors in these ceremonies are adorned and furnished with the necessary
824 paraphernalia. Mano is another wheel of palm leaves that the Bororo carry in a race on a long road leading to the village.

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[1] "Akoredujereo, awu apore are mano kora ta, awu apore are keo kora ta, awu apore ature bai kae, awu apore ature kaidaga kae, awu apore are bororo akudo, awu apore Aije muga akudo. Awu apore are mano koda to, awu apore are awure jodo ipo, iwora paru keje, tuge, boiga, buke, boari otodai."

613 lineages have in contemporary Bororo rituals, and it is expressed in terms of seniority. Ki Bakororo is said to be the [796] older brother, the two others the younger brothers. Each of lineages (brothers) has to perform different functions in certain ceremonies, and the ancestral brothers have their own distinct personalities in the myths. However, the Bororo affirm that the three terms are only three different names of the same person: Ki Bakororo. He also has many other names, but these three are his most important ones. There is a way of reconciling these seemingly contradictory statements. Table VIII diagrams relationships which accommodate both of the above interpretations.

613 553 Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari are hierarchically ordered fraternal lineages. By the act of naming, every man and his mother's brother are equivalent: Ki Bakororo is equivalent to his mother's brother Ki Bakororo; Badajeba Kudoro is equivalent to his mother's brother Badajeba Kudoro; and Jakorari to his mother's brother Jakorari. 613 If we go far enough, we arrive at their common mother's 553 brother, who, by the naming act, is equivalent to all three 173 lineages: to Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. Thus the Bororo can logically say that the three names are only different names of the same person. The principal name of this person was Ki Bakororo, and this was the name that his eldest sister's son inherited from him. The name then continued to be used as the name of the principal lineage within the subclan by Ki Bakororo's matrilineal descendants.

Set D

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Lineages	Subclans	Clans
	O-Boro Echerae	
		Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Akaruyo Bokodori →	Bakoro Echerae	
Mamuyawuge Echeba →	Enogujeba Echerae	
	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
		Badajebage Chebegiwuge
	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	

It should be noted that the Bororo limit the usage of set D to a special occasion, perhaps to avoid any possibility of confusion between the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and that subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan which is also [796] called here Badajebage Chobugiwuge. On the evening before a ceremony the chief formally invites all the clans to participate in the following order:

Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Kiye Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae[1]

Enogujeba Echerae, Bakoro Echerae, O-Boro Echerae

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[1] Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae is alternative name for the Bokodori Echerae clan.

613 Paiwoe, Apiborege[1]
614 Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge
[296] Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge
[361] The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echerae (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Emogujeba Echerae (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

613 The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugi-
614 wuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Che-
571 begiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

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[1] The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
796 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

614 (black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary
562 hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an
822 aquatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea);
827 ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female[A] and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular [796] items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodare (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

[A] [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

822 796 237 302 614 822 [825] In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
825 is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
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Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge, the female tapir is played by Baitogogo, a lineage of the Black Aroroe, and the baby tapir by Aroya Kurireu, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. This is a very interesting case which seems to differ from the normal pattern. Baitogogo, one of the most important if not the most important of the lineages of the Bororo tribe, impersonates the female tapir, while Butore Agadu, the least prominent of the three lineages, impersonates the male tapir. This is not an isolated incident. There are a few other cases in which important items are impersonated by less important clan members. But in each of these cases the Bororo can give a reasonable explanation for the exception. In this example, at the time when Ki Bakororo and Jakorari were distributing the representations of the tapirs among their yorubodare (alliés), Butore Agadu was having an affair with Baitogogo's wife, who herself belonged to the Kiye clan. In giving the representation of the male tapir to Butore Agadu, Ki Bakororo acknowledged him as a true male and at the same time shamed Baitogogo, who could not take proper care of his wife, Ki Bakororo's sister. The yorubodare relationship between Baitogogo and Ki Bakororo was not spoiled by this act. They exchanged many other items and representations. It was just one of Ki Bakororo's many jokes, for which he is quite famous.

A good example of things going according to the rules is the ceremonial performance of okoge (a fish similar to salmon). Kaigu, a lineage of the subclan of the older broth-

614 ers of the Bokodori Echerae, owns all okoge kurireuge (big
796 okoge). Kaigu gives the representation of one okoge eimejera (one chief of okoge) to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge; the representation of the other okoge eimejera is given to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge; the representation of okoge aredu (female okoge) is given to Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The lineage of Koge Enogwa Tabowu, as we know, was alternately classified as belonging to the subclans of the Black, the Red, and the "in the middle" Ivagududoge. The younger brothers Bokodori Echerae own the rest of okoge, all okoge kugurireuge (small okoge), and give their representation to all less important lineages of the Ivagududoge.

614 Differences between the subclans of older and younger
301 brothers are also expressed through the medium of ornaments.
[56] The Bororo love to talk about ornaments, and examples of subclan differences are numerous. I will mention only few of them.

The Ivagududoge own a labret called ararureu. It is a string of regularly cut pieces of shell. The ararureu of the Black Ivagududoge is long and is made with large pieces of shell, while the ararureu of the Red Ivagududoge is short and the pieces of shell are small.

The festive bow of the Apiborege, called ikuye ika, is ornamented with painted rings made of leaves of babassu palm. The rings on the bow of the Big Apiborege are broad and widely spaced, the rings on the bow of the Small Apiborege

614 choreu - kujagureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kurugugwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kurugugwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave
their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his
possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Boko-
dori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and
the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the
ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the
same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the
black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo
kujagureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black fal-
con) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy
eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the
white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and sim-
ilarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild
tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the
young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several
exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for differ-
ent communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for cere-
monies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

796 613 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Bakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red [561] Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual [562] pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kioqwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujaqureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kuqurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

775 201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7;
776 Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the
646 description of the Marido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by
361 Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter
776 the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echerae door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
[796] tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the head-waters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII,
[562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
796 intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the
[534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular
[761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[301] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

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[Information on the various Bororo rituals and ceremonies associated with death will be found in categories 764 and 765.]

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

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[p. 39-F]

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died,
775 and once every year the ghost returns and enters the body of the person who did the burying and
[782] dances in the *arduetо*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

●796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina
775 is the *arduetо*, which is given every year at the beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities
[782] of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arduetо;* and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male
292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear
796 long mantles made from buritĩ leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear
775 macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buritĩ bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buritĩ leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kdto*) and
534 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in
533 length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *arduetо* are those men who have lost relatives since the *arduetо* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.

[p. 109 (B)]

/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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[115] constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[117] years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bãdejeba—one Bãdejeba Čãbogeʷõ or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bãdejeba Čębegeʷõ or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bãdejeba Čębegeʷõ, however, held a pre-eminent place.

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębegeʷõge and Čãbõgeʷõge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bãdejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bãdejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the ᵃKario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bãdejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8 Otuké SF18

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otukê* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otukê* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otukê:* (1) *Otukê* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçaes* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Ararimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[79] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 175 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and [648] [181] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

22 [241] But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering people. They spent only three months of the year, more or less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 167 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.

• 797 131 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924, as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in /114/ January of 1926, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of 1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26, 37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
241 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane, vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
162 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
[161] only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri, that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44 children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
[131] which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
797 of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
482 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/121 cont./

842 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions
757 and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (o.c., p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of
163 births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of
[177] Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the
[97] influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. A y after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or
521 when they themselves get furious because of some gossip. Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to
152 be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
593 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

/149 cont./

562 the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this
114 opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced
797 of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man,
[593] a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already born with him, a composition by which only the individual is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes himself from all the other individuals. Although the social position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way, seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage is given its own and true configuration, or, said better, its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the boundary between the social and the individual being. How many men are there among us who would like to be dominated by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer with his individuality the influence of the conventions created by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 797 533 776 The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[2433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sa. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[177] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/444 cont./

114 have joined them, they have changed their language to a thieves'
[101] idiom (!). In Cazal (Corografia brasilica, p. 302) two hordes of
[113] Bororós are mentioned: the Coroados, or shorn ones, and the
[131] Barbados, bearded ones. The former are not navigators, but nomadic hunters who are said to dwell to the south and southwest of the city of Cuyabá in inaccessible wildernesses on the sources of the Rio de S. Lourenço and the Rio dos Mortes, a tributary of the Araguaya." These statements by Cazal are perfectly accurate and true, and he, too, thus recognized the "Coroados" as Bororó. By /445/ "Barbados," Martius goes on to say, perhaps the Guató are to be understood, they sometimes attacked caravans traveling from Goyaz to Cuyabá and extended their raids as far as Diamantino.
[101] The Guató, however, have never come into this region, they live as water nomads in the upper Paraguay region; those "Barbados" were probably Kayapó or even Bororó.

114 Martius, of course, explains the name Bororó according to
101 the lingoa geral, either, if coming from the neighbors, = "warriors, enemies," or, if they themselves say it, = "we, the masters of the soil." The Bororó, however, know nothing about the lingoa geral and they call themselves this.

•797 I shall now drop the name "Coroado" altogether; I shall report some things about the so-called "catechesis" or conversion of this Bororó tribe, which was attempted in vain for many years, but could scarcely have succeeded because the attempts were carried out in the most topsy-turvy manner. A military colony
[648] set up on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, which was established toward the end of the 'seventies by Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira, served as the base.

648 In 1878 one Captain Alexander Bueno with 70 Terena Indians, a tribe belonging to the Guaná group, undertook an expedition "to drive out the Bororó." He had been secretly instructed, as I was assured, to shoot to death as many as possible and was favored by success to such an extent that he was able to show the President a bag full of ears. Of living ones he brought along two women and two children.

/446 cont./

648 women climbed over the garden walls and climbed trees, as was their habit, to fetch down fruit for themselves.

The province sighed with relief; with customary exaggeration, the Bororó were estimated at 10,000 souls and the entire 10,000 were already visualized as planting mandioca and working in the sugar mills. The government immediately made 70 contos (at 1000 milreis) available for the catechesis and the citizenry voluntarily added three contos, which altogether amounted to about 140,000 marks at that time. The expenses increased within a short time to 118 contos. The Indians were [361] settled in two colonies: the one where the Prata flows into the S. Lourenço was called Thereza Christina after the Empress; the other where the Piquiry flows into the S. Lourenço was called Izabel after the Crown Princess and wife of Count d'Eu. The President also founded a "Collegio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição" for the education of Indian children -- a school that was never attended by pupils.

648 Solemnly the entire company was baptized by the bishop.
797 The then President, Don Alvaro Marcondes, and his wife were godfather and godmother for all; Chief Moguyokuri, whose personal acquaintance we shall make -- truly a magnificent figure of an Indian, 1.9 meters tall and, despite some inborn brutality, an exceedingly good-natured gentleman -- was given the name Alvaro. His Christianity, to be sure, was limited to his remembering this name for a few days.

648 "Muguiocury," reported the Jornal do Commercio in a
[177] Cuyaban letter, "seems to be completely identified with the cause of civilizing his tribe, assiduously visits the palace to call on the President and bring him presents; he manifests the greatest sympathy toward him and calls him 'Godfather,' kissing his hand as often as he sees him. Each time he meets the President he shows his satisfaction with much laughter and repeated embraces."

Difficile est, satiram non scribere /it is difficult not to write satire/. It is indeed very difficult. Good Moguyokuri undoubtedly had the best intentions, within the limits of his intelligence, as

their tribe, and always responding *pardukuʔ*—I do not know, 551
who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony 553
is not performed for a female child.

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind 855
to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents [84]
seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should [597]
whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives.

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by 198
this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, 516
moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand.

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four: 802
therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands."

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mèdo* [262]
at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around.

Brazil.

802 Next, he divided the quarters and again glanced carefully about him; and so continued until he had an equal portion for twelve or fifteen men, not forgetting to reserve a good hunk for himself.

805 821 To calculate time, the moon comes to their aid. It is their great natural calendar, as it has been for all the peoples of the earth from the earliest age.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance. 763 755 956 [802]

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the 764 [302] [301] [534]

/517 cont. /

•802 The numbers go according to the pattern of the Bakaïrí: 1, 2, 2..1, 2..2, 2..2..1, 2..2..2. 1 is called mito; 2, pobe. If these appear in the following number expressions, however, they are given additions from which we can separate out the third person pronouns ema and au (this). In the 3 there is still the negation bókua, bokuáre: pobéma áu metúya (also metía) bokuáre, and it seems to mean: here I have 2, there no more than 1. 4 pobéma aúgüre pobe, here two, there also two; 5 pobéma aúgüre pobéma áu metúya bokuáre; 6. aúgüre pobéma aúgüre pobéma aúgüre póbe. With grains they made the little heaps of twos exactly as among the Bakaïrí, and they likewise consulted their fingers each time. My wish to learn the number words was always and without exception interpreted as meaning [602] that I wanted an enumeration of their relatives. The person concerned struck himself on the chest, said "I," and counted mother, father, girl, boy, with or without the addition of 1 and 2, assigning a family member to each finger. Whether the fingers as such have names of relatives I was unable to learn; at first I believed the thumb was mother, but I became confused about this /518/ because each person said something different and referred to his particular family situation. This was quite obviously their chief interest in counting. I therefore imagine the development here, too, to be that they designated a number of persons on their fingers, using demonstratives or pronouns, which, after all, amounts to the same thing to start with, and that the limit for 2 was set, not on the hand, but on the objects by breaking one thing into two parts, this calculation was transferred to their fingers. /Chapter XVIII, pp. 519-521, is omitted in the translation. Page 522 is blank. /

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of parallel lines, criss-cross, and filled-in triangles. A section of it is shown in Plate XX, 9. Close to the rolled rim on one side, the vessel bears a smooth, round hole less than one centimetre in diameter. It was unquestionably put there intentionally by the potter.

(b) This specimen is of identical shape as (a) but smaller, measuring but seven centimetres across the top and four centimetres in height. It bears the rolled rim, and incised lines. The painted decoration is black and consists of lines and rectangular figures, sectioned off. The hole close to the rim again appears. [Plate XX, 9 a.]

(c) Of the same size as (b), and is identical with it except that the rolled rim is heavier and does not bear any painted decoration.

(d) This is the smallest of the four, and is identical with the others, only differing in the painted decoration, which consists of diamond and triangular figures filled in with parallel horizontal lines. The ware is red and the decoration is in red. [Plate XX, 9 b.]

(a), (c), and (d) were found in close proximity to each other at the same level, thirty centimetres below the surface, but not in association with any of the urn burials. (b) was found also about thirty centimetres below the surface and in the section where the urns were closely packed.

B [881] [804] [415]

That the hole served the purpose of passing a string through it in order to keep the vessels suspended seems to be a reasonable assumption, but as to their probable use little that is definite can be said. One of the Bororo da Campanha workmen offered the information that in his boyhood he had seen similar vessels used by the girls in the catamenial periods, especially during the period of the puberty initiation ceremony in connection with fasting. These vessels were used as measures for the amount of water and food the girl was permitted to have; whether it was per day or per meal he could not say. However, the ware is not of the Bororo style, and such vessels were not found in use among the Bororo of the São Lorenço region, so that this suggestion cannot be taken as conclusive.

Another find consisted of several conical bone points, with concave bases, similar to those found on Bororo arrows, and also on the arrows gotten in the Kuluseu-Kuluene region. [Plate XX, 6.]

Five pottery spindle whorls of the form shown in Plate XX, 8.

Between a depth of thirty centimetres and hard pan, we came upon a large number of closely packed pottery vessels, some of which con-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazil.

802 Next, he divided the quarters and again glanced carefully about him; and so continued until he had an equal portion for twelve or fifteen men, not forgetting to reserve a good hunk for himself.

805 821 To calculate time, the moon comes to their aid. It is their great natural calendar, as it has been for all the peoples of the earth from the earliest age.

B /352 cont./
772 interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and
811 let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse,
that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in
B the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because
[186] they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in
B all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this
[171] same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó
BO maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for
[827] hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable
to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the
Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river
and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied.
I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the
Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their
B neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them
[186] to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we
might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the
Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes
that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals,
and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with
BO strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that
772 they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death,
811 /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the
[775] araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their
relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they designate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give themselves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a
772 habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead
811 are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and
[171] similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which
easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among
our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the
basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears,
nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

*601 to Ego's father's clan.

561 <u>iyagedu</u> ("grandson"): Any man of the same moiety who
562 is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego <u>iyedaga</u>. Any man of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

<u>irago</u> ("granddaughter"): Any woman of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego <u>iyedaga</u>. Any woman of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

*601 A further extragenealogical extension of kinship terms
82 includes all the world. All plants, animals, rivers, mountains, stars, and even spirits are conceived as connected to a particular clan or subclan. How these connections became established differs from case to case. Some animals were already part of a certain clan in mythical times when there was not yet a difference between animals and people. Some other items were seen for the first time by a member of a specific clan. For many others the Bororo do not know to whom they belong. However they have no doubt that everything belongs to somebody, and if they do not know it, it is because today the knowledge of the people is limited. Any such item, if connected with one's own clan, or, by extension, with any clan of one's moiety, will be considered the person's grandfather or grandmother. If it is connected with one's father's clan, or, by extension, with any clan of the opposite moiety,

*601 it will be considered the person's father or grandmother.
82 If a Bororo killed a bird and brought it into the village, it is quite common to hear another Bororo jokingly tell the hunter: "Alas! You killed my poor little grandfather" (Aru! Ichare are iyedaga pega-rogu bitto).

*601 Change of Kinship Terms on the Occasion of Death
768 Another important transfer of terms is connected with
616 funeral ceremonies. On this occasion, the terms that are normally used only for people of one's own moiety are extended to the people of the other moiety. Every person who dies must have a living mother who will continue to take care of him, cooking for him the food for the festive "meal of the spirits" which takes place in the plaza of the village.
[765] If the true mother is already dead, some other woman of her lineage will take her place and the new mother will be called "mother" by all the people who slash themselves to express their sorrow, without regard to whether they are from one or the other moiety. The husband of this woman will be called "father." Thus somebody may acquire a "mother" of the other moiety and a "father" who was a "brother" before that. The new terms are used both referentially and vocatively and the previous designations are dropped. Every person who dies should also have his living representative chosen from the male members of the opposite moiety. This man will take the place of the dead person within the lineage, and he will be addressed by the kinsmen of the dead person by the same term they used for the dead. Necessary adjustments are made for

82 are still one. The sun is Bope, his younger brother the
775 moon is Bope, Burekoibo is Bope, jaguar, puma, ocelot are
776 Bope, but all of these are just different names for one Bope.

When recounting the deeds of the sun (Meri) and the moon (Ari), my informant said: "The sun did this, not the moon. But I think that they are not separated. What one does, the other does it too. They are just one."[1]

7. Earth vs. sky; meaningful speech vs. animal cry; singing vs. barking

Bope and Aroe occupy the same space. Aroe are everywhere; Bope too is everywhere: "Bope is in everything. There is not one thing in which Bope is not present."[2] On the other hand both Bope and Aroe have their more particular places. Bope lives in the sky, the Aroe are on the earth. Like the sun and the moon with which he is identified, Bope lives in the sky; the Aroe inhabit the villages of Bakororo (west) and Itubore (east). Coming from the sky to the earth in three steps, as he does in the preceding myth, the macaw is spatially making transition from nature to culture, from Bope to Aroe.

The same transition is made in the macaw's speech. First

---

1 "Meri rore oino, Ari ema karega. Mare imearudae mitodure Meri ro rema. Ekare tuginoi ma ero padure pu me keje. Kode pu ro mitodure erore ema. Oino."

2 Awu Bope meture boe jamedu boe tada. Kodire iya metu kare t tada jiboe bokware."

82 775 776 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 772 825 533 A similar distinction can be made between designations of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 772 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties

We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

---

[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.
Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe--the spirits or souls--which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[776] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[224] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[539] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
772 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village.
[773] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
831 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
775 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
776
[301]
[237]

722 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831
775 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
776 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
[302] a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.

82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.

773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[616] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
[614] lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kurugugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until them. They
775 said to aroe echeba:
773
[539]

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together--they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
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[1] "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

[2] "Ure awu kioge barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

776 5. Human vs. non-human; mortal vs. eternal

Bope is not part of the human race. "He does not get sick, he does not get old, he does not die. He does not have a human mother. He does not have a mother, a father, a companion."[1] He is eternal.

775 Aroe, on the other hand, have their human mothers; they are the souls of the dead; they are the ancestors of the Bororo, i.e., the things first seen and named. In the after-life they have to go through different tests, and it may happen that they vanish completely over the precipice of Akarubo; they are mortal.

82 6. Conscious vs. unconscious; multiplicity vs. unity

775 The Badajebage were the first to see the plaza, but they
776 did not become aware of it. To see something is not enough; it should be consciously perceived and named. Anything seen and named for the first time is Aroe. To see something and to give it a name is to isolate it from the continuity of amorphous, undifferentiated unconscious matter (Bope). It is a cultural process by which the universe is taken apart so that it can be comprehended. There are many names, there are many Aroe, but Bope is just one. Bope is one, yet he has a wife; and he and his wife are still conceived of as one. And he has children; and he and his wife and children

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[1] "Kogodu kare, pega kare, bi kare. Paje kare ji. Uche kare, uwo kare, metuya kare."

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [726] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 273 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots [756] or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baere (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness [262] and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal [787] the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians [773] and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupu- 756 lously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and [787] catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and [754] confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a 756 spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the 755 cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most [262] important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

776 just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are
[761] enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to
754 spy on the Bororo. These are makao, tuiwo torogo, churugu-
[825] churugu, kadogwareu (different kinds of birds), and ruke (flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human flesh. Aroe's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and
[688] juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness or kill people, Aroe punish infractions of cultural rules--they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed, that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

776 Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death
761 is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the
825 Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of Bope: adugo, aigo, aipobureu, aimeareu (varieties of felines), ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), okwa, riye, moribo (varieties of canines), kugu, tagogo (varieties of owls), makao (a variety of hawk), and bakure (a carnivorous monkey). The Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. a. They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and
[821] by the people through their offerings. b. They are night animals and the night is Bope's time. c. Nobody ever sees these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and they do not die, except when they are killed by people for compensation (mori).

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazil.

802 Next, he divided the quarters and again glanced carefully about him; and so continued until he had an equal portion for twelve or fifteen men, not forgetting to reserve a good hunk for himself.

805 821 To calculate time, the moon comes to their aid. It is their great natural calendar, as it has been for all the peoples of the earth from the earliest age.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazil.

776 [821] [956] [975] The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them, is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

789 534 Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons, or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarer*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

534 562 788 No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

Bororo SP8
2: Steinen--645 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Plate XXX

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Meteor-conjuration among the Bororó.

/513 cont./

772 775 825 schema "transmigration of souls." They experience "transmigration of souls" every night. That animals and human beings are merely different persons is far more important than that one assumes a closer relationship to some animal-person or other as a result of subsequent considerations. I can really understand these people most readily if I regard the assertion, which seems to be the most recent and the most confusing, namely, their saying "we are birds," as the most ancient and the simplest, and not imagine them as saying "I shall become a bird," but rather "I have a bird -- please, not in the sense of the Berliners /who would mean, "I'm a bit touched" (Translator)/ -- I am a bird who now flies about at night but some day, hopefully in the distant future, will no longer fly back to his family if some other person, a human being, a bird, or a mammal, that I have fatally injured succeeds in preventing this, and who will then be forced to retain its nocturnal form and henceforth, as a white egret, will catch fish in the lagoon and earnestly hope that child and grandchildren will not shoot and eat him, but merely, if necessary, pluck out his feathers."

● 821 Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration. Sun and moon are arara feathers. I did not succeed in discovering what ideas exist about their owners. The Bororó laughed at me, however, when I asked them whether sun and moon were like human beings, and repeated "arara feathers," arara feathers and not merely arara, as though they might be birds. We live on a large island in the middle of a river called the "baruparu" -- the reduplication of "baru," "heaven." Moon and sun (or their owners) are on one side and wander across the river; when they come together, the moon passes over and the new moon comes.

The Southern Cross is the toes of a large ostrich, Centaurus is an accompanying leg, Orion is a jabuti turtle and, in the part toward Sirius, a cayman, the Pleiades are the tuft of flowers of the angico tree, Acacia; the Bororó showed me all this with great pleasure, /514/ and in doing so they often uttered an ih... of admiration, but they did not always agree about the interpretation, so that it was doubly difficult for me to discover it. About one

/514 cont./

821 thing, however, perfect agreement prevailed, and this was most amazing to me. The ordinary stars not included in particular constellations, scattered over the sky as small and large dots, which one also sees streaking across the firmament as shooting stars, were all sand fleas; the Milky Way where they are most closely crowded together was ashes, and Venus the "large sand-flea."

[772] As among the Bakaïrí, the underlying interpretation is that the heavenly animals get up there by magic and differ in their appearance from terrestrial creatures; for as soon as some particular phenomenon appears, the bari is ready with an explanation. The large colorful water-snake which we call "rainbow" is a bari. A splendid meteor that fell during our stay was the "soul of a bari" which suddenly appeared in order to inform the Bororó that he wanted to have "jaguar meat" and that he would send one of them dysentery. The scene in which they tried to ward off the disaster merits a detailed description. Cf. Plate 30 /see p. 645/.

The meteor flared up in the south on 14 April at 8:26 in the evening as a ball about a quarter of the size of the moon; there was a bright glow over the entire area. It fell very rapidly in 45° towards the west and left a streak approximately the width of four heavenly fleas of the first magnitude and was divided into two parts like a staff, the free end gleaming like a star, the area toward the ball a brilliant blue. For another four minutes I seemed to see the streak, which was fading more and more, as a bright whitish mist.

821 789 At the same moment that the meteor became visible a shrill, prolonged cry of a hundred voices resounded from the Indian plaza. From all sides they rushed to the ranchão, where for a while there was a commotion inside and out as in a stirred-up ant hill. Then they turned to the part of the plaza facing the riverbank, started a few campfires, and soon numerous small, fantastically illuminated groups of men, women, and children were sitting along the huts. I had gone off to one side for a few minutes and was called back by a loud uproar. Two baris painted bright red with urucú stood in the midst of the company and, in

/514 cont./

821 789 great excitement, were puffing in all directions toward the sky, squirting a little saliva from their lips, much as the Kulisehu Indians had driven away the thunder clouds. They were trembling and tottering so that one feared they would fall to the ground in a faint. Then they turned toward the place where the meteor had [276] appeared, screamed vué! vué! with a threatening, terrified voice, pressing the hollow of the right hand to the mouth, stretched the left arm toward heaven, and each held up a bundle of span-long maize cigarettes. "Here, look at this," they seemed to say, "all /515/ this tobacco we are spending to drive away the evil. Woe to you, if you do not leave us in peace!"

[152] A strange mixture of fear and courage, the latter, unfortunately, being tinged with something just as artificial as on the occasion of the exorcism of the Kayapó danger. The trembling increased, their entire bodies vibrated, their bent-back heads wobbled, they touched themselves with twitching movements and passed their hands over their chests and stomachs in order to force away everything evil.

[276] After this spectacle had gone on for a while, their cigar bundles were taken out of their hands and lighted at the fire while the excited doctors, whimpering and shuddering, caught their breath for a moment. Half a dozen men got up, took a few puffs for comfort and strength, and gave the cigars to the baris, who resumed their cure. They puffed at the whole bundle, howled even more shrilly and reproachfully toward heaven than before, stroked their bodies even more assiduously, scratched their heads vigorously, puffed at their bundle once more, sucked convulsively at their forearms as though they were drawing the blood up from the depths, cried vué vuáu vuáu ever louder, shook themselves and blew toward the stars; their joints shook, their muscles flew.

[755] Finally, they suddenly began to look searchingly about them in the throng, talked to those standing nearest them, pointed into the crowd, and joined the main group where they undertook a brief cure of a weak old man, the chief Domingo, and several of the most esteemed who alone could be involved in such a special case. They lifted up their heads, looked at them

/515 cont./

●821 searchingly, squirted into their faces, pzü pzü, and, with the
789 hollow of their hands held against their mouths, again uttered their threatening vóu or a shrill hahahó, not forgetting to smoke up their bundle as they did so. The chorus had in general remained grave and quiet; only now and then did it break out in a one-part huhá and now triumphantly repeated it at the end as the two doctors, teeth chattering and murmuring a shivery tédede tedéte, retired. Aróe singing was heard all night long.

The tobacco smoke had been used here in exactly the
[276] same way as the puffing against the thunderstorm, and I gained the impression that the doctor's smoking was very similar to a fumigation. Perhaps, for the original meaning of the method of curing, this should not be underestimated.

755 Domingo had an attack of weakness two days after the meteor conjuration. On the third day, 17 April, he was ill and apparently had a very ominous feeling. He crept about anxiously, his hands tied up in rags and his head and face covered so that he would not be recognized. Since we left the colony on 18 April we were unfortunately unable to find out whether this remedy helped him.

773 Ancestor legend. Arigá-Bororó is the tribal ancestor of the Indians. He had a wife. The puma is called arigá. Later, two men and two women came /516/ to the earth east of the baruparu river (cf. page 646) and reached the S. Lourenço. I was unable
[124] to learn anything more. Clemente was quite useless here; he himself did not know anything and, on the basis of his knowledge of Brazil, interpreted those statements as meaning that the Bororó came from Rio de Janeiro. As far as I was able to understand, the Bororó lived on the source rivers of the S. Lourenço since the time they left heaven, and this origin from the east has nothing to do with tribal migrations, but is again only the result of the very natural reflection that the sun was in the possession of the oldest people and that the oldest people therefore lived where the sun originates.

614 about this clan. In order to understand why, I will first
613 give one of the more complete listings of the lineages within the clan:

Kaigu Magurereu Arigao Kocha Kiogo Birigedo Porireu Imorio Bokodori Akiri Bokodori Baru Barogo Bororo	Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge
Barame Chibae Edugo Koge Edugo Koge Ekureu Koiwo Kuri Echerae Etuviye Inokuri	Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge

Inokuri, the last in the list, is considered to be closely related to Kaigu, Magurereu, and Arigao Kocha, the first three of the list. In relation to them, he is their "younger brother while in relation to the other lineages within his own subclan, he is considered their "older brother" and included together with Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu among the "Older Brothers" (Etumanamage) or the
614 "Big" (Kurireuge). On the other hand, the division of Blacks
613 and Reds is based mainly on the presumed colors of the an-
822 cestors of each subclan and on the color of feathers and paint used for their ornaments in ceremonies. Inokuri and all his akuge ("clients"), Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge, use red feathers and red paint, while the Bokodori Echerae

614 Chobugiwuge use black feathers and black paint.[1] However,
613 it would be quite improper to call Inokuri Red because, as
822 we have already seen, the Reds are identified with Younger Brothers and Small People, and Inokuri is neither of them.
614 Thus, the Bororo evade the problem by applying to the
613 Bokodori Echerae only the topographical designation, and they talk only about upstream and downstream subclans. One of my informants did use the color division, but, when asked for clarification, he said: "The Bororo do not say in this way, but I do" (Boe ego kare ino, mare imire inagore).

Many variations exist in the denominations of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan. These variations are not arbitrary; they occur as alternative designations in different contexts (see Table XII).

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[1] It will be shown later that the color division is relative. When black and red are opposed, black is the color of the older brother and red that of the younger. When red and yellow are in opposition, red is the color of older brother, and yellow that of the younger.

181 sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities,
571 participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The
[114] patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

614 The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into sub-
561 clans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and sub-
562 clans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In re-
822 porting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ances-
827 tors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers.

614 The division is not restricted only to animals; many other
562 beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differen-
822
827 tiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

614 (black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary
562 hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an
822 aquatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea);
827 ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female[A] and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular [794] items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodare (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

A, [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

822 796 237 302 614 822 [825] In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
[825] is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
796

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

614 choreu - kujagureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kurugugwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kurugugwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities are differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (Boroge rore ino jamedu). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

772 Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture

561 The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

844 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society 787 is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
[534] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[162] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead-person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[834] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
[561] tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
[825] penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
794 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
616 moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

/271/

616 Čera Phratry:
614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan
O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan
Ki (Tapir) clan
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan
Bakoro clan
Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates
621 the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big
[345] circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.
621 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation
616 to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves:
614 the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46 /; in the foreground the O Čera čębege^w^ō hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreď, Bokodori čębege^w^ō, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddada^w^ huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure.
616 But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very
614 oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the
823 course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čābōge^w^ōge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębege^w^ōge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614
823 Ewãguddudõge čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewãguddudõge čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaʷge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47 /).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokęjeʷõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokęje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokęjeʷo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewãguddudõge bo'pokęjeʷõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewãguddudõge kurigeõ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

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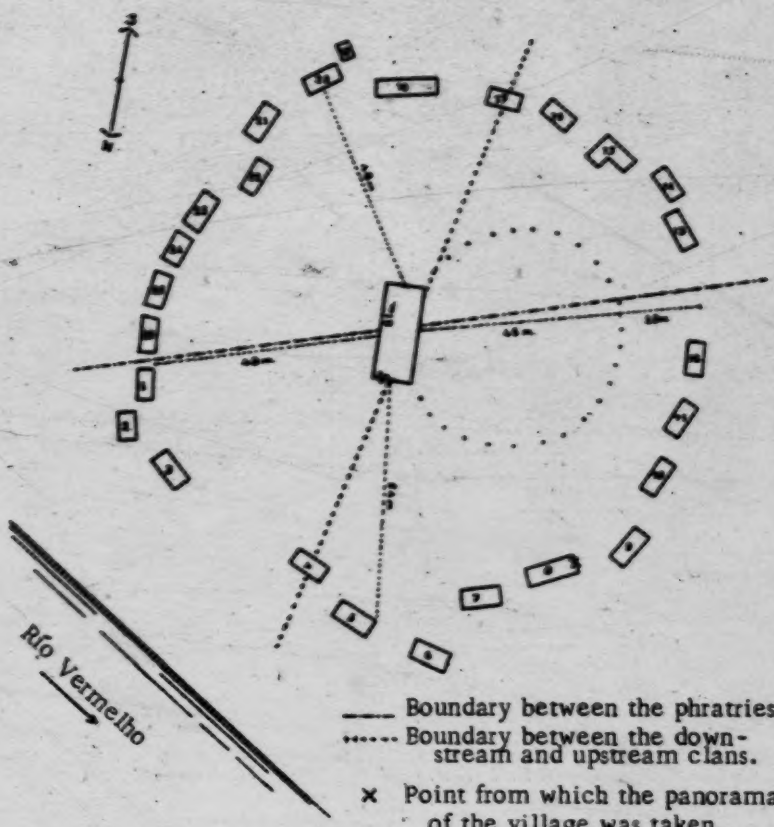

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čãbõgeʷõge are on the left (upstream) and the Čębegeʷõge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddaďeᵀge.

614 each clan is divided into two subclans, and the terms used
[823] for the subclans are not the same in each case. Some subclans are termed chobugiwu (upstream), some chebegiwu (downstream). And, at the same time, some of them are called choreu (black), or kujagureu (red). One lineage (Koge Enogwa Tabowu) belongs to both the red and black subclans, and four subclans are designated by special terms. These inconsistencies in the designation of subclans reproduce the way in which the Bororo talk about their subclans.

614 The relationship between the subclans within a clan is
829 regarded as being that between older and younger brothers. One of the subclans is called Etumanamage (Older Brothers); the alternative names for Older Brothers are Choreu (Black) and Kurireu (Big). The other subclan is called Etuviyemage (Younger Brothers), with Kujagureu (Red) or Kugurireu (Small) being alternative names for Younger Brothers.

614 This division does not correspond to the division of
823 the two subclans in chobugiwuge (upstream) and chebegiwuge
829 (downstream), which is solely related to the position of each subclan toward the flow of the river. The choreuge can be downstream and the kujagureuge upstream, as among the Kiye, Paiwoe, Apiborege, and Ivagududoge; but their position can be the reverse, as among the Aroroe. Being downstream or upstream in itself does not say anything about the importance of the subclan. Besides, the terms chobugiwuge and chebegiwuge can be used to indicate the relative position of units in other contexts. Within each subclan one

614 lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage,
823 which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one.
829 The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

613 The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied
614 similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu
613 within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned--and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important--they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[1] A few informants would object to this statement. They
[775] say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-
[231] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

616 beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane
823 belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

534 Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. Ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for
[562] rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed
533 to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. Ika
534 is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is
[825 831] also significant. Ika is elongated and narrow, often with one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka--
000 the curves of a narrow waist. Ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

/285 cont./ Tuǰawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
571

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614 Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
824
284

/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green
palm. Each rung is made of a
bundle of two (big marid'do) or three
(small marid'do) sections. Gradually
during the construction, the ladder
is rolled up on itself until it forms,
in the largest example, a disk 1.50
[283] meters in diameter. The two sides
are then decorated with green palm,
held in place by a net of cords made
of women's hair. The top of the
disk is decorated for a length of about
50 cm. with applications of down.
The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewāguddudoge corĕ marid'do; the
small one, Ewāguddudoge kujagorĕ
marid'do. But it is not necessarily
natives of this clan who have made
them. Some time before the festival
the two marid'do are solemnly taken
out of the men's house and taken to
the middle of the bororo, where they
are placed parallel, about two meters
apart, and on the axis separating the
phratries. The dance of the marid'do
lasts two days; each protagonist tries to
lift one of the disks at arm's end and
to hold it as long as possible while
running and jumping in the plaza.
Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony
(Pl. VIII, C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X,
B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*). 285 323 415 [177]

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*). 411 824 237

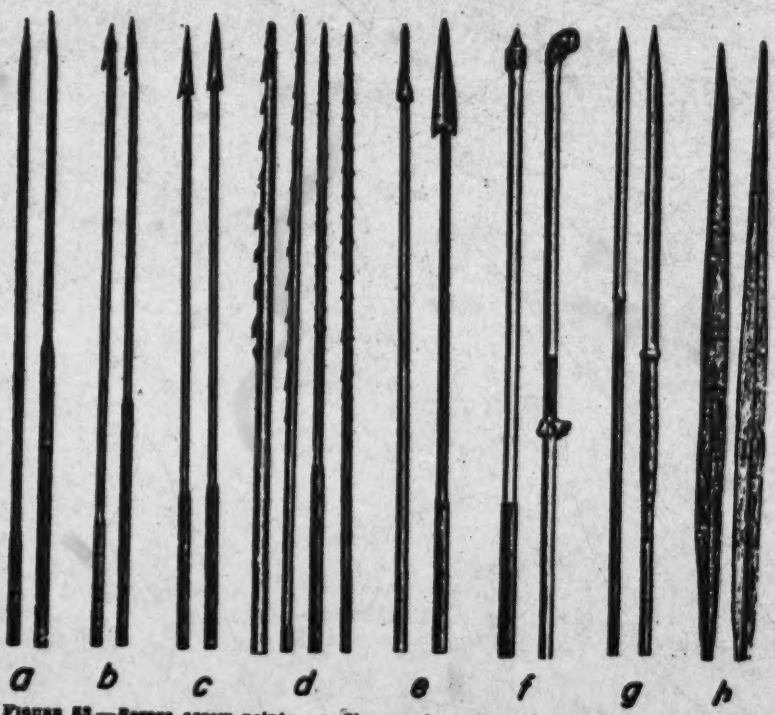

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (⅙ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[614] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

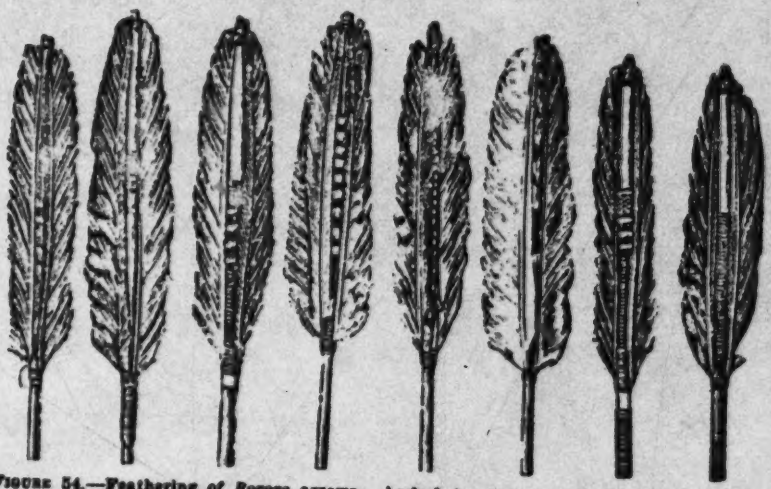

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brasilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅓ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.
[847]

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
556 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered
against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest
relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer
receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed
to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he
might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
● 824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was
suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and
tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective
knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and
Guaná and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and
smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being
to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch
meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on
[826] their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
stick—lest their hair turn white.

881 reciprocal, he will be called iyorubodare by them. The only
*601 exception occurs if the initiator is a brother of the boy's true father; then the boy will call his father's mother imarugo, grandmother.

881 When delivering the boy to the initiator, the boy's
539 brother says, "This is your wife (akoreduje); together with him you will cut marido; together with him you will go to get the palm leaves in the forest; with him you will clean the village plaza and Aije muga; you will make a road for mano; with him you will open a path through the bushes, in front of the others carrying their bows and nets; with him
824 you will kill game and fish."[1] (Marido is the plant the Bororo use in making a big wheel, also called marido, with which they dance during a ceremony of the same name. The palm leaves mentioned are those which the Bororo men use to make a fence around the dancing ground during certain cere-
796 monies forbidden to women. Aije muga is the place where the Aije, the bull-roarers, are hidden, where many of the cere-monies have their starting point, and where the actors in these ceremonies are adorned and furnished with the necessary
824 paraphernalia. Mano is another wheel of palm leaves that the Bororo carry in a race on a long road leading to the village.

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[1] "Akoredujereo, awu apore are mano kora ta, awu apore are keo kora ta, awu apore ature bai kae, awu apore ature kaidaga kae, awu apore are bororo akudo, awu apore Aije muga akudo. Awu apore are mano koda to, awu apore are awure jodo ipo, iwora paru keje, tuge, boiga, buke, boari otodai."

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooá. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
859 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

Brazil.

The palm-tree in its numerous varieties, is the never-failing 824
friend of the "children of the wilderness." It will provide 262
them with food of some kind every day in the year, even 252
when there is nothing else to be had. Every day, unfailingly, they may obtain the white, cheese-like heart of a kind that grows but six feet high. The outer rings are stripped off, leaving a vegetable like the solid part of a cabbage. I found it an excellent food, when cooked. The savages eat it raw. The spongy, fiberous trunk of another palm, when pounded and wrung out, yields a white, starchy liquid, like milk. This is boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm. It is considered good broth. Or, the uncooked liquid may be evaporated, and the starch thus obtained made into a kind of bread. The large, yellow, plum-like fruit of the burity-palm is eaten raw with a relish by the Bororó, though I found it far from palatable.

Another variety of palm furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose-egg. This nut is first thrown into the fire for a few minutes, then the thin outer shell is peeled off and a layer of an insipid substance, somewhat like slippery-elm, is scraped from it and eaten. Next, the nut, which is very thick, is split, and the small, white, woody kernel removed and eaten raw, or pulverized in a wooden mortar and made into a cake, which is wrapped in green leaves and baked in the ashes. The Bororó consider this a delicacy. Still other varieties of palm furnish the Bororó the 824
material for his bows and arrows, and cordage for fish-nets and harpoon lines, besides the material with which to build his hut.

Charles Darwin describes a very interesting palm found 000
on the Andean ridge. When fallen up hill and the top cut off, it yields an incredible quantity of sweet sap, from which syrup and sugar are made.

But the most remarkable tree is the famous "vegetable cow," found in Venezuela and in the Amazonian forests, which yields an amazing quantity of milk. Humboldt describes this wonderful plant in his book of travels in tropical America.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Chapter XXXIII.

WEAPONS.—THE BLOW GUN.—HUNTING.—MARVELOUS FISHERMEN.—THE MANO RACE.—THE WILD MAN'S EVENING ANTHEM.—WOMAN.—UNIQUE MARRIAGES.—FIGHTS.—PRIMITIVE ARITHMETIC.

411 The weapons of the Bororó, used both in war and in the chase, are huge bows that are longer than the archer is tall, spear-like arrows four or five feet in length, and two styles of clubs, made of iron-like wood, one of which is shaped like an enormous dagger.

[824] They obtain the wood for their bows from a certain palm-tree, and the fibre with which to make their bow strings [283] from the long, slender foliage of another plam. The fibre is stripped out of the green leaves by the primitive artisan, and twisted, or spun, by rolling between the palm of the hand and the leg above the knee as the spinner sits, cross-legged, on his palm-leaf mat, and lastly, these strands are twisted dexterously into cordage in the same manner. The bow is usually wound half its length with reserve string.

The arrows are made by skilfully fitting together three [824] different pieces of wood. The point, or spear part, is made either of taquara or palm-wood, and in a variety of forms, according to the use to be made of it. Broad blade points are used in hunting large game, and for war, while various styles of harpoon points are used for fishing. A special kind of arrow is made which is six feet in length and very

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

151 825 tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing [824] them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men [825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the saüba ants.

Early in the day, all the men of the village went up the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or [501] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high, [824] brought the material down the river on rude floats made of 616 bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Sheraidi* and the *Ta Nagarêda*.

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommeled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 But primitive men must do things decently and in order 616 as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

/473 cont./

291 like to say that for this or for some other reason they bind their waists with a piece of tree bark ten inches wide, and, to be sure, so tightly that the skin at stomach height and over the abdomen and hips forms a bulge, which tends to disfigure them; but to go back to the strange custom, I must add that from this belt two strands (filamentos) two to three inches wide hang down in front and back." According to Waehneldt, the women wear a piece of tapir skin, one and a half spans wide, tied around their waists; "coming out from it is a bast band half a span wide, which covers their genitals." Rohde writes: "The women likewise go naked, the sole article of clothing is a narrow strip of cactus bark which conceals only the smallest part of the sexual organs."

With regard to our Bororó women, I have said on page 186 [287] that they wore on a hip cord a gray bast band three to four fingers [841] wide, and during the menses a similar black one, that in place of the hip cord they also used a piece of hard bark over which the /474/ T-band extended down in front and up in back, both of which were additionally secured by a string or bast wrapping. Younger women seemed to prefer the "corset" to the hip cord; the abdomen was tightly encased in the rigid bark armor.

291 The gray bast came from the jangadeira tree (jangada = raft), 287 whose light wood is used for the construction of rafts; it is also 824 called embira branca and its botanical name (from the family of Tiliaceae) is Apeiba cymbalaria. The black bark-belt came from the jiquitiba or pot-tree, Lecythis, a beautiful ornament of the primeval forest with a huge crown. A thick piece of bark was hewed off medium-sized trunks and laid in water for a week. Then a very fine, soft bast could be peeled off on the inside, [386] which furnished the hygienic bands. It was dyed black in rotten mire (tyjuca of the Tupí). The coarser hard outer layers provided the material for the belts, which had a width up to 28 centimeters. Often even children three to four years old wore the belt and looked very droll in it.

291 From what we have seen, the bark belt might be regarded merely as a substitute for the hip cord, whose firm embrace was perhaps agreeable, as long as the fashion did not become

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the [824] colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in [25] carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

487

* In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [147] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
324 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians ĩka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs 237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [53] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

/492 cont./

756 simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same
784 ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their
825 death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as
[775] the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vái vái, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara,
[262] tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends,"
[824] who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akurí nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*zumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 The siriva palm wood bow (*boíko*) is used in
[726] fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight
[283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*ísho*) is made by fixing a notched
411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft.
224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow
[824] pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (A)]

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tušawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębegeʷō clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[713] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge.

127
128

Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

ooo /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 **Dances.**—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

[726] [224] [782] [237] [825]

272 273 **Beverages.**—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

[756]

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baere (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

[821] [753] [262] [756] [787] [773]

771 756 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

[787] [754] 771 756 755 [562] [262] [778]

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoulders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar' dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side. His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvagedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants,
827 natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong
[421] to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge
614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu-
825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a
827 fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

614 goatsucker), kochaga (rail), okiwareu (mouse), arigaodoge
825 choreuge and kujagureuge (black and red dogs), Aroya (a
827 spirit), Jakomea (a spirit), butore (a rattle made with peccary hooves), tugo (arrow), Kuyade Tugojiriye (a spirit), maridogwarege (a bird), korao (parrot), kuje (curassow), piodudu (hummingbird), ivagudu (blue crow), and perhaps bokwaru (fog) and pobo (water). Certain lineages of the Ivagududoge are more closely related to particular items:

613 "People say: Mano Kurireu is on the point of kitariga and
825 konorigi" (Boe egore: Mano kurireu emare jeture kitariga
827 otoji, konorigi otoji). That is, Mano Kurireu originated from kitariga (a variety of grasshopper) and konorigi (cicada). Similarly other lineages originated from other species:

"People say that:

Aroya Kurireu	originated	from	itubore mogodoge[1]
Tadugo	"	"	maridogwarege (a bird)
Araru Kurireu	"	"	beto kigadu maerewu (sprout of buriti palm)
Jakomea Kuwada	"	"	kowagije (an insect that lives on the water)
Koge Ebowu	"	"	bapore (a bird)
Jakomea Attugo	"	"	ruye (frog)."

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[1] My informant was not sure about the meaning of itubore mogodoge; he thought that maybe they meant marido (buriti palm) in poetic language.

613 827 The Bororo are very reluctant to talk about the ancestors of certain lineages because they are not proud to be the descendants of those ancestors. They are mentioned only in 121 quarrels as an insult. I was able to collect some of these 613 examples only by provoking one of my informants. He was from 827 the Kurugugwa lineage of the Apiborege clan, and I told him that there was a rumor that the true Kurugugwa had died long ago and the present members of the Kurugugwa lineage were just impostors. Furthermore, I said, the Bororo were saying that the Apiborege could not take care of one of their younger brothers, so the Ivagududoge (in which clan I was named) had had mercy upon him and accepted him as one of their own. My informant gave me his theory about what had really happened in this case and then went on to say that my own clan had a lot of things to hide. An example:

613 827 "Meri defecated on some stones. His feces changed into a goatsucker (mokureabo), nay, a true Ivagududoge. Therefore their (Ivagududoge's) mouths are big, and their heads are big. And the[1] people say that their village lies on the rocks."

As we see from this example, alleged characteristics of people in the different clans are explained by relating them to traits of their animal ancestors. Another example:

[825] "People say that the Kiye originated from the monkeys; therefore their arms and legs are skinny; therefore their skin is black; their

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[1] "Awu meri pegodure pariri keje. Ure nowu pore mokureabodo pudumi. Boe kimorema iya Ivagududoge rabode. Duwugere eya kurichigore, etaya boa kurichigore. Duwugere boe egore 'ewororo paduye pariri keje'."

613
827
[825] faces are black."[2]

613 At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in
827 which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is de-
578 scribed: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena pijiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

614 Most names of the clans are also derived from some of
827 the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

[825] "Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.

"When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido). But then the Bororo made their name prettier."[2]

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1 "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekera, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

2 "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyedo Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

614 The story goes similarly for every clan: the Aroroe Chobugi-
827 wuge originated from aroro imedu (male butterfly larva), the
825 Aroroe Chebegiwuge from aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge was keao-keao aredu (female crow), the ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge was keao-keao imedu (male crow), but the true name of
614 keao-keao is ivagudu. Badajebage is the only clan name
827 which is not supposed to be derived from an ancestral item.

> "The Badajebage traveled with the Bororo. Thus, the people (the Bororo) called them 'ba dodu epage' (masters of the camp: the Badajebage as chiefs of the village decide when and where camp should be made during the trips). But then the Bororo improved their name and called them Badajebage."

614 The ancestor of the Bokodori Echerae was bokodori (giant
827 armadillo). Kiye Kurireuge originated from ki choreu (black
825 tapir), the Kiye Kugurireuge from ki bu kujagureu (tapir with red fur).

616 The names of the moieties are explained a little differently. A name which originally belonged to the Ivagududoge was extended to include all the Tugarege:

> "These Tugarege, all of the Tugarege are called Tugarege by the Bororo. The Ivagududoge were first to come across the arrow (tugo). Then they cut the string of the bundle of arrows for their companions (they divided the arrows among

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ure chaje. Apido Arege oinore eyere kodi karega. Ichare boere pemegado."

[1] "Badajebagere eture boebo. Du kodire boe egore 'ba dodu epage' oino ei. Ma ichare boere ichare enogwa pemegaguragare eyeji. Kodire ichare boe egore Badajebage ino ei."

822 796 237 302 614 822 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. [825] For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
825 is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
796

614 choreu - kujaqureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kuruguqwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kuruguqwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujagureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

616 beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane
823 belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

534 Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. Ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for [562] rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed
533 to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. Ika
534 is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is [829] also significant. Ika is elongated and narrow, often with
[831] one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka--
000 the curves of a narrow waist. Ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

773 616 571 But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'Itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'Itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'Itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'Itubore.'[1]

Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many sub-
[825] clans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the adugodoge
[776] (jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aije (water spirits represented by the bull-roarers) be-
[776] longing to the Aroroe. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aije, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

Bakororo gave:

Aije choreu (black Aije) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Aije kujaqureu (red Aije) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Aije baru-baru (Aije of the horizon) to Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Aije akirireu (down Aije) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

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1 "A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu mode iwo maku akai. Kodire i mode maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere Itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare Itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure Itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare Ituborere ema pugeje."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
772 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village.
[773] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
• 825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
831
775 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
776 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
[301]
[237]

722 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831
775 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
776 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
[302] a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.
773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[616] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
[614] lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kurúgugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

776 just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are
[761] enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to
[754] spy on the Bororo. These are makao, tuiwo torogo, churugu-
[825] churugu, kadoqwareu (different kinds of birds), and ruke (flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human flesh. Aroe's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and
[688] juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness or kill people, Aroe punish infractions of cultural rules--they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed, that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

776 Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death
761 is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the
825 Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of Bope: adugo, aigo, aipobureu, aimeareu (varieties of felines), ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), okwa, riye, moribo (varieties of canines), kugu, tagogo (varieties of owls), makao (a variety of hawk), and bakure (a carnivorous monkey). The Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. a. They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and
[821] by the people through their offerings. b. They are night animals and the night is Bope's time. c. Nobody ever sees these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and they do not die, except when they are killed by people for compensation (mori).

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"--one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

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	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

[825] First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equip-
773 ment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings
776 there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the animal traits of the first beings found their strongest expression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for their father, who had a special predilection for penes, vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae,
775 a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived
[103] in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first orna-
[825] ments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lineages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one Tugarege man, Tadugo. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
[534] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[162] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[834] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
[561] tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
[825] penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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[1] "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

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846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

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614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri coóa. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any consideration. For example: an individual to whom the
825 name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, or will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
855 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

224 765 [237] [301] [441] [531] [766] 765 535 825 782

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone.

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IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

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One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

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ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

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Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches 226
of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men.

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon- [41]
pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes [227]
near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them.

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the [103]
river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie [136]
called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the [511]
natives are contented and grow fleshy.

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They [501]
have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them.

One of the most striking traits of character of these chil- 151
dren of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) 825
is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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151 825 tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 [824] Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men [825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the saüba ants.

Early in the day, all the men of the village went up the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or [501] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high, [824] brought the material down the river on rude floats made of 616 bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Shcraidi* and the *Ta Nagarêda*.

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommeled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 616 But primitive men must do things decently and in order as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
825 evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
534 charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
103 at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the
114 *bakororó* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sænger-fest.*

533 Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the 533
notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, 825
growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its 151
bakororó, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures.

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting 533
expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages [224]
intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* [514]
is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune.

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the 532
savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space 224
of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, 825
especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals.

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these prim- 000
itive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state.

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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CHAPTER XXXV.

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THE SORCERERS.—EXORCISING AND FRIGHTENING AWAY DEMONS.—THE MYSTERY INSTRUMENTS.

THE souls of the departed are believed by the Bororó to dwell, for a time at least, in the bodies of certain fish and mammals. But they do not appear to identify the disembodied soul—*bopi*—with the creature it inhabits, as do those people who believe in what is known as "transmigration of the soul." The Bororó soul is simply a tenant in the body of the creature it inhabits, maintaining a separate, independent existence, and continuing forever, supposedly, without any change occurring in its personality or character; though it is doomed to suffer evictions everlastingly from its temporary fleshly abodes at the hands of the conjurer, or because of the natural death and destruction of the body of the creature it lives in. The Bororó say that the moment a newly disembodied spirit—the soul of a member of their tribe who has just died—enters the body of some creature, the bones of the soul's former self disappear from the cemetery. The evil-minded sorcerer, doubtless, is responsible for the disappearance of the bones—if they really disappear. The Bororó do not think that every wild creature is tenanted by some wandering *bopi*—soul—but only those that bear unusual markings, such as especially bright colors, or are very large, or have some other peculiarity. They much admire a fish called *dourada* by the Brazilians, part of the body of which is a bright,

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775 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved
825 dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they
262 catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while
775 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost
825 souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir,
262 and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every
756 member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade
789 of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

775 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish,
825 for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the
756 entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been
789 deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 Corn also appears to have some connection with the
262 demons, or is under a *tabu*, for the Bororó will not, under any
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/491 cont./

756 the latter "doutor." Let us confine ourselves to the term bari or medicine man. His training seems to be less ceremonious than is otherwise the case; it depends more on natural talent. During [273] the dry season -- the name does not actually refer to thirst -- the most akurí palm wine is drunk; the trees are tapped, and the sap runs into a pot or mortar and is drunk from bamboo beakers. The wine is somewhat sour, but plentiful. Both sexes become as intoxicated as possible. The one who holds out the longest becomes the medicine man. If it is said of him that the birds of the forest understand him, that he converses with trees and with animals of all sorts in their language, hopefully that does not mean /492/ a medical man who is still inspired by palm wine, but refers to study in solitude and to the aróe song in which the animals are 755 called upon. The bari treats his patients in the well-known manner: he groans, writhes, smokes, and sucks the cause of the illness -- customarily a bone here -- out of the body of the patient. Two things should be noted, however: first, the bone is merely displayed and does not leave his hand, and the doctor gives treatments only at night.

Waehneldt reports correspondingly about the Bororó on the Jaurú. Curing is done amid great clouds of smoke, unintelligible words, and, "the most important thing," convulsive movements: "I was present at the cure by such a padre, which consisted of his sucking at various parts of the body, and meanwhile he smoked his pipe and chewed up the mouthpiece. After each sucking he spit out the chewed-up pieces of his pipe, telling the patient that it 756 was the cause of his suffering." Furthermore--and now we come 784 back to the hunting booty -- a capibara pig had to be blessed in 825 the "sanctuary" by one of the four to six padres before it could be eaten or even touched. The baris cut off the best pieces and left the rest to the others.

On the S. Lourenço, too, the doctors likewise still lived in the golden age. It would be unjust to speak here of a delightful outgrowth of primitive hierarchy, for the bari was no "padre," but a "doutor" who merely did not yet know more than a "padre." The "consecration" was done in exactly the same way as the attempt to bring a dead person back to life. The logic is very

/492 cont./

756 simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same
784 ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their
825 death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as
[775] the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vái vái, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara,
[262] tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends,"
[824] who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akurí nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had inter-
[561] course are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[437] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/511 cont./

775 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form; at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and
775 should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are
772 Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned
825 on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists,
[262] or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

775 The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes
825 become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color,
[186] emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in
[774] life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
[261] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

/513 cont./

772 775 825 schema "transmigration of souls." They experience "transmigration of souls" every night. That animals and human beings are merely different persons is far more important than that one assumes a closer relationship to some animal-person or other as a result of subsequent considerations. I can really understand these people most readily if I regard the assertion, which seems to be the most recent and the most confusing, namely, their saying "we are birds," as the most ancient and the simplest, and not imagine them as saying "I shall become a bird," but rather "I have a bird -- please, not in the sense of the Berliners /who would mean, "I'm a bit touched" (Translator)/ -- I am a bird who now flies about at night but some day, hopefully in the distant future, will no longer fly back to his family if some other person, a human being, a bird, or a mammal, that I have fatally injured succeeds in preventing this, and who will then be forced to retain its nocturnal form and henceforth, as a white egret, will catch fish in the lagoon and earnestly hope that child and grandchildren will not shoot and eat him, but merely, if necessary, pluck out his feathers."

821 Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration. Sun and moon are arara feathers. I did not succeed in discovering what ideas exist about their owners. The Bororó laughed at me, however, when I asked them whether sun and moon were like human beings, and repeated "arara feathers," arara feathers and not merely arara, as though they might be birds. We live on a large island in the middle of a river called the "baruparu" -- the reduplication of "baru," "heaven." Moon and sun (or their owners) are on one side and wander across the river; when they come together, the moon passes over and the new moon comes.

The Southern Cross is the toes of a large ostrich, Centaurus is an accompanying leg, Orion is a jabuti turtle and, in the part toward Sirius, a cayman, the Pleiades are the tuft of flowers of the angico tree, Acacia; the Bororó showed me all this with great pleasure, /514/ and in doing so they often uttered an ih... of admiration, but they did not always agree about the interpretation, so that it was doubly difficult for me to discover it. About one

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[677] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

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556 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

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437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

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576 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
224 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest
425 relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
514 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
[226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
[261] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
[276] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
[515] not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
593 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
827 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from
846 the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[826] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
794 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-roarer (figs. 52, *e*; 55) and to attend rites from which 881

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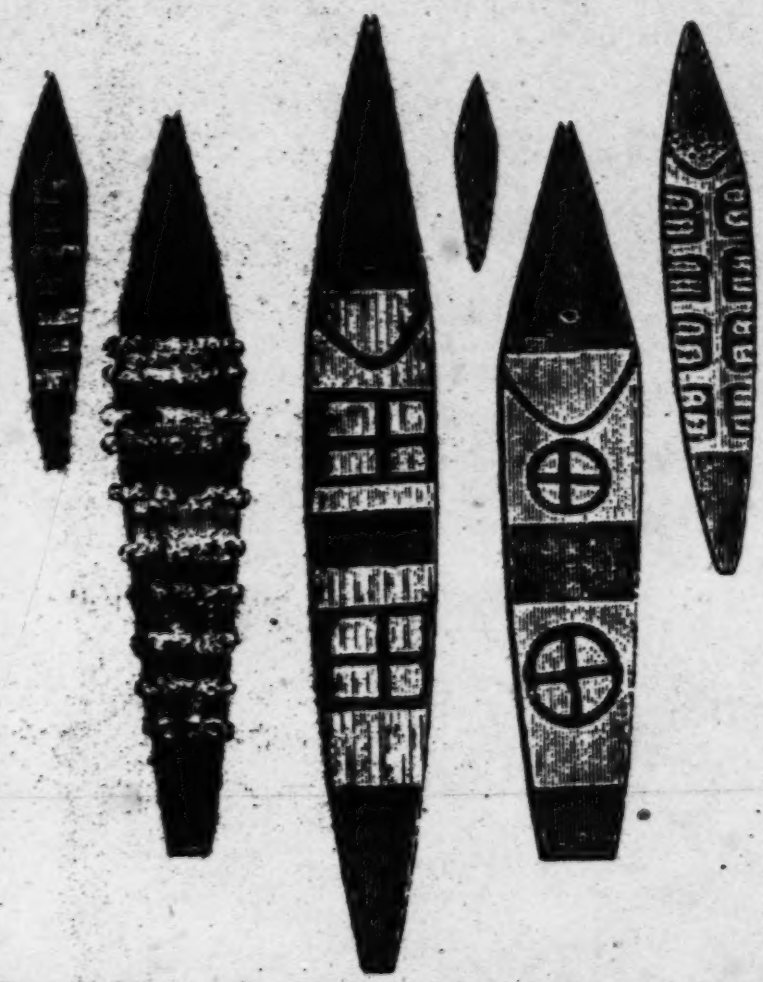

FIGURE 52.—Bull-roarers with various clan designs. (Approximately ⅙ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him. 881 [616] [827]

844 899 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
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[292]

553 this statement, but if we look at the lineage structure and ideology, things become clearer. For example: Kaigu was the founder of one lineage in the clan of Bokodori Echerae. He had many names, but the one used most often was Kaigu. Theoretically he should have transmitted five or six of his clanic names to his nephew, the first born son of his eldest sister (utuye boetojiwudo onaregedu imedu boetojiwu: lit., "his older sister/ the first born one/ her child/ the first born one"). When Kaigu became old he left it to his nephew to perform most of the ceremonial duties, and when he died his nephew became the head of the lineage. He inherited all the rights, the duties, the place of the house in the village, and the names of the dead Kaigu. Then he is Kaigu,
827 he has a nephew, and the story repeats itself. Any living Bororo is considered to be not only the descendant of a long line of ancestors but also identical to all of them. When I wondered about some contradictory deeds ascribed to the great chief Baitogogo in the myths, my informant explained to me that there were many Baitogogo: one did this, the other did that. On another day, when I did not understand the name of a particular hero mentioned in the myth, he pointed at a man passing by and said, "He did it!" For the passerby had the same name as the hero. Thus conceptually the Bororo consider themselves equivalent to their matrilineal ancestors.

553 Today, as the Bororo population is dying out, occasion-
178 ally a child does not have any classificatory brother from

among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full analysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvagedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 [421] It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections [illegible]n aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge 614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu- 825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a 827 fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

614 goatsucker), kochaga (rail), okiwareu (mouse), arigaodoge
825 choreuge and kujagureuge (black and red dogs), Aroya (a
827 spirit), Jakomea (a spirit), butore (a rattle made with peccary hooves), tugo (arrow), Kuyade Tugojiriye (a spirit), maridogwarege (a bird), korao (parrot), kuje (curassow), piodudu (hummingbird), ivagudu (blue crow), and perhaps bokwaru (fog) and pobo (water). Certain lineages of the ivagududoge are more closely related to particular items:

613 "People say: Mano Kurireu is on the point of kitariga and
825 konorigi" (Boe egore: Mano kurireu emare jeture kitariga
827 otoji, konorigi otoji). That is, Mano Kurireu originated from kitariga (a variety of grasshopper) and konorigi (cicada). Similarly other lineages originated from other species:

"People say that:

Aroya Kurireu	originated	from	itubore mogodoge[1]
Tadugo	"	"	maridogwarege (a bird)
Araru Kurireu	"	"	beto kigadu maerewu (sprout of buriti palm)
Jakomea Kuwada	"	"	kowagije (an insect that lives on the water)
Koge Ebowu	"	"	bapore (a bird)
Jakomea Attugo	"	"	ruye (frog)."

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[1] My informant was not sure about the meaning of itubore mogodoge; he thought that maybe they meant marido (buriti palm) in poetic language.

613 The Bororo are very reluctant to talk about the ances-
827 tors of certain lineages because they are not proud to be the descendants of those ancestors. They are mentioned only in
124 quarrels as an insult. I was able to collect some of these
613 examples only by provoking one of my informants. He was from
827 the Kurugugwa lineage of the Apiborege clan, and I told him that there was a rumor that the true Kurugugwa had died long ago and the present members of the Kurugugwa lineage were just impostors. Furthermore, I said, the Bororo were saying that the Apiborege could not take care of one of their younger brothers, so the Ivagududoge (in which clan I was named) had had mercy upon him and accepted him as one of their own. My informant gave me his theory about what had really happened in this case and then went on to say that my own clan had a lot of things to hide. An example:

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> "Meri defecated on some stones. His feces changed into a goatsucker (mokureabo), nay, a true Ivagududoge. Therefore their (Ivagududoge's) mouths are big, and their heads are big. And the[1] people say that their village lies on the rocks."

As we see from this example, alleged characteristics of people in the different clans are explained by relating them to traits of their animal ancestors. Another example:

[825]

> "People say that the Kiye originated from the monkeys; therefore their arms and legs are skinny; therefore their skin is black; their

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[1] "Awu meri pagodure pariri keje. Ure nowu pore mokureabodo pudumi. Boe kimorema iya Ivagududoge rabode. Duwugere eya kurichigore, etaya boa kurichigore. Duwugere boe egore 'ewororo paduye pariri keje'."

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827
[825] faces are black."[2]

613 At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in
827 which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is de-
578 scribed: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena piiiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

614 Most names of the clans are also derived from some of
827 the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

[825] "Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.

"When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido). But then the Bororo made their name prettier."[2]

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1 "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekera, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

2 "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyedo Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

614 The story goes similarly for every clan: the Aroroe Chobugi-
827 wuge originated from aroro imedu (male butterfly larva), the
825 Arorce Chebegiwuge from aroro aredu (female butterfly larva).
The ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge was keao-keao aredu (female crow), the ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge was keao-keao imedu (male crow), but the true name of
614 keao-keao is ivagudu. Badajebage is the only clan name
827 which is not supposed to be derived from an ancestral item.

> "The Badajebage traveled with the Bororo. Thus, the people (the Bororo) called them 'ba dodu epage' (masters of the camp: the Badajebage as chiefs of the village decide when and where camp should be made during the trips). But then the Bororo improved their name and called them Badajebage."[1]

614 The ancestor of the Bokodori Echerae was bokodori (giant
827 armadillo). Kiye Kurireuge originated from ki choreu (black
825 tapir), the Kiye Kugurireuge from ki bu kujagureu (tapir with red fur).

616 The names of the moieties are explained a little differently. A name which originally belonged to the Ivagududoge was extended to include all the Tugarege:

> "These Tugarege, all of the Tugarege are called Tugarege by the Bororo. The Ivagududoge were first to come across the arrow (tugo). Then they cut the string of the bundle of arrows for their companions (they divided the arrows among

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ure chaje. Apido Arege oinore eyere kodi karega. Ichare boere pemegado."

[1] "Badajebagere eture boebo. Du kodire boe egore 'ba dodu epage' oino ei. Ma ichare boere ichare enogwa pemegaguragare eyeji. Kodire ichare boe egore Badajebage ino ei."

616 their companions), for their companions Aroroe, their companions Paiwoe, their companions Apiborege. Thus the name of all these people is Tugarege."[1]

Tugo (arrow) is the ancestor par excellence of the Ivagududoge, but by dividing the arrows among their moiety "brothers," the Ivagududoge shared their ancestor with the other clans of their moiety.

The name of the other moiety, Echerae, is not derived from any ancestral item. Meri (the sun) is supposed to have given the name to the Echerae in one song. My informants said that the word did not have other denotations. "Owners of the songs," the meaning given in the Enciclopédia Bororo (p. 438), also has to do with singing, and this fits well with the general characteristics of the Echerae moiety, as will be shown later.

827 The equivalence of ancestors and descendants explains the old controversy about whether or not the Bororo believe they are macaws (Von den Steinen, 1894: 512; Levy-Bruhl, 1966: 62; Vygotski, 1962: 71-72; Geertz, 1966: 37-38; Barnes, 1969: 614 98). Red macaws (nabure), with which, according to Von den 616 Steinen, the Bororo claim identity, are the ancestors of the 827 Aroroe. On the other hand, one myth tells how the Bokodori Echerae threw themselves into the fire and became red macaws

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1 Awu Tugarege, Tugarege eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Awu Ivagududoge emagere etogeadure tugoji chaje. Eigoyare ichare ere tugo kogu kado tumedagei, tumeduya Aroroei, tumeduya Paiwoei, tumeduya Apiboregei. Du kodire ichare eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Oino."

614 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red
616 macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the
827 Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after
561 the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger
[192] brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo lan-
[773] guage. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger.
844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever be-
[773] ing born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have al-
571 ready been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963:
114 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

181 sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities,
571 participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The
[114] patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

614 The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into sub-
561 clans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and sub-
562 clans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In re-
822 porting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ances-
827 tors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers.

614 The division is not restricted only to animals; many other
562 beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differen-
822 tiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu
827

614 (black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary
562 hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an
822 aquatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea);
827 ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female[A] and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular [796] items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodáre (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

[A] [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

822 796 237 302 614 822 [825] In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
[825] is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
796

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

B /352 cont./
772 interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and
811 let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse,
that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in
B the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because
[186] they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in
B all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this
[171] same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó
BO maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for
[827] hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable
to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the
Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river
and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied.
I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the
Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their
B neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them
[186] to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we
might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the
Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes
that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals,
and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with
BO strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that
772 they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death,
811 /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the
[775] araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their
relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they desig-
nate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that
it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give them-
selves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a
772 habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead
811 are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and
[171] similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which
easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among
our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the
basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears,
nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

/510 cont./

765 one deceased waits for the next and the two leave the village together. Again no one seemed to pay any attention to them, and one would have thought two baskets of mandioca were being carried away. But soon four young people came along rather hurriedly and followed them into the forest: the first was swinging a whizzer stick; the second and third uttered loud cries of terror; the fourth cleared a broad path behind him with a palm leaf in order to obliterate the footprints and make it difficult for the dead to return. No woman was to be seen. One also carried a hoe /Hacke/. The baskets were buried, it was believed, on a small island lying upstream.

Soul and existence after death. For a person who is awake,
● 827 there is action at a distance, which reminds one of our belief in ear-ringing. On the Kulisehu Tumayaua said to me once when I sneezed that my wife was calling me and that she was said because I had not yet returned. On a similar occasion, the very same thing was maintained by the Bororó; another time, when I stood beside an Indian woman and sneezed, she immediately asked me the names of my relatives: "What is your mother's name? Your brother's? Your brother-in-law's?"

774 The "soul" is called búpe. In the dream it leaves the body.
828 The fear of waking up one who is sleeping was clearly expressed. Even Clemente believed that it was very harmful. It also has its advantages, however, as we once saw in the ranchão. Wilhelm wanted to draw a sleeping man. Now this seemed to be the
[754] greater evil, apparently because one could practice sorcery with the picture; the Bororó generally resisted Wilhelm's efforts, but, on the other hand, they were pleased later when he showed them portraits made surreptitiously. In any case, the drawing of this sleeping man seemed hazardous to them. They wanted to waken him, and, when I prevented them from doing so and criticized them, /511/ they also tried surreptitiously (by spitting and throwing little pieces of wood) to achieve their purpose.

I do not know the exact meaning of búpe. During the dream, the soul flies away in the shape of a bird. Then it sees and hears many things. What the waking person reported is firmly believed.

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bor[illegible]o village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband—and her lovers, if she has lovers—try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
[226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
[261] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
[276] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
[545] not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
593 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
827 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from
846 the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[824] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*601 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

In a society where the majority
553 of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the func-
828 tion of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of
829 the possibility of reciprocity and equality.
[181]

553 Another instance of reciprocal address results from the
881 initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same
time are given a common name, which they later use in address-
*[601] ing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past
or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In
Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held
there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways,
they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was
the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other
names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge,
[561] Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the ex-
istence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of
this group of boys bound together by the common experience
of becoming full members of adult society at the same time,
and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor
of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age
groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in
view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo
and the other Gê tribes.

/497 cont./

534 belonging to their new associate is being withheld, that in the
765 future they therefore have nothing more to seek in the village, and then later when the bone-basket is disposed of and the deceased leaves the village. The underlying idea of all the ceremonies is the fear that the deceased will return to take away the
534 living. In the ceremonies undertaken to ward off this possibility,
765 the weaker sex is apprehensively excluded. During this time the
562 women run into the forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by the whizzer stick, whose booming noise has a warning or uncanny character by nature. If they were present, they would risk the danger of dying. Up to this point everything
534 is logical and natural. Now, however, something more than is
562 necessary happens; in connection with these practices there has
784 developed a danger for the women at even the mere sight of the whizzer stick. They would die if they saw it.

000 Certainly a reinforcement of an exaggerated nature, but not at all incomprehensible. One finds similar exaggerations among our women in their fear of firearms; a lady whom I know held her ears when I showed her a revolver with an open, empty barrel and, in a state of excitement which refused to see and hear anything, begged that it be taken away because -- quoted strictly historically -- "it happens often enough that those things
[828] go off even if they are not loaded." When the whizzer stick is heard among the Bororó on the two occasions mentioned, it corresponds to the loaded revolver; there is danger for both men and women, but the apprehension for the latter is greater because in general in the view of the Indian it is part of a woman's nature that she always weeps, "trembles," when animals, enemies, indeed, even waterfalls threaten, and that she is always in need of protection. Now if even the sight of the whizzer stick is dangerous for the woman, this is still partly the fear of the unloaded revolver, partly also a thoughtless form acquired by her as the result of the practice of generations, which is employed with anxious eagerness without examination. In exactly the same way Wallace observed in the Amazonas region that the women flee when the flutes of the jurupari-demon dance are heard, and he was

/510 cont./

765 one deceased waits for the next and the two leave the village together. Again no one seemed to pay any attention to them, and one would have thought two baskets of mandioca were being carried away. But soon four young people came along rather hurriedly and followed them into the forest: the first was swinging a whizzer stick; the second and third uttered loud cries of terror; the fourth cleared a broad path behind him with a palm leaf in order to obliterate the footprints and make it difficult for the dead to return. No woman was to be seen. One also carried a hoe /Hacke/. The baskets were buried, it was believed, on a small island lying upstream.

Soul and existence after death. For a person who is awake,
827 there is action at a distance, which reminds one of our belief in ear-ringing. On the Kulisehu Tumayaua said to me once when I sneezed that my wife was calling me and that she was said because I had not yet returned. On a similar occasion, the very same thing was maintained by the Bororó; another time, when I stood beside an Indian woman and sneezed, she immediately asked me the names of my relatives: "What is your mother's name? Your brother's? Your brother-in-law's?"

774 The "soul" is called búpe. In the dream it leaves the body.
● 828 The fear of waking up one who is sleeping was clearly expressed. Even Clemente believed that it was very harmful. It also has its advantages, however, as we once saw in the ranchão. Wilhelm
[754] wanted to draw a sleeping man. Now this seemed to be the greater evil, apparently because one could practice sorcery with the picture; the Bororó generally resisted Wilhelm's efforts, but, on the other hand, they were pleased later when he showed them portraits made surreptitiously. In any case, the drawing of this sleeping man seemed hazardous to them. They wanted to waken him, and, when I prevented them from doing so and criticized them, /511/ they also tried surreptitiously (by spitting and throwing little pieces of wood) to achieve their purpose.

I do not know the exact meaning of búpe. During the dream, the soul flies away in the shape of a bird. Then it sees and hears many things. What the waking person reported is firmly believed.

/511 cont./

774 The Kayapó were truly in the vicinity of the village; no one
828 doubted it. From his own experience Clemente confirmed the accuracy of their predictions. If the wife left behind in the village while her husband is absent on a hunting expedition, sitting half the night alone in her hut, has loudly lamented and grieved for a few hours and then lies down to sleep, her soul will certainly find the hunters, and, after awakening, the women will always give accurate accounts of where they are now and when they will return. The proximity of the enemy is discovered in the dream, people flee, and he enters a deserted village.

763 It is quite true that in the case of a person who is very ill the baris accurately predict the day of his death. Not only was the child whom I mentioned on page 568 killed when the time came, but even in the case of Coqueiro's wife artificial means were employed. She was brought, still alive, into the ranchão; her face was covered with a cloth and she suffocated under the cover. According to the baris, she was to die on the fourth day, and she died. I believe one can easily understand this tampering with Atropos' handiwork, particularly in the case of a frequently roving hunter tribe, even if it does not put human beings and animals on the same level quite as seriously as the Bororó, because they are accustomed to giving dying animals the finishing stroke and are not in a position to remain for an arbitrary period in some localities. The fact that the baris know how to benefit by this custom is another matter.

761 Ideas about death and the existence after death differ
775 essentially from those of the Kulisehu Indians insofar as the
[171] medicine men responsible for the death do not live in a neighboring village and carry on their magic art there, but are in certain animals, which are unfortunately or foolishly killed and which now avenge themselves by taking away the living.
[171] Whereas the medicine man of the Bakaïrí transforms himself into animals only temporarily in narcosis and after death goes to heaven in human shape, here death itself is nothing but a transformation into animals, a dream, the reality of which has become visible to all.

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[For specific data examplifying the "concrete expressions of the social structure," see category 116, pp. 25-34.]

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

• 829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[121] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our year of residence there only three times did we hear loud laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

121 realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings
114 of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship
[53] system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with
[29] ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

868 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with
562 small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as
868 adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is
[622] his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

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> If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will will die but you will be here in his place, you will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With this in mind he instructed you in all these things.
>
> But suppose you do not listen to your father's

868 829 593

words. He wants to teach you but you do not care and as a consequence you remain ignorant. The people will say, "It may be that his father was ignorant, and because of this he does not know anything." I know things and thus the people do not gossip about my father. People say about me, "With him is his father's knowledge and reason."

Another example. The people do not quarrel with your father or with your mother, nor do they quarrel with you; they will say, "Yes, he is the true child of his parents, he is just like they are." But if you fight and quarrel with people, they will say: "He is not the child of his parents; they are different."

However, if your father does not know things, you will kill some animal, you will catch some fish, and you will give them to someone who knows things, and he will teach you. The people will then say, "The father is no good, and yet his son speaks so well. He is not stingy with meat and fish and feathers. He is knowledgeable, because he is not stingy. So after having been an orphan, he is not an orphan anymore."[1]

1

Ao yoruduwa rakã-guragare, boe eimejerare aoche. Jorudu iwa rakã-guragare toro. Du tabore ichare ure awodudo. Kodire aidure awo nono turyeore. Aerudu iwawo tuyorudu iwa rakã-guraga du uryeore. Rudumi tu vi mode ma aki akagurure tumugato kodi. Akiwo boe eimejerare aki tumugato. Kodire ure aerudu iwado tumearudae jamẽdu boeji. Oino.

Mare aki amearu toru kare ao boe eimejera bataruji. Aidure aerudu iwado, mare amearu toru kare bataruji. Kodire ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Kodire boe egore: 'ao rabora yoruduwa bokware kodiba ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Oino. Imire paga karega iyorudu iware oino. Kodire boe emago kare toro iyogwaji. Boe egore apore uwo jorudae, mearudae meture.

Iya pugeje. Boe kori kare aoji, acheji. Du boe kori kare ai, arugodu kare, ako ki kare. Du boe ego mode: 'u, onaregedu rugadu rabode. Kodire ichare ure nono tuje, tuwo uryeore. Iya keje ao pega kare, ache pega kare, akire ichare apegare. Boe kori barikare ai, arugodu kigodure, ako ki kigodure boei. Ao, ache onaregedu karega ure aki kodi. Aore tuginoi.

Mare ao yorudu iwa bokwa iya boeji, mare nonore ure. Kodire a mode iya karo, iya barogo a mode bito. Du a mode iya rogu maku t jorudu iwarewu mearudu iwarewu ai. Du tabore ichare u mode aerudu iwado. Du tabore boe ego mode: 'Uwo pega, jorudu iwa bokwa kodi karega, akore oino. Mare jetori kare t iya ture bitowu karo, barogo, nabure kuido ikodo aro

597 When a child loses his parents, he is not left alone. Usually one of his mother's true or classificatory sisters or his father's true mother or sister will take care of him.
737 Old or disabled persons also can count on a large range of
736 relatives for some help and food. In Pobojari there was a blind man living in the men's house. When the "meal of the spirits" was held, his pots and pans were filled up so that he would have enough food for the next day. Normally eight women of the village saw to it that he was not without food. The man was a classificatory brother to three of the women. He was the mother's brother (a "brother") to an unmarried girl who was also an orphan and was living with her father's sister. She did not have food of her own, but she made a fire for the blind man when it was cold, and occasionally she washed his dishes. To another of the three women he was "father's son" (uwo onaregedu), and to the third he was "father's brother's son" (uwo umana onaregedu). Two other women addressed him as "grandfather" (iyedaga): he was "husband's brother" (oredu umana) to one and "husband's father's son" (Oredu uwo onaregedu) to the other. Still another called him "father" (iyogwa). He was "father's brother" (uwo uyiye) to her. Finally there were two women who considered themselves his "mother." Each had taken the role of mother for different dead belonging to the same

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[868] bu keje, kodire ichare jorudu iware oino, jetori bokware kodi.
[829] Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje.
[593] Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"

593 like to stress that <u>they are not really</u> the same person:
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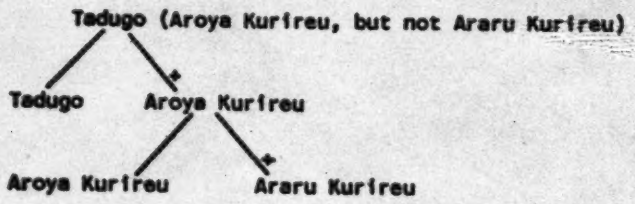
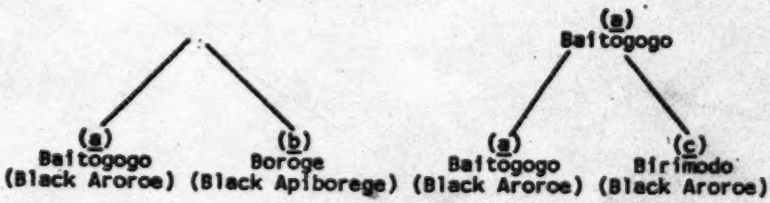


613 The Bororo also express the relation between two lin-
829 eages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother—younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:



Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation--employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense--gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
636 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

614 each clan is divided into two subclans, and the terms used
[823] for the subclans are not the same in each case. Some subclans are termed chobugiwu (upstream), some chebegiwu (downstream). And, at the same time, some of them are called choreu (black), or kujagureu (red). One lineage (Koge Enogwa Tabowu) belongs to both the red and black subclans, and four subclans are designated by special terms. These inconsistencies in the designation of subclans reproduce the way in which the Bororo talk about their subclans.

614 The relationship between the subclans within a clan is
829 regarded as being that between older and younger brothers. One of the subclans is called Etumanamage (Older Brothers); the alternative names for Older Brothers are Choreu (Black) and Kurireu (Big). The other subclan is called Etuviyemage (Younger Brothers), with Kujagureu (Red) or Kugurireu (Small) being alternative names for Younger Brothers.

614 This division does not correspond to the division of
823 the two subclans in chobugiwuge (upstream) and chebegiwuge
829 (downstream), which is solely related to the position of each subclan toward the flow of the river. The choreuge can be downstream and the kujagureuge upstream, as among the Kiye, Paiwoe, Apiborege, and Ivagududoge; but their position can be the reverse, as among the Aroroe. Being downstream or upstream in itself does not say anything about the importance of the subclan. Besides, the terms chobugiwuge and chebegiwuge can be used to indicate the relative position of units in other contexts. Within each subclan one

614 lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage,
823 which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one.
829 The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

613 614 The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu
613 within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned--and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important--they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[1] [775] A few informants would object to this statement. They say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

cause their Echorae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

835 but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for
[829] their actions. I could not detect any great concern over
[273] what had happened.

773 Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical
183 past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man
835 will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If
[616] he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with
[614] his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when
[614] he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

773 The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it
183 was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae
835 were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells
616 of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*601 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

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553 of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the func-
828 tion of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of
829 the possibility of reciprocity and equality.
[181]

Another instance of reciprocal address results from the
553 initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same
881 time are given a common name, which they later use in address-
*[601] ing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past
or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In
Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held
there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways,
they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was
the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other
names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge,
[561] Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the ex-
istence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of
this group of boys bound together by the common experience
of becoming full members of adult society at the same time,
and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor
of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age
groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in
view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo
and the other Gê tribes.

/516 cont./

115 Moguyokuri é muito criança, "is purely a child," said Clemente, who knows nothing, and this certainly agreed with the fact that the chief, as he told me, no longer knew who his grandfather was. A hoary old man who really knew something about the creation of the world -- for he had heard the details from his grandfather, who was himself present at the time -- this valuable informant was unfortunately off hunting.

•829 Even information about other tribes with whom the Bororó were said to be in contact was extremely meager and limited to a few statements about the Kayapó, who were said to have smooth, short, but very strong and tough bows, rather small arrows made of tacoarasinha with feathers sewed on and two iron barbs, as well as a flat club, one meter long, shaped somewhat like a fish, made of seriba palm wood, and worn around the neck on a string.

773 Besides these, however, there were other strange neighbors in the tribe of the Rarái, also called baredyeragúdo. One sees them only in twos or threes, and only at night; they wear bast cloth and have a blackish, never a light skin-color. They are monkeys. They threw Bororó to the ground at such and such a place and ran away. Clemente -- and this is not without value because he repeated the very words of the Indians themselves -- solemnly swore that the Rarái were monkeys; they do not have arrows, they pick up stones or wood from the ground to throw, and they also have garruchas -- "pistols," such as the Brazilian comrades and hence also the Negroes and the fleeing slaves (cf. for example, our lovers, page 23 /untranslated/) quite generally possessed. "They are monkeys and they shoot with pistols?" "Yes, they are monkeys with iron pistols." The Negro, accordingly, has the agreeable choice of being regarded as a monkey or as a black carrion-vulture. One must constantly remember and make clear to oneself, however, that there is no boundary here between human being and animal and even the possession of an implement of civilization does not mean a thing. If monkeys have pistols, one cannot very well say that they do not have them.

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the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

616 beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane
823 belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

534 Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. Ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for [562] rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed 533 to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. Ika 534 is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is [825 also significant. Ika is elongated and narrow, often with 831] one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka— 660 the curves of a narrow waist. Ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day. Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and assexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

722 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
775 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
776 a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-
[302] like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the wife, who will receive and will place everything in order,
[60] while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment on they will live together, they will call each other by the names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two
[304] customs conceming the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
831 young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
[302] "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/131 cont./

562 the following morning, Maria, rich in experience, in whose
• 831 resistance there could not have been very serious intentions. Did you not want to get married yesterday? I asked. -- Now I am already married, she answered calmly. She was lying down in all /132/ comfort under a red blanket beside her favorite man, and both were cracking nuts from a palm tree. One day we say Moguyokuri encouraging the young men to decorate Maria, who appeared so brave in the struggle and was so submissive now. Immediately six young men threw themselves upon her, painting her."

The fact, however, that the girl taken to the men's house did not figure there in any manner as a slave without a will of her own is evident and thanks to the following observation by Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 489): "While the women, ordinarily, remained away from the men's house, there was rarely missing there a couple of lovers who frolicked lying under a common red blanket. Nobody was concerned about it, except a few friends tormented by a little jealousy, who actually had been refused by the common sweetheart and had to be satisfied with sitting beside the couple, talking to them."

562 Such customs in the men's house do not seem to have
831 existed among the Bororo with whom the Salesian missionaries
184 spent their life. At least Colbacchini never mentions anything similar. I did not see any women in the men's house in Toriparu either.

000 It has been affirmed that the custom according to which one sex is much older than the other one in marriage indicates a predominance of the first (Vaerting, o.c., p. 22 and seq.), quoting examples from Egypt, America, and India. From South American Indians, for example, from the hunting and gathering people of the Chamacoco in the Chaco /133/ (Baldus: Indianerstudien /Indian Studies/, Leipzig, 1931, p. 58),

/145 cont./

562 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically
224 and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his
833 sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

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173 past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but
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/488 cont./

283 flock or a few hairs placed together and had fastened them to the short end of the stick, the larger part of the little stick, below the whorl, would be rolled on the right thigh with the right hand, the spindle being held slantwise; thus, the thread was formed on the shorter part of the stick above the whorl. The finished thread was wound on the long part below the whorl.

The hair-threads were plaited into a cord which was worn around the head hair, around the waist, or, for protection against the snapping of the bowstring, around the wrist. Palm fiber cord was twisted by hand on the thigh. The great toe was often used in string work.

[286] Actual weaving, that is to say, the interlacing of threads crossing at right angles, was unknown. The men made narrow [301] bands out of cotton threads, /489/ into which porcupine quills were plaited and which were worn like suspenders, cf. Figs. 141 /see p. 610/ and 129 /see p. 589/, as chest strings by both sexes, as well as arm bands by artfully interlacing threads between two thin rods.

461 How elegantly and neatly the men worked was particularly striking in the making of arrows. There were so many small dexterous movements which one would have expected only from the delicate hands of women. Among these I include particularly the decoration with tiny colored feathers, each of which was placed on the ground one by one and carefully arranged.

Nor can there be more chatter and laughter in a spinning room than there was here in the baitó. True, it was not very womanly when suddenly, for the sake of variety, two of the workers got up and staged a regular wrestling match which was watched with great interest by the others. They stood up, wrestled, threw each other, and resumed their work or lay down again for 517 dolce far niente. For comfortable idlers were never lacking; [832] and there was also seldom lacking, though the women otherwise stayed away, a loving couple who lay under a common red coverlet and dallied. No one paid any attention to them except a few friends troubled by mild jealousy, who at the moment were being neglected by the common lover and had to be content to sit beside the pair and chat with them.

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828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
[794] tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

763 personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is
[614] total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the
775 other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored
[553] feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing
[833] and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and with-
[609] out enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a
[772] cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

769 But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are de-
[825] pendent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> 769 825 Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that
> [264] we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and
772 [593] younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1 "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[289] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and
[171] weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of
128 labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 How much the sexual life is related to the social
562 position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to
123 me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

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833 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day:
562 "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down
123 one beside the other, because one day they will die and then
775 they are reunited."

864 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from
115 Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 From Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the
171 following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

/144 cont./

000 goddess of the earth, had in common seven rings. "When they met at night, they would decorate themselves with these rings, that is, the one who was lying on top always wore the first four rings, and the one who was lying underneath wore the remaining three rings" (Leo Frobenius: Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes, /From the Cultural Realm of the Continent/, Berlin, 1923, p. 112). According to an ancient Syrio-Judaic tale, Adam and Eve argued in paradise about which of the two, during coitus, had to lie underneath and which one on top (Frobenius, ibidem).

/145/ To what point the socially inferior position of the woman in our civilization is manifested also with respect to the sexual life is shown by the following expressions: "to possess" or "to use" or "to dishonor" a woman. Our collective morality does not tolerate the woman's using such expressions also with respect to the man. She cannot "possess him," but must "belong to him," she cannot "use him," but she must "surrender herself," and she can never "dishonor him," because she must seduce him in such a way that he considers himself the seducer.

Among our Indians, we shall look in vain for a mentality
562 that establishes similar violent differences between the sexes. This is not contradicted by what Koslowsky (o.c. p. 384) relates about the western Bororo /The following quotation
562 has been translated from the Spanish/: "When they get
224 ready for hunting (the ounce [H.B.]) they begin by
[411] observing certain ceremonies, which consist principally of not sleeping with one's wife for four days before leaving to hunt the feline; in this interval he starts by painting his face with urucú, he prepares his arrows at the heat of the fire in order to harden the fibers of the tacuara /bamboo/. Under no circumstance is the woman allowed to touch the point of the arrows, since the Indian believes that with her contact they would lose their power of penetration and that it would
• [833] attract misfortunes to him." -- When the man avoids relations

/145 cont./

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846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
[854] this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
[856] speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of conti-
[302] nence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
* [601] attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[301] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
[534] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[162] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
881 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
616 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his
571 yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[834] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
[561] tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
[825] penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraterni-
[10] dade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Para-
guay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the
Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161] number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In
two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type
kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichoce-
phalic. The local Brazilians call them the Bar-
bados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*mukíno*) was built
on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
621 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishípá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming
down to the ground, the whole being covered with
pacova palm fronds except the two ends which
were left open. This house type is the same as that
formerly found among the Guató who live to the
south of the Umotina. Each family had its own
house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all
night not only for warmth but also to drive away
the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after
puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made
from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide
the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the
back of their heads, and allowed their beards to
grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the
lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand,
cut their hair short, and plucked out their eye-
brows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women
had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

613 Each man identifies himself with the lineage he belongs
*601 to, and the core of the lineage are the women. A woman who
606 marries "son" of the lineage is a "daughter-in-law" of the lineage. In this usage irago is a group-centered rather than Ego-centered term. This is corroborated by the fact that any woman who marries in the lineage is referred to by all the members of that lineafe as "our daughter-in-law" (parago--1st person plural inclusive.)

*601 This rule though strange, is yet another variant of general equivalence of a mother and her child which was expressed in different ways in the Crow rule (which equated mother's brother with brother), in female parallel collateral skewing rule (which equated mother's sister with sister), and it will be apparent again in the vocative system (where one's mother's parents are equated with one's own parents).

*601 Here also I would like to make an exception and antici-
607 pate the social meaning of the present equivalence rule. By
● 835 placing brother's wife in the category of irago, the Bororo removed her from the category of sexual partners to which she previously belonged (as imarugo or itonaregedu), and so through the terminology, they express the ideal and the necessity of solidarity among brothers.

*601 With this, the analysis of the Bororo referential system is concluded. All the kin types have been accounted for and reduced to their focal kin types. The boundaries of the sys-
*601 tem coincide closely with the list on pages 11-18. Occa-
609 sionally, if convenient, some Bororo may restrict or extend

This is the third time that the structural equivalence of
*60/ the child and his or her mother is required in accounting for
593 kin terms. Though the social correlates of the rules will be discussed in subsequent chapters, we may even now start to wonder about the nature and importance of the mother-child relation for the Bororo.

There are still some more kin types that remain to be discussed. The first is "father's child." By our step-kin rule, father's children, younger than Ego, are considered younger siblings and are classified appropriately as iviye, or vocatively as imedu and aredu. (An alternative designation for them is ikobo. This term is applied both referentially and vocatively, but only knowledgeable members of the society use it at all, and then only very rarely.) However, if the person's father's child is a member of the opposite moiety (i.e., if their common father had the child by a woman of his own moiety), he will not be addressed by any kinship
[574] term at all. The Bororo say that it is not polite to remind a brother that he is the child of an endogamous relation.
[835] Thus he will usually be addressed by his name. "...but," said one of my informants, "if my sister from the other moiety makes sexual advances to me, I should say to her 'Do not play with me, the same father caused our birth, so do not behave in this way, I am your brother (avuri).'"[1]

There are two other kin types that differ, in the system

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[1] "Awadu kaba, pao mitodu koyare pawodudo. Kodire aro modu kare ino. Avuri nure imi."

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand
593 against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
[835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
[522] tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
[578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
593 affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
[539] uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

593 837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
835 602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

587 606 There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him [585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the man's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but [43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

582 593 As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by 591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on marriage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual relations with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father. It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

835 but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for
[829] their actions. I could not detect any great concern over
[273] what had happened.

773 Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical
183 past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man
835 will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If
[616] he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with
[614] his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when
[614] he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

773 The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it
183 was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae
835 were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells
616 of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare, you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 Marriage.—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and 582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage 194 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as 595 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous 591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is 763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk 602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors 764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's [622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve 224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he [616] has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (arce). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him 881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for 764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread 764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

/135 cont./

added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest: 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/154 cont./

301 562 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care. [237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment" [836] [593] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both [171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first [171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting [613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[147] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

/502 cont./

●836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones;
[437] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[802] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

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593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

593 837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by 835 602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though 587 606 the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him [585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but [43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, 582 593 there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by 591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

000 their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on mar-
582 riage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a
593 normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of
[835] specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often
[837] does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual rela-
842 tions with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father.
[593] It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as
181 legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

/145 cont./

562 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically
224 and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his
833 sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the
173 past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but
[224] today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much, for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is
832 the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to
833 which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the
173 pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

832 They say that the only form of sexual caress known by the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

838 Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the
839 Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes
171 visited by me.

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones;
[439] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
● 838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[802] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/145 cont./

562 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically
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833 sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

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8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war- 462
like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer.

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, 222
may be seen going forth in various directions with huge bas- [482]
kets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their fore- [854]
heads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him.

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is con- 582
tracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age 584
of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken 839
for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Be- [584]
cause of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Women wear a gray perineal band,
841 or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a
342 girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

301 Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture
[431] [583] necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

302 Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São
[386] Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous
[237] rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus
[755] sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

301 The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92,
237 *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

[184] Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço
489 River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding
[481] aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and
[501] simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

283 The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck
[345] from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage,
[301] and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards.
[286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
790 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

/126/

846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [171] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

BO /193 cont. /
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
[283] a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects
and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*17 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
[291] praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it
in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
[302] the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
[301] and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
[291] ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
291 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
[287] only within the most modest limits and surely could not have
been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been
used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little
at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the
lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around
themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up
toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the
little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and
turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where
they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
291 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
[287] fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
[841] to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure
of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
[287] tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.
See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

/473 cont./

291 like to say that for this or for some other reason they bind their waists with a piece of tree bark ten inches wide, and, to be sure, so tightly that the skin at stomach height and over the abdomen and hips forms a bulge, which tends to disfigure them; but to go back to the strange custom, I must add that from this belt two strands (filamentos) two to three inches wide hang down in front and back." According to Waehneldt, the women wear a piece of tapir skin, one and a half spans wide, tied around their waists; "coming out from it is a bast band half a span wide, which covers their genitals." Rohde writes: "The women likewise go naked, the sole article of clothing is a narrow strip of cactus bark which conceals only the smallest part of the sexual organs."

With regard to our Bororó women, I have said on page 186 [287] that they wore on a hip cord a gray bast band three to four fingers [841] wide, and during the menses a similar black one, that in place of the hip cord they also used a piece of hard bark over which the /474/ T-band extended down in front and up in back, both of which were additionally secured by a string or bast wrapping. Younger women seemed to prefer the "corset" to the hip cord; the abdomen was tightly encased in the rigid bark armor.

291 The gray bast came from the jangadeira tree (jangada = raft), 287 whose light wood is used for the construction of rafts; it is also 824 called embira branca and its botanical name (from the family of Tiliaceae) is Apeiba cymbalaria. The black bark-belt came from the jiquitiba or pot-tree, Lecythis, a beautiful ornament of the primeval forest with a huge crown. A thick piece of bark was hewed off medium-sized trunks and laid in water for a week. Then a very fine, soft bast could be peeled off on the inside, [386] which furnished the hygienic bands. It was dyed black in rotten mire (tyjuca of the Tupí). The coarser hard outer layers provided the material for the belts, which had a width up to 28 centimeters. Often even children three to four years old wore the belt and looked very droll in it.

291 From what we have seen, the bark belt might be regarded merely as a substitute for the hip cord, whose firm embrace was perhaps agreeable, as long as the fashion did not become

551 people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest
842 contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception
[115] and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of
[601] the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers).
*601 Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each
114 particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the
124 apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help
[121] for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of
[829] the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

Birth

842 A child may have many fathers. Any man who has had sexual relations with the child's mother before or during pregnancy is considered one of the genitors, and is designated a "father" of the child. Both father (or fathers) and mother are equally responsible for the physical and mental characteristics of the child. Often the Bororo make comments about children saying that they are pretty or ugly, good or bad, some taking after their father, some after their mother. Different characteristics may have been taken from different fathers. As the chief of the village where I worked once told me: "I had two fathers, from the first I received my stature, and that is why I am so short. From my second father I received my heart." His second father had been a big chief and a knowledgeable man from whom he had learned the traditions and songs of the tribe. For the Bororo there is no such thing as a fatherless child. Everyone has a father, and the more fathers one has the better it [115] is for him. The knowledge of my informant was great because, as the Bororo explained to me, he was the son of the village wanton. Therefore all his fathers, all the men from the opposite moiety, taught him songs and stories. It is the duty 583 *601 of the child's mother to inform the boy or the girl when grown up enough to understand who his biological fathers are, and to teach him the kinship terms he should use for them and for their brothers, mothers and sisters.

000 Even now the ideal marriage is one contracted between a

593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
[854] this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
[856] speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of conti-
[302] nence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
* [601] attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother
842 is terminologically expressed by the category imuga ("moth-
601 er"), of which the only member is one's own mother.

Marriage

582 Ideally, marriage should be contracted with some of the lineages from the opposite moiety which are in yorubodare
[178] relationship ("alliance") to one's own lineage. Though, because of depopulation, this is rarely the case today, the Bororo are still proud when they can say: I mugu paga karegure, itoreduje apore imugure, ikoge, ivire, tadare imugure which can be translated, "I do not live in this place (his wife's house) just by chance. I stay with my wife, I
104 stay among my spouses." It is difficult to render into English the Bororo paga which I translated "by chance." (The Brazilians have the adverb "a toa" that renders it better. This adverb is used very much by the Bororo when they speak Portuguese.) The sentence means that the man is married ac-
582 cording to tradition. In saying "I stay with my wife," the Bororo means to say, "I stay with a woman who, by prescription, should be my wife." Every story which describes the establishment of special relationship between two clans by virtue of some gift has the same conclusion "... and so he made them his yorubodare ("allié"), his husbands, and his wives" (Oinore ure uyorubodaredo, ukogedo, uviredo apo).

585 A marriage ceremony is very simple. The mother of the girl brings food to the house of the boy, and, if he accepts the offer, he will eat the food (Colbacchini and Albisetti

their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on marriage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual relations with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father. It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous im-
pediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epi-
demics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Borôros, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/121 cont./

842 757 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (o.c., p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

163 In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of [177] Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the [79] influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. A v after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

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756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man
will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then
tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a
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LIFE CYCLE

●843 A month or two before expecting a child a
woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
846 honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided.
These dietary restrictions continue for some
months after the birth of the child. The husband,
however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into
the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-
in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position.
The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and
cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being
buried. The midwife then carries the child and
assists the mother back to the village. The
child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are
accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to
pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the
same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information
about using herbal medicines to induce abortion,
nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or
6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her
parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male
relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present
to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[273] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies--no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz., naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[553] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is
[773] not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunting or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat, drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility.

After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a white one just as she does when she is menstruating.

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

814 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
862 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

614 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red
616 macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the
827 Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after
561 the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger
[192] brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo lan-
[773] guage. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger.
844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever be-
[773] ing born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have al-
571 ready been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963:
114 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

772 Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture

561 The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

844 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society 787 is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the <u>ika</u>: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

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114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 482 [114] Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many [797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the 121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 593 [171] Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery. While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after [113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

582 turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to him- 583
self he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver
her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters
while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number
of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early
marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu when-
ever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families.
They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope
and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an [595]
old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed
the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take
a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The pros- 844
pective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born,
and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends
who go in search of her. It is common for children, espe- 862
cially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large
indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the
mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's
leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying
scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases.
The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts,
works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry 582
a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta
Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the 173
Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men,
now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these
things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them.
There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was
once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate
that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the
Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not 586
abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare
intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her
from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights 578
between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing
with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged hus-
band berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village
can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns
the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they
emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men,
women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

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is not even tied off. The thing is not so strange if the mother is thought of as merely an incubator. Even during the pregnancy (see Ploss, Das Kind /The Child/, II, Ch. 7) the father fasts frequently and avoids heavy work, so as not to harm the child. After birth, however, at least until the moment when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off, he still feels in actual "connection" with the child, and at least during the days when the life of the little father seems obviously in danger, a diet must be observed and nothing eaten that does not agree with the one part. Nor is it by any means absolutely necessary that the confinement take place in the presence of the father in order to force him to fast, and hence the need for his presence cannot be the ultimate reason for the custom. As was quoted, the Island Karaiben observed their couvade even a month later. Among the Ipurina on the Purus the woman, assisted by a few older women, gives birth in a forest hut and returns only "four or five days later" to her husband, who only now may see the child and who was obliged to adhere to a strict diet during this time." For an entire year yet the husband may not eat either pig or tapir meat. Ehrenreich, who reports this, adds: "a real 'men's childbed' is not customary." Well, but probably not only insofar as the father need not lie in the hammock, which, even though it is not merely a secondary phenomenon, is in any case one of least important prescriptions of the treatment. Even the Indian knows that improper nourishment is first of all harmful for the child, and therefore the most important thing is to follow a diet. Everything else is more or less only an accessory. Finally, the behavior of the Bororó is decisive. The mother gives birth in the forest, and the father, who is never present, not only fasts, but, if the child is sick, also takes the medicine that is handed to him for the child, as we learned from the druggist of the Brazilian military colony, who was greatly surprised over this.

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While the procedure for the father is the same in all the tribes, the conduct of the mother may be very different, depending on whether she is regarded as more or less ailing. She goes back to her duties again insofar as she feels strong enough and nurses the child, but that suffices. There is no mysterious correspondence

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627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from [411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

●844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat, [844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not [515] bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary, was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
846 352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip [304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the aguti.

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[301 302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110 (1)]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
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Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
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324 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest
425 relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

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827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
804 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching
[826] stick—lest their hair turn white.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter II

THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*601 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [846] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [553] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

553 604 ready "grandfather" (iyedaga) by definition, while the second kin type (FFSs) is brought into the same class by equivalences already presented:

FFSs →	FFMs	(by the skewing rule)
→	FFB	(by the half sibling rule)
→	FF	(by the merging rule)
∴	iyedaga	(by definition)

Thus the naming rule should be written as: any senior matrilateral relative who is Ego's namegiver should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's senior patrilateral relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any junior sororifilial relative to whom Ego gave a name should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's junior fratrifilial relative.

304 604 553 604 The same rule applies also to the senior "brother" (MB, MMB) who pierces the ear lobe of Ego. The rule was written without specifying the sex of the namegiver. On some very rare occasions a child's "older sister" (MS, MMS) will propose the name for him (her). If her suggestion is accepted, the child will call her imarugo ("grandmother"). There is still another instance in which a person calls his "older sister" imarugo, and that is when this "sister" cuts the umbilical cord when the child is born, in absence of a woman belonging to the lineage or clan of the child's father, who normally have this prerogative. Reductions applied to her are:

*[601] *601 604 [848]

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
819
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[844] [846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
[226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
[261] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
[276] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
[515] 593 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
827
846 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[824] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
● 846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
[854] this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
[856] speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of conti-
[302] nence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
* [601] attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

/124 cont./

846 In different ways people have tried to explain the couvade,
121 the so-called post partum of the man, this very widespread custom, especially in South America, according which the father is obliged to lie down for whole days, not doing heavy work, and to abstain from many important foods. "Some authors consider the custom of the couvade, which is found among many primitive peoples, an intermediary degree between the matriarchal and the patriarchal family. This custom is regarded as an act /125/ symbolic of the public recognition of the paternity of the newborn child, although probably something religious co-operates in it too." (Illustrierte Völkerkunde, herausgegeben von Georg Buschan, /Illustrated Ethnology, edited by Georg Buschan/, 3. Auflage /3rd ed./, Stuttgart, 1922, t. I, p. 8.)

The results of more modern research indubitably show that the purpose of this custom is to protect from harm the child, who, in its early stages of life, is imagined to be in direct connection with the father, that is to say, as part of him. Today well-known ethnologists understand that the couvade signifies a precedence of the man, because the fact that certain customs are exclusively related to one sex proves, so they say, that this sex, by means of these customs, is placed above the other one.

846 Among the Bororo, father and mother fast for some days after the child's birth, not rarely, however, also up to two months, but both continue with their work. Consequently a true couvade did not exist among them. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 61) writes, concerning the fast: "For three or four days the mother abstains from meat, being content with some broths made with maize or roots and wild fruits, sweetened with wild honey, or sugar, if they are able to get it. It is customary for the husband to follow the diet of the woman in abstaining from meat; one can even say that his diet is stricter than that of the wife. He proceeds thus in order that the neonatus will grow strong and healthy and will be able to resist hunger and thirst without suffering."

/126/

846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

8 /338 cont./
*171 is not even tied off. The thing is not so strange if the mother is
846 thought of as merely an incubator. Even during the pregnancy
[843] (see Ploss, Das Kind /The Child/, II, Ch. 7) the father fasts frequently and avoids heavy work, so as not to harm the child. After birth, however, at least until the moment when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off, he still feels in actual "connection" with the child, and at least during the days when the life of the little father seems obviously in danger, a diet must be observed and nothing eaten that does not agree with the one part. Nor is it by any means absolutely necessary that the confinement take place in the presence of the father in order to force him to fast, and hence the need for his presence cannot be the ultimate reason for the custom. As was quoted, the Island Karaiben observed their couvade even a month later. Among the Ipurina on the Purus the woman, assisted by a few older women, gives birth in a forest hut and returns only "four or five days later" to her husband, who only now may see the child and who was obliged to adhere to a strict diet during this time." For an entire year yet the husband may not eat either pig or tapir meat. Ehrenreich, who reports this, adds: "a real 'men's childbed' is not customary." Well, but probably not only insofar as the father need not lie in the hammock, which, even though it is not merely a secondary phenomenon, is in any case one of least important prescriptions of the treatment. Even the Indian knows that improper nourishment is first of all harmful for the child, and therefore the most important thing is to follow a diet. Everything
80 else is more or less only an accessory. Finally, the behavior of
[844] the Bororó is decisive. The mother gives birth in the forest, and
[846] the father, who is never present, not only fasts, but, if the child is sick, also takes the medicine that is handed to him for the child, as we learned from the druggist of the Brazilian military colony, who was greatly surprised over this.

While the procedure for the father is the same in all the tribes, the conduct of the mother may be very different, depending on whether she is regarded as more or less ailing. She goes back to her duties again insofar as she feels strong enough and nurses the child, but that suffices. There is no mysterious correspondence

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

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[515] bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

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[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
● 846 honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
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[p. 110(1)]

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 847 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuǰawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuǰawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuǰawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier. /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

562 It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary
121 for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it
• 847 male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous im-
pediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epi-
demics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
[113] women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Borôros, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/121 cont./

842 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions
757 and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (o.c., p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

163 In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of
[177] Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the
[79] influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. A y after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

/503 cont./

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LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
● [847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones;
[437] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[802] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.
562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

/474 cont./

291 exaggerated. According to Langsdorff's description, however, the belt seems to be the main thing, since strands hung down freely and there was no band to be fastened to it. The observer himself does not believe that its purpose was concealment. There was very little of this likewise among our Bororó women, and, as far as their modesty is concerned, it remained not only partly, but entirely concealed, or more accurately, the very opposite of it was present and, quite apart from the dissoluteness of the Brazilian civilizers, was present in large measure to begin with. All things considered, I regard it as not impossible that the wide [482] belt of bark or tapir skin originally had a different purpose. The women carried home from the forest back-baskets so heavily loaded with palm nuts that they seemed almost to collapse under the load and were unable to walk, but only to trip along; moreover, the end of the back-basket rested in the small of the back on the strip of belt and the latter protected the skin here just as the bast ring protected the shoulders of the Kulisehu Indians in the transport of canoes. A piece of tapir skin, especially, must have served excellently as padding. Meanwhile, however, it had turned into a pretentious, tightly clasped armor.

304 The ear lobes were pierced in the case of both sexes, but among [852] the boys this was done by the father at the age of eight to ten years when they were beginning to practice hunting skills seriously and among the girls, as we shall see, it was done with an entirely different meaning by their future husbands.

[619] The pierced lower lip was the tribal mark of the men. I have told how our Antonio, whom a woman claimed as her stolen /475/ 301 son, was examined for this. Waehneldt says of the Bororó of the Jaurú that some of them also wear a sort of "toothpick" /Figs. 130-132 appear here/ in the nasal septum; an ornament of pieces of wood was found in the pierced lower lip on a number of them. In their everyday life our Bororó never wore anything at all in the hole of the lower lip. Only boys, cf. Fig. 128 /see p. 571/, were in the habit of using small sticks which kept the hole open; one saw bone splinters, for example, from the cayman, occasionally a nail, and sticks of resin with a little button at the end inside the mouth. Adults, for festive ornamentation, wore sticks of the

/475 cont./

301 same kind, cf. Plate 27 /see p. 588/, or the lip chain, cf. Plate 1 /see p. i/ and Figure 130. The chain consisted of half a dozen small elongated shell plates hanging on one another, with a small string tassel at the lower end, and was 12 centimeters long.

304 852 The lip hole was pierced for the baby by the medicine man shortly after its birth. The instrument used for the operation, baragára, was a feather rod ending in a bone point, cf. Fig. 131 which was very showy and was worn in the hair as an ornament on festive occasions: the rod on which the bone was fastened with resin had alternate red and orange-colored little feathers densely pasted over it, with fine white down also in between now and then, and [301] terminated at the upper end in a long blue arara feather, while at the point of attachment a bunch of striped falcon, parrot, and arara feathers hung down, about one meter long from tip to tip. The medicine man with the baragára in his hand danced in front of the baby, singing and stepping up to it and back, and on one of these rounds he pierced the lip.

Fig. 130. Lip chain. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 131. Lip piercer. Bororó. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 132. Scratching bone. Bororó. (2/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/503 cont./

855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú also. 854 We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head between its legs. 593 On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

•852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú [114] from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure 765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes 586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *medo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêdo*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called stingray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[147] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not
[515] bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
● 853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
361 the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
616 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
614 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
592 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
942 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

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291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[881] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91);
302 combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
[854] this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
[856] speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of conti-
[302] nence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
* [601] attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooãa. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
855 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war- 462
like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer.

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, 222
may be seen going forth in various directions with huge bas- [482]
kets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their fore- [854]
heads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him.

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is con- 582
tracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age 584
of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken 839
for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Be- [584]
cause of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old.

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855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about 854 their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head 593 between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

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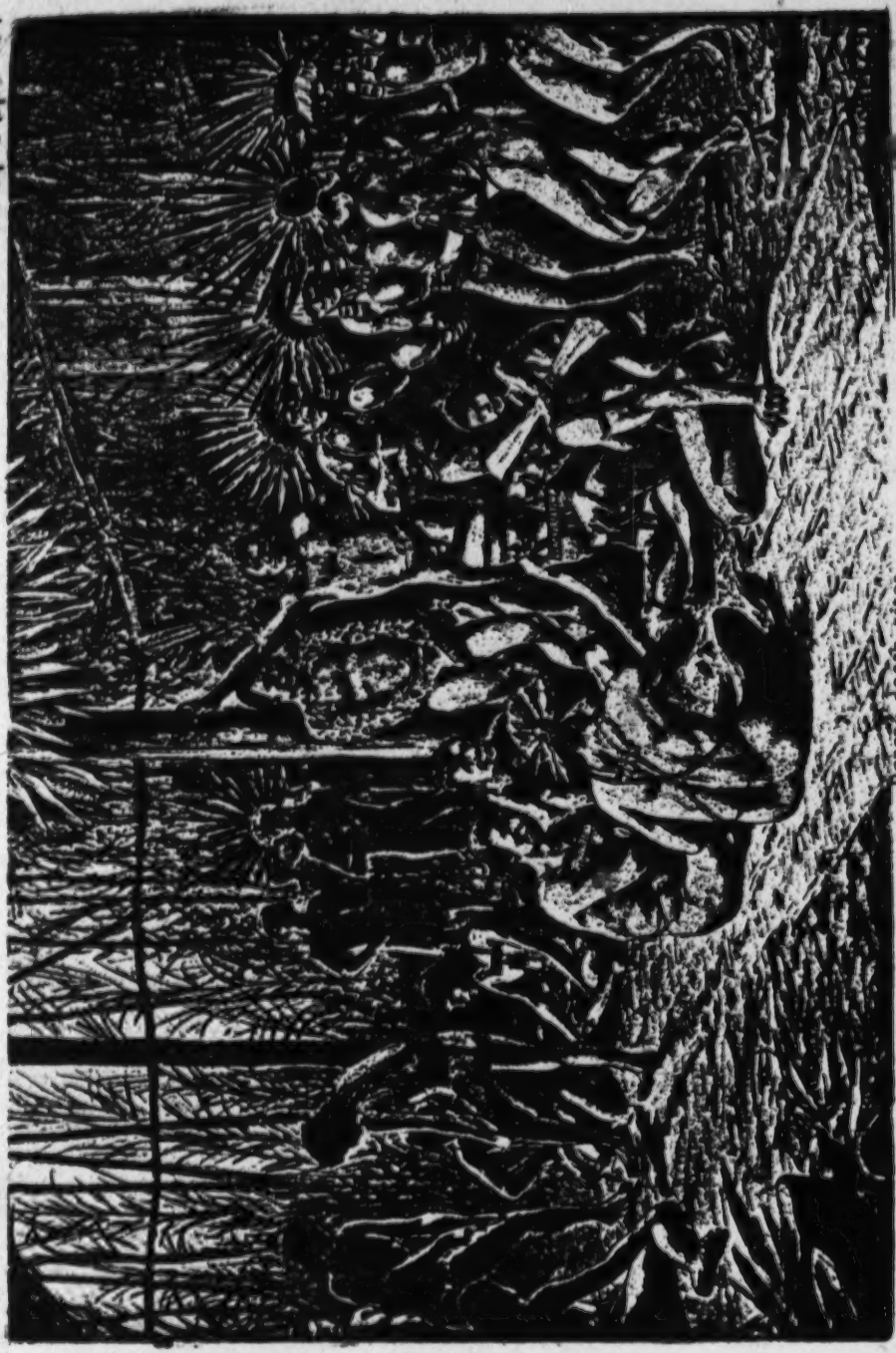

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man
will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then
tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a
sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
846 honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided.
These dietary restrictions continue for some
months after the birth of the child. The husband,
however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into
the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-
in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position.
The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and
cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being
buried. The midwife then carries the child and
assists the mother back to the village. The
child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are
accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to
pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the
same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
● 854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information
about using herbal medicines to induce abortion,
nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or
6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she
has come of age. She is not secluded by her
parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male
relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present
to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
[854] this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
[856] speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of conti-
[307] nence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
* [601] attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
● 855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her hus-
band, her daughters and their husbands, and all their un-
[881] married children. After initiation the sons move into the
422 men's house, but all their belongings remain in their moth-
[264] er's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their
[586] natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their
[591] mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man
marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of
the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind,
596 in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied
by several extended families, each family having its own
fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide
whether they will cook together or separately. When they
cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman
[264] cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The
families living in one house do not eat together, but the
women always exchange some of the food they have prepared.
596 They also help each other care for the children. If a woman
855 is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take
the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to
collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

596 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and
855 even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family, he can move his family to another village. This movement of the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people but does not affect the structure of the new group, which will be very much like the one left behind. The man will live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will de-
591 pend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's
596 mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom occur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women, the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing. The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that her children will be looked after when she goes into the woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she received from her mother.

593 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the
461 fields to do some work together that would be difficult for a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the extraction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a
593 couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man,
484 his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

855 Bororo fathers and mothers are very affectionate and
868 patient with their children. Both parents teach the child how to talk, and when the child grows up and starts asking questions, they try to explain everything they are asked.
603 The method of education is by advice and persuasion. In
868 the village where I worked, a three-year-old girl once was crying and screaming loudly at her grandmother. The woman seemed not to pay too much attention to her behavior and kept talking gently to her, saying that she should not be angry with her grandparents because they were not maltreat-her; they were teaching her so she would know how to do things and would behave correctly; that when she grew up she would go to collect ako (one kind of nut) and pick ari, boko, and jatugo (fruits of the forest); that for these
855 reasons they were talking to her. Sometimes, however, the
861 Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals, owls or wolves, will come and eat their sexual organs. Very seldom is a child beaten; when it happens, it is only for special transgressions. Only once did I see a mother strike her daughter with a stick. She had found the child eating clay, and the child had been previously warned several times not to do it. The children are never forced to do something they do not want to do. A mother can ask her young daughter to go to the spring to get some water, but if the girl says itaidu kare—"I do not want to do it"—the mother will take the container and go to the spring herself.

868 At three or four years of age a girl will start to play
562 with small baskets, straw trays, and fans that her mother

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooáa. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
855 the mother.

060 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

/135 cont./

added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

their tribe, and always responding *pardukuí*—I do not know, 551
who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony 553
is not performed for a female child.

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind 855
to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents [861]
seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should [597]
whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives.

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by 198
this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, 516
moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand.

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four; 802
therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands."

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mêdo* [262]
at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around.

/503 cont./

•855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú also. 854 We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head between its legs. 593 On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 [114] Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure 765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

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846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

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[p. 110(A)]

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/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

121 If we want to investigate the importance of the
562 adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with
[237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex.
[304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the
[856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [857]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would [516]
sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and distortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[285] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by
353 the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

their tribe, and always responding *pardukuʔ*—I do not know, 551
who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony 553
is not performed for a female child.

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind 855
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One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mêdo* [262]
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7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

582 turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to him- 583
self he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver
her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters
while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number
of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early
marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu when-
ever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families.
They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope
and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an [595]
old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed
the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take
a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The pros- 844
pective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born,
and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends
who go in search of her. It is common for children, espe- 862
cially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large
indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the
mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's
leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying
scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases.
The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts,
works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry 582
a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta
Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the 173
Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men,
now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these
things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them.
There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was
once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate
that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the
Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not 586
abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare
intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her
from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights 578
between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing
with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged hus-
band berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village
can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns
the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they
emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men,
women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits 595
and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of [222]
the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond [593]
of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is 562
mêdo, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the 821
word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights 562
of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and 593
for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept [839]
in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and [626]
of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, 589
or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become 548
prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should 844
be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, 862
especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller 853

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man
will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then
tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a
sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
846 honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided.
These dietary restrictions continue for some
months after the birth of the child. The husband,
however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into
the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-
in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position.
The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and
cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being
buried. The midwife then carries the child and
assists the mother back to the village. The
child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are
accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to
pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the
same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information
about using herbal medicines to induce abortion,
nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
● [862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or
6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her
parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male
relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present
to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

/143 cont./

833 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day:
562 "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down
123 one beside the other, because one day they will die and then
775 they are reunited."

864 Atílio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from
115 Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 From Naliki, old Tereno chief, I received the
171 following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way: later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayaki, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 men is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226
264 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will of the others.)

881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
593 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

881 complete the boy's education. They will be together all the
868 time, and the boy, through observation and instruction, will learn the tasks required of an adult Bororo man.

855 Bororo fathers and mothers are very affectionate and
868 patient with their children. Both parents teach the child how to talk, and when the child grows up and starts asking questions, they try to explain everything they are asked.
603 The method of education is by advice and persuasion. In
868 the village where I worked, a three-year-old girl once was crying and screaming loudly at her grandmother. The woman seemed not to pay too much attention to her behavior and kept talking gently to her, saying that she should not be angry with her grandparents because they were not maltreat- her; they were teaching her so she would know how to do things and would behave correctly; that when she grew up she would go to collect ako (one kind of nut) and pick ari, boko, and jatugo (fruits of the forest); that for these
855 reasons they were talking to her. Sometimes, however, the
861 Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals, owls or wolves, will come and eat their sexual organs. Very seldom is a child beaten; when it happens, it is only for special transgressions. Only once did I see a mother strike her daughter with a stick. She had found the child eating clay, and the child had been previously warned several times not to do it. The children are never forced to do something they do not want to do. A mother can ask her young daughter to go to the spring to get some water, but if the girl says itaidu kare--"I do not want to do it"--the mother will take the container and go to the spring herself.

868 At three or four years of age a girl will start to play
562 with small baskets, straw trays, and fans that her mother

868 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with
562 small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as
868 adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is
[622] his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

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829
593

> If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will will die but you will be here in his place, you will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With this in mind he instructed you in all these things.
>
> But suppose you do not listen to your father's

868 829 593

words. He wants to teach you but you do not care and as a consequence you remain ignorant. The people will say, "It may be that his father was ignorant, and because of this he does not know anything." I know things and thus the people do not gossip about my father. People say about me, "With him is his father's knowledge and reason."

Another example. The people do not quarrel with your father or with your mother, nor do they quarrel with you; they will say, "Yes, he is the true child of his parents, he is just like they are." But if you fight and quarrel with people, they will say: "He is not the child of his parents; they are different."

However, if your father does not know things, you will kill some animal, you will catch some fish, and you will give them to someone who knows things, and he will teach you. The people will then say, "The father is no good, and yet his son speaks so well. He is not stingy with meat and fish and feathers. He is knowledgeable, because he is not stingy. So after having been an orphan, he is not an orphan anymore."[1]

1

Ao yoruduwa rakã-guragare, boe eimejerare aoche. Jorudu iwa rakã-guragare toro. Du tabore ichare ure awodudo. Kodire aidure awo nono turyeore. Aerudu iwawo tuyorudu iwa rakã-guraga du uryeore. Rudumi tu vi mode ma aki akagurure tumugato kodi. Akiwo boe eimejerare aki tumugato. Kodire ure aerudu iwado tumearudae jamẽdu boeji. Oino.

Mare aki amearu toru kare ao boe eimejera bataruji. Aidure aerudu iwado, mare amearu toru kare bataruji. Kodire ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Kodire boe egore: 'ao rabora yoruduwa bokware kodiba ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Oino. Imire paga karega iyorudu iware oino. Kodire boe emago kare toro iyogwaji. Boe egore apore uwo jorudae, mearudae meture. Iya pugeje. Boe kori kare aoji, acheji. Du boe kori kare ai, arugodu kare, ako ki kare. Du boe ego mode: 'u, onaregedu rugadu rabode. Kodire ichare ure nono tuje, tuwo uryeore. Iya keje ao pega kare, ache pega kare, akire ichare apegare. Boe kori barikare ai, arugodu kigodure, ako ki kigodure boei. Ao, ache onaregedu karega ure aki kodi. Aore tuginoi.

Mare ao yorudu iwa bokwa iya boeji, mare nonore ure. Kodire a mode iya karo, iya barogo a mode bito. Du a mode iya rogu maku t jorudu iwarewu mearudu iwarewu ai. Du tabore ichare u mode aerudu iwado. Du tabore boe ego mode: 'Uwo pega, jorudu iwa bokwa kodi karega, akore oino. Mare jetori kare t iya ture bitowu karo, barogo, nabure kuido ikodo aro

597 When a child loses his parents, he is not left alone. Usually one of his mother's true or classificatory sisters or his father's true mother or sister will take care of him.
737 Old or disabled persons also can count on a large range of
736 relatives for some help and food. In Pobojari there was a blind man living in the men's house. When the "meal of the spirits" was held, his pots and pans were filled up so that he would have enough food for the next day. Normally eight women of the village saw to it that he was not without food. The man was a classificatory brother to three of the women. He was the mother's brother (a "brother") to an unmarried girl who was also an orphan and was living with her father's sister. She did not have food of her own, but she made a fire for the blind man when it was cold, and occasionally she washed his dishes. To another of the three women he was "father's son" (uwo onaregedu), and to the third he was "father's brother's son" (uwo umana onaregedu). Two other women addressed him as "grandfather" (iyedaga): he was "husband's brother" (oredu umana) to one and "husband's father's son" (Oredu uwo onaregedu) to the other. Still another called him "father" (iyogwa). He was "father's brother" (uwo uviye) to her. Finally there were two women who considered themselves his "mother." Each had taken the role of mother for different dead belonging to the same

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[868] bu keje, kodire ichare jorudu iware oino, jetori bokware kodi.
[829] Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje.
[593] Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"

614 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red
616 macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the
827 Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after
561 the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger
[192] brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo lan-
[773] guage. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger.
844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever be-
[773] ing born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have al-
571 ready been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963:
114 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

/463 cont./

115 "in Deinem Thau gesund mich baden" /to bathe myself sound in
153 your dew/, the little fellow immediately interrupted with "itáu!
akau, áu" = "my hair, your hair, his hair." This game was all
the more original since the cadet Caldas, their schoolmaster, who was also supposed to be working on the Bororó language, pronounced the American pronominal prefixes which I was seeking to be silly humbug and an invention of the boys, on the order of chicken talk. And he stuck to it, because he was very stubborn in his views. He was also very scornful of our opinion that Latin is a dead language, for he said it is spoken in Egypt. But what was even worse, he maintained that "Müller" -- heaven knows where he got his knowledge of his only German word -- was a French word and insisted on it, despite the amusing despair of Ehrenreich, who, as a native Spree-Athenian /a Berliner/, was shaken to the depths of his thinking and feeling in the face of such an unheard-of attack on the Berlin address-book.

872 If Caldas, who received an extra allowance for the instruction of the Bororó boys, did not learn much from his pupils, they probably learned even less from him. It is true, the rogues came unwillingly; in the beginning they did not come at all and were persuaded to do so only when a few inquisitive fathers sat with them in the school. The way in which the recalcitrant ones were assembled in the morning reminded one vividly of the game "bringing the little pig into the pen." Moreover, they were extremely inattentive. I must admit, however, that the method could not have been more peculiar. I thought the children would first of all learn the Portuguese names for the most familiar things, useful plants, animals, implements, which would certainly have pleased them, because they asked about them spontaneously. I also thought, if they absolutely had to learn to read -- but it really does not matter what I thought, and it is better to limit oneself to the report.

Each of the boys had in his hand a sheet of paper that Caldas had written on. Thereupon we read -- not they, of course -- al, el, il, ol, ul, bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul, etc. over the entire page. The teacher read them one line

/463 cont./

872 after the other, the boys had to recite after him. For hours they practiced, gaily waving their paper, "bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul." In several months they had not gone beyond this. Caldas himself seemed impatient, and during the short time that we were able to endure the performance he asked three times what time it was. Two Bororó fathers were sitting in the /464/ corner and occasionally also murmured absent-mindedly bal, bel, bil, bol, bul. Among my linguistic notes I find that the Bororó told me, "he is teaching the boys to read"; the sentence in literal translation corresponds exactly to the situation: "he is
876 teaching the boys to look at the paper." Caldas hoped, however, that there would soon be progress; he said the boys were an ill-behaved lot who first had to learn obedience. Up to now he had hit their fingers with a ruler if they did not pay attention. Now, however, he had an improved system of "palmatorios," two specimens of which he showed us. They looked like wooden spoons, except that they had a circular, flat end-piece, and this -- here was the improvement -- was perforated with holes like a sieve. The air whistles through the holes and this increases the pain. Well, I hope the new palmatorios stood the test and that the boys have meanwhile progressed at least as far as xal, xel, xil, xol, xul. In our day the entire result was always just dal, del, dil, dol, dul.

578 The hostile brothers. On 9 April Arateba, in his drunkenness,
[273] again put on one of his sensational performances. Burning with rage, he tears down the house of a widow who would not let him have his way. He is quickly finished with this work, even though he threatens to fall over backwards with each jerk. His brother and two sensible friends hoist him on their shoulders and take him to his hut. There he has the weeping blues for a quarter of an hour, but after cold water has been poured over him he pulls himself together again and appears in front of headquarters. He
593 strides up and down like a roaring lion in a cage and challenges his brother, upon whom he heaps abuse in front of all the people, to a fight. His brother leaps at him and, crouched over, hops back and forth in front of him for a while; then they clutch each other with furious holds. Arateba is thrown to the ground four times.

/463 cont./

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/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The

634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
571

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to
[616] be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
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only the Caboocass

361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional
[184] equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[784] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of
the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and
361 their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division
616 appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the
614 southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho
River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs ac-
342 cording to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally
[462] it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family
592 having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a
614 separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on,
354 for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. How-
352 ever, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard
41 seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A
252 mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended
[854] by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the
342 pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks
184 of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis
301 sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at
[381] funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a
[764] necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear orna-
302 ments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows,
000 the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-rearer (figs. 52, *o*; 55) and to attend rites from which 881

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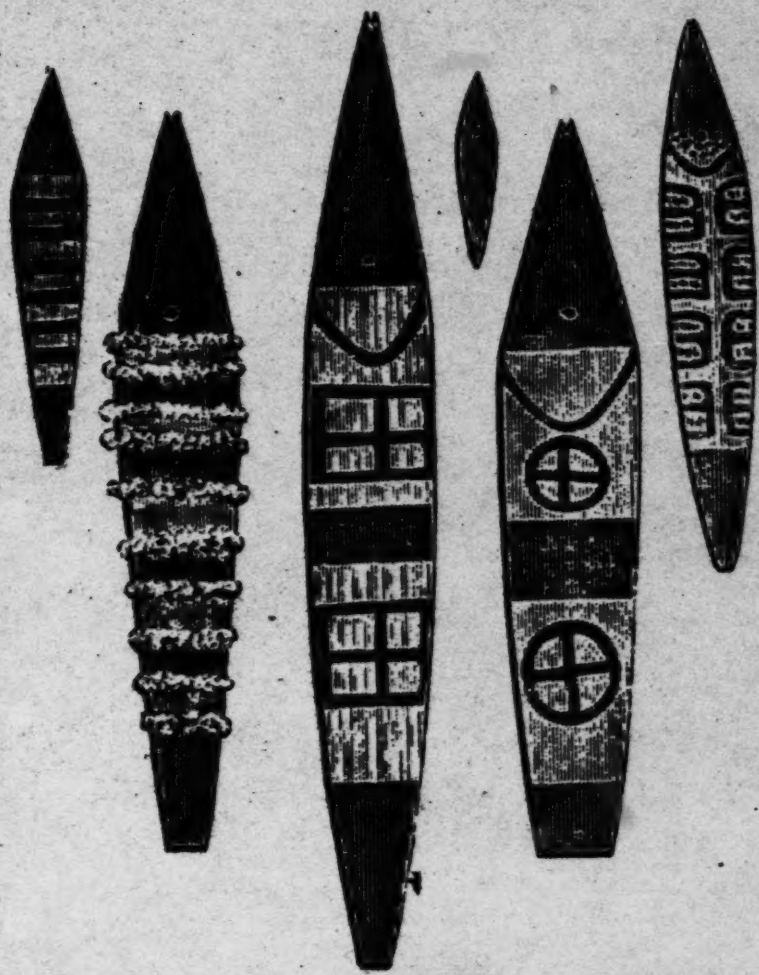

FIGURE 56.—Bull-rearers with various clan designs. (Approximately ½ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him. 881 [616] [827]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and 582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage 174 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as 575 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous 591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is 763 smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk 602 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors 764 a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's [622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve 224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he [616] has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him 881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for 764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread 764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

M B 172

of parallel lines, criss-cross, and filled-in triangles. A section of it is shown in Plate XX, 9. Close to the rolled rim on one side, the vessel bears a smooth, round hole less than one centimetre in diameter. It was unquestionably put there intentionally by the potter.

(b) This specimen is of identical shape as (a) but smaller, measuring but seven centimetres across the top and four centimetres in height. It bears the rolled rim, and incised lines. The painted decoration is black and consists of lines and rectangular figures, sectioned off. The hole close to the rim again appears. [Plate XX, 9 a.]

(c) Of the same size as (b), and is identical with it except that the rolled rim is heavier and does not bear any painted decoration.

(d) This is the smallest of the four, and is identical with the others, only differing in the painted decoration, which consists of diamond and triangular figures filled in with parallel horizontal lines. The ware is red and the decoration is in red. [Plate XX, 9 h.]

(a), (c), and (d) were found in close proximity to each other at the same level, thirty centimetres below the surface, but not in association with any of the urn burials. (b) was found also about thirty centimetres below the surface and in the section where the urns were closely packed.

That the hole served the purpose of passing a string through it in order to keep the vessels suspended seems to be a reasonable assumption, but as to their probable use little that is definite can be said. One of the Bororo da Campanha workmen offered the information that in his boyhood he had seen similar vessels used by the girls in the catamenial periods, especially during the period of the puberty initiation ceremony in connection with fasting. These vessels were used as measures for the amount of water and food the girl was permitted to have; whether it was per day or per meal he could not say. However, the ware is not of the Bororo style, and such vessels were not found in use among the Bororo of the São Lorenço region, so that this suggestion cannot be taken as conclusive.

B [881] [804] [415]

Another find consisted of several conical bone points, with concave bases, similar to those found on Bororo arrows, and also on the arrows gotten in the Kulusen-Kuluene region. [Plate XX, 6.]

Five pottery spindle whorls of the form shown in Plate XX, 8.

Between a depth of thirty centimetres and hard pan, we came upon a large number of closely packed pottery vessels, some of which con-

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
862 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other
[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to
* [601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called iyedaga, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That
613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father
582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

582 among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a per-
613 son might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's
881 yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen
[827] from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

881 While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of
[585] mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full anal-
[114] ysis cannot be given here. A good description of the cere-
mony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I,
[178] pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the vil-
lages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned
[563] it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

881 Peru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[774] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

881 reciprocal, he will be called iyorubodare by them. The only
601 exception occurs if the initiator is a brother of the boy's true father; then the boy will call his father's mother imarugo, grandmother.

881 When delivering the boy to the initiator, the boy's
539 brother says, "This is your wife (akoreduje); together with him you will cut marido; together with him you will go to get the palm leaves in the forest; with him you will clean the village plaza and Aije muga; you will make a road for mano; with him you will open a path through the bushes, in front of the others carrying their bows and nets; with him
824 you will kill game and fish."[1] (Marido is the plant the Bororo use in making a big wheel, also called marido, with which they dance during a ceremony of the same name. The palm leaves mentioned are those which the Bororo men use to make a fence around the dancing ground during certain cere-
796 monies forbidden to women. Aije muga is the place where the Aije, the bull-roarers, are hidden, where many of the ceremonies have their starting point, and where the actors in these ceremonies are adorned and furnished with the necessary
824 paraphernalia. Mano is another wheel of palm leaves that the Bororo carry in a race on a long road leading to the village.

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[1] "Akoredujereo, awu apore are mano kora ta, awu apore are keo kora ta, awu apore ature bai kae, awu apore ature kaidaga kae, awu apore are bororo akudo, awu apore Aije muga akudo. Awu apore are mano koda to, awu apore are awure jodo ipo, iwora paru keje, tuge, boiga, buke, boari otodai."

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 man is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will
264 of the others.)

881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
593 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

881 complete the boy's education. They will be together all the
868 time, and the boy, through observation and instruction, will learn the tasks required of an adult Bororo man.

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their un-
[881] married children. After initiation the sons move into the
[422] men's house, but all their belongings remain in their moth-
[264] er's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their
[586] natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their
[591] mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind,
596 in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman
[264] cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared.
596 They also help each other care for the children. If a woman
855 is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

571 We see that there is a tendency for the most important
616 lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most
613 important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less important lineages to contract these relationships with lesser lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships existing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in exchange adugo kujaqureu (the red jaguar). The other relationship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu, and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro. Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororo at least one representation to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits
[582] Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lin-
[881] eages to intermarry and exchange initiators among themselves, though they are from the same moiety.

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies,
[571] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot
[881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator,
[582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should
[768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be
[773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

In a society where the majority
553 of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the func-
828 tion of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of
829
[181] the possibility of reciprocity and equality.

553 Another instance of reciprocal address results from the
881 initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same time are given a common name, which they later use in address-
*[601] ing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways, they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge,
[561] Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the existence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of this group of boys bound together by the common experience of becoming full members of adult society at the same time, and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo and the other Gê tribes.

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
[30] seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
[533] songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
[534] a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
[162] tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
[553] a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
[616] the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
[562] thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
[834] penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
[561] tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
[825] penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
[822]

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[841] boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
[822] ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
[794] tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
[342] house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
[302] ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

/126/

846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

• 881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the tatou canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

● 881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
[301 herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

601 daughter's husband is also *yeddga*. Boys are *mede*,
616 girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúga*; sisters before puberty, *itwiye*; and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

601 Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

● [881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety.
[304] After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

Cheráide clans	*Tugaréde clans*
616 1. Bokodóri.	1. Arári.
614 2. Bakóro.	a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
3. Badójebage.	b. Arurécha tehibú-giwúgi.
4. Kiédo.	2. Iwágudodgi.
5. Boróteberá.	a. Tohóreu.
6. Ócbera.	b. Kúdjagureu.
	3. Apibóregi.
	4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

6/6 daughter's husband is also *yedága*. Boys are *mede*;
601 girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwíye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

[881] Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the
[884] ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

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Cherdíde clans

1. Bokodóri.
2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Borótcherá.
6. Óchera.

Tugaréde clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tchibúgiwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kúdjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113] 1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775] 2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage" and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should [775] still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.